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CLASSICAL JOURNAL

A JOURNAL OF THE LITERARY AND OF
A FURTHER EXAMINATION OF
LITERATURE

NUMBER THE SIXTH

LONDON:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. 15, N. B. ST. 1861.



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THE
CLASSICAL MUSEUM,

A JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY, AND OF
ANCIENT HISTORY AND
LITERATURE.

VOLUME THE SIXTH.

LONDON:
TAYLOR, WALTON, AND MABERLY,
UPPER GOWER STREET.

M.DCCC.XLIX.

17641
7/11/91

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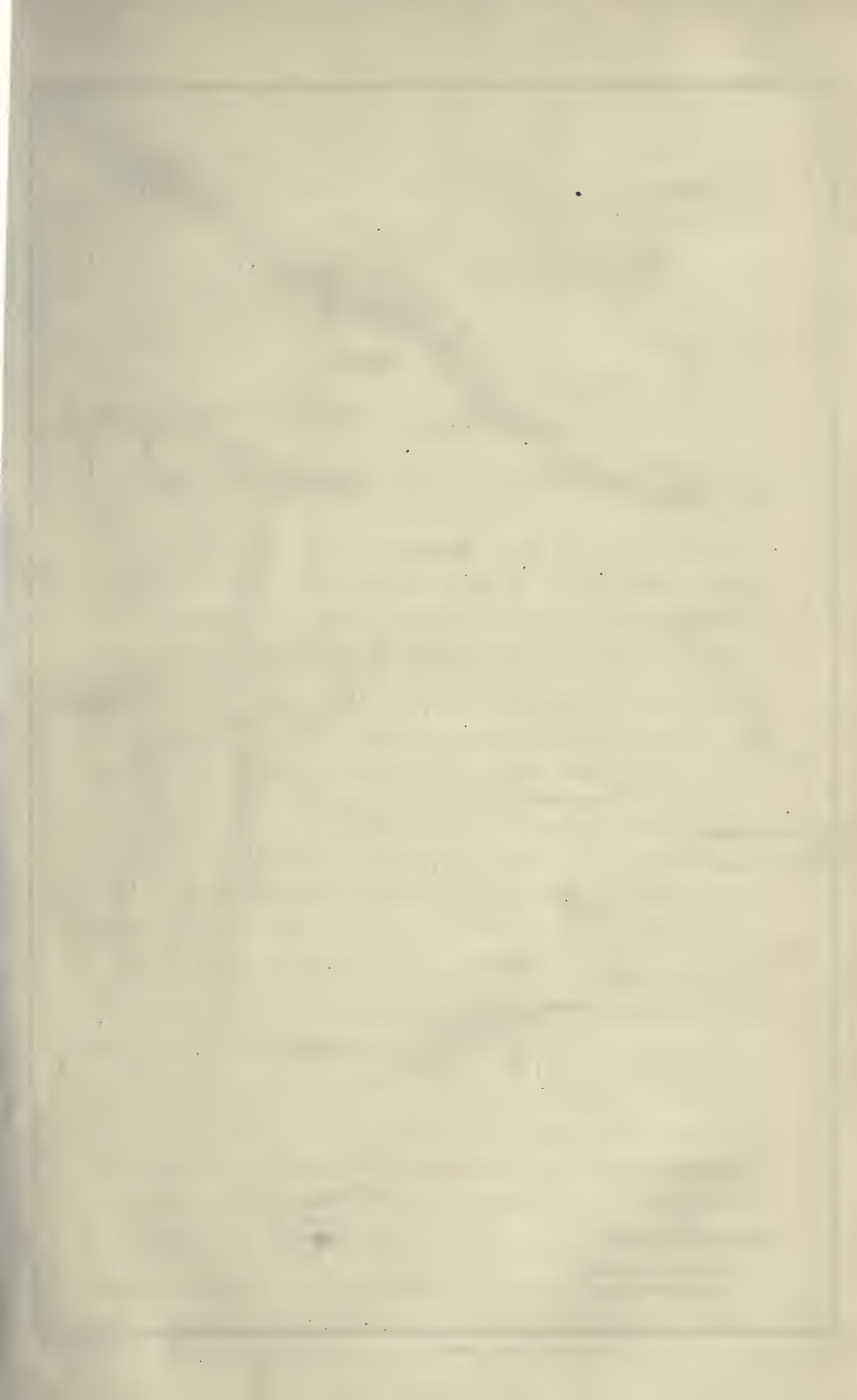
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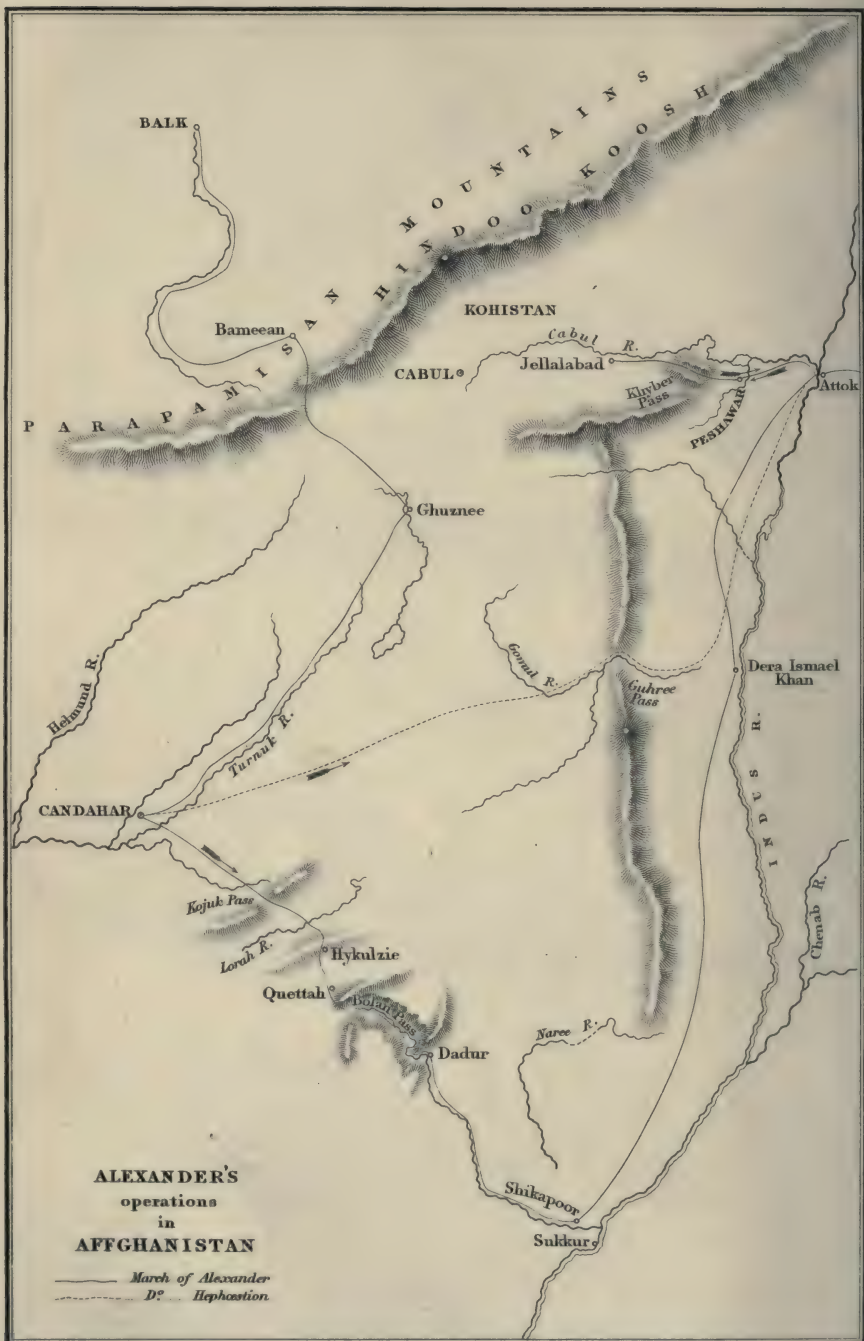
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THE CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

I.

CAMPAIGN OF ALEXANDER IN AFFGHANISTAN.

No satisfactory explanation exists of the operations of Alexander immediately preceding his passage of the Indus. Rennell, De-la-Rochette, and others, carry him far to the north of the Cabul river. Mitford does not attempt to trace his march systematically; and such an effort would have been a hopeless task, until recent military events in Affghanistan had rendered the geography of that country somewhat familiar to us, and marked out the two grand military approaches to India, the Khyber and Bolan passes, in indelible characters. If we dismiss the confused account of Quintus Curtius, and apply the plain narrative of Arrian alone to our recently acquired knowledge of that country, the thread may perhaps be unravelled. Arrian's history bears internal evidence of its being written in a business-like, unexaggerated style; and he composed it from the best materials,—the faithful accounts left by Ptolemy and Aristobulus, the companions in the counsels and arms of the great captain, and eye-witnesses of his exploits.

Alexander, intent upon the invasion of India, quitted Bactra (Balk,) early in the spring of the year B. C. 327, and effecting the passage of the Parapamisan Chain in ten days, arrived at Alexandria, the town and colony he had previously founded. Alexandria is commonly considered, and perhaps with justice, as identical with the modern Candahar;—but Arrian mentions two towns successively in the march of Alexander, after his arrival from Bactria; first Alexandria, the seat of his government, and, secondly, Nicæa, where he sacrificed to Minerva. After

this he advances in the direction of the Cophenes river, *πρὸς-χώρει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφῆνα*. I suspect Alexandria ought to be placed at Ghuznee, the true ancient capital, and Nicæa at Candahar. The Cophenes river is generally supposed to be the Helmund, if so, it must be the eastern branch of that river, now called the Tarnuck; because the government, of which Alexandria was the chief seat, extended eastward to the Cophenes; and in marching towards India from Candahar, the Helmund proper would not have lain in the way of the Macedonians. Here Alexander formed his army into two divisions; one, under the command of Hephæstion, and accompanied by a disaffected Indian prince, Taxiles, he sent forward with orders to force their way to the country of Peucelaotis on the Indus, and there to construct a bridge. This place is universally recognised as the modern Attok; and there seems little doubt that the road taken by Hephæstion to reach it must have been the direct route from Candahar, by way of the Gomul River, to Dera-Ismael-Khan, a comparatively obscure line of country, but not wholly impracticable, for in the official papers relating to the Affghan war, we read one of General Pollock's letters, from Peshawar, 11th March 1841, in which he calls the attention of Colonel Palmer, then at Ghuznee, to the Guhree Pass, leading to Dera-Ismael-Khan. Hephæstion appears to have executed the march without difficulty. In the meantime Alexander, with the remainder of his forces, proceeded to subjugate the country, which it would have been imprudent to have left unsubdued in his rear, and through which he was probably then meditating his return from India. And here all authorities seem to concur in describing him to have marched to the northward, into Co-histan, and even to Cashmere. In defiance of such authorities, I am disposed to think such a march would have been impossible; for, in the first place, the early season of the year would have rendered all proceeding towards Cabul, and to the north of that country, utterly impracticable; and, secondly, he would have had to cross the Cabul river, which is unquestionably the Indus of Arrian and the ancients, for Arrian and Strabo both describe the Indus as rising in the Parapamisan mountains, whereas no mention is made of such a passage prior to his crossing it at Attok; lastly, Aornos would have to be placed in that northern district, whereas Aornos is expressly described as a mountain pass on the main road from Persia towards India,—

a position wholly irreconcilable with anything in Cohistan or Cashmere. I hold it certain that Alexander marched to the south and south-east from Candahar, and that all the fighting with the mountaineers, all the marching over the rough and difficult passes, were nothing more or less than the various events which occurred in forcing his way through the celebrated Kojuck and Bolan Passes. The incidents of this march, which conducted him through the successive territories of the Aspasiï, Guræi, and Assacani, are given by Arrian with an exactness sufficient to enable us to perceive at once their correspondence with the geographical features of Lower Affghanistan. In the outset, after passing along the river Choes, by a hilly road, and after various skirmishes with the natives, and the capture of some towns, of which one is particularized by the name of Andax, Alexander came upon the river Euasples, (Lorah ?) whence, on the second day, he reached a town which had been burnt by the natives, who were retired to the mountains. He then effected a passage of these mountains, which we may reasonably affirm to have been the Kojuck range, and immediately descended upon the city of Arigæum, (Quettah ?) Quettah, situated in the great valley of Shawl, offers in the month of April the most delightful climate in the world. Alexander was so pleased with the opportune situation of this town, that Craterus was ordered to restore it. He then crossed another mountainous ridge, the Bolan Pass, which the natives had abandoned, having retired on his approach into the plain country below, where they were easily defeated in a great battle, although they are reported to have been more warlike than any of the other tribes.

Here Alexander, after emerging from the mountainous country, appears to have reached a plain of great fertility, where he was so much struck with the beauty of the cattle, that he ordered some to be sent to Macedonia. I think we may here safely recognize a descent from the Bolan Pass into the plains of Cutch Gundava, still "famous for its abundance of cattle and sheep, large herds and flocks of which are fed by the Méris and Bugtis."—(Captain Postan's Paper in the Journal of the Geographical Society, vol. xiv. p. 2.)

In these plains Alexander was rejoined by Craterus, and hence, through the country of the Guræi, whose name perhaps still exists in Gooroo, close to Dadur, he advanced towards the Assacani, crossing the remarkable river Guræus (Naree ?) de-

4 CAMPAIGN OF ALEXANDER IN AFFGHANISTAN.

scribed by Arrian as presenting some difficulties, on account of its depth and velocity, and of the round stones which formed its bed. The Naree is said by Captain Postan to be now so completely drained by the Khajjak tribes for the purposes of irrigation, "that its waters do not descend further than Bagh, except in heavy rains;" "the waters come down violently in May and June." Alexander, who reached the Hydaspes about midsummer, must have been in the Cutch country in April or early in May, and it would be worth while to compare the state of the Naree river at that period of the year with Arrian's description of the Guræus.

He then reached the Assacani, in which appellation we may, perhaps, discern the rudiments of the modern name of Affghans. This people brought into the field 20,000 cavalry, 30,000 foot, and 30 elephants, animals which Alexander would not have found in the Kohistan country, and which he was particularly anxious to possess, and to obtain them was, perhaps, one of the reasons which afterwards induced him to attack Aornos.

Here Alexander's first exploit was the capture of the largest town in the country, Massaga, (Shikapoor?) Bazira and Ora followed; and the natives flying before him, took refuge in the renowned Aornos, in which I recognize the Khyber Hills. In all these proceedings I think we may clearly perceive Alexander advancing up the right bank of the Indus.

He now reached Peuceleotis, to which place Hephæstion had been dispatched, and where he had performed all the duties entrusted to him. But before Alexander crossed the Indus, he was determined, unnecessarily, (but out of rivalry with Hercules, as was said,) to attack Aornos. He accordingly marched to a town situated in front of that mountain called Embolima, which Greek name would imply the point of egress from a defile, and which I believe to have been the modern Peshawar. I have seen it stated by a competent authority on Indian names, in Vol. IX. p. 515, of the Geographical Society, that the Greek word Aornos (of which there are more instances than that of the celebrated one in question,) is derived from the Indian term "Awar," signifying a fortress or stockade, and if so, Peshawar in front of the Khyber, is well connected with the Embolima of Arrian.

Arrian gives rather a detailed account of the manner of forcing this pass.—Ptolemy crowned the heights, and eventually

Alexander succeeded in effecting the passage, and advancing into the country of the Assacani (Affghans), to the city of Dyrtā, (Jellalabad,) and to the banks of the Indus, (Cabul river,) and here he found and captured the much-sought-for elephants. We are told that Alexander attacked Aornos *after* reaching Peuceleotis,¹ in which country was the passage of the Indus at Attok; so that, to have made such an attack on a pass described as the main *access to India*, he must have turned back and attacked it on the reverse or Indian side. Nor is it any objection that the Indus is said, by both Arrian and Strabo, to flow at the base of Aornos, or that Alexander came upon that river after passing the defile—for both these authors evidently consider the Cabul river, which washes the north side of the Khyber, as the Indus, and indeed the breadth and volume of its waters are but little inferior to what we now hold to be the real stream of the Indus. Alexander here cut wood, and built boats, which he floated down the river to his bridge. Burnes (Cabul, p. 276,) gives a detailed account of his descent of the Cabul river. By the same channel, our troops cooped up in Jellalabad, attempted to communicate with our forces on the Indus. After General Pollock's army had reached Jellalabad, and were masters of the banks of the Cabul river, they sent their sick and baggage down the stream to Peshawar; the Affghans also sent by water to Jellalabad the remains of the unfortunate Elphinstone, which were there interred with due honours. Frequent mention is made by both Arrian and Strabo, of the fabulous expeditions of Dionysus (Bacchus) and Hercules into the East; fables which doubtless had some foundation in fact, for such extraordinary expeditions do from time to time occur in the East. Dionysus succeeded in making his way through Aornos, (Khyber Pass,) but Hercules thrice attempted it in vain; he was repulsed at Aornos by earthquakes, and we cannot fail to call to mind how our own troops, under the gallant Sale at Jellalabad, were distressed by similar catastrophes. It appears to me that this is the only manner of accounting for

¹ The words of Arrian describing Hephestion's march, ἐς τὴν Πευκελαῶτιν χώραν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν, correspond so exactly with the expressions afterwards applied to Alexander, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν

ἦγε, καὶ πόλιν τι Πευκαλιῶτιν οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ φησισμένην ὁμολογίᾳ παρεστήσατο, that no doubt can exist of his having reached Hephestion's position on the Indus *before* he attacked Aornos.

Alexander's attack on Aornos (a pass *into* India) *after* his arrival *on* the Indus; and that he had arrived on the Indus is sufficiently evident. Arrian gives the description of Aornos, when he states that the Assacani took refuge in it; his account of the fountain in the middle of the pass, agrees well with the beautiful stream at Ali-Musjid, in the middle of the Khyber.

Arrian speaks vaguely and contemptuously of the fabulous caves of Prometheus, mentioned by some authors in connection with the proceedings of Alexander. It seems, however, by no means improbable that these caves were what are now called the Caverns of Bameean. Alexander must have twice marched through or near the Bameean defile in his passage across the Parapamisan Caucasus, first, when (B. C. 329) he turned back from his newly founded Alexandria, (Ghuznee,) in order to pursue Bessus in Bactria; and, secondly, when in his return (B. C. 327) he resumed his operations upon India. Arrian also tells us, that while Alexander was in these parts, during his operations between the Cophenes and the Indus, he visited Nysa, the birth-place of Dionysus, or Bacchus, and renowned for its grapes and fruits. Such is now Cabul. The Macedonians, to their infinite joy, discovered *ivy* at Nysa, the only spot in the East where it was said to be found. It would be curious to ascertain if ivy exists at Cabul.

It ought to be remarked, that on the return from India, while Alexander led an army, and Nearchus a fleet, along the coast of Persia, Craterus conducted a division of the army from Sogdi, (Sukkur?) through the Bolan Pass into Caramania. He had been previously selected, as we have seen, to settle the Bolan country, and perhaps he was, on that account, chosen as the leader of the division which retired through it.

HENRY L. LONG.

II.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF A PASSAGE IN THE ANTIGONE OF SOPHOCLES; TO WHICH ARE ADDED REMARKS ON ARTICLE XIX. IN VOL. V. OF THE CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

WHILE reading the *Antigonē* some months ago, after an interval of many years, we found ourselves at variance with Wunder,

whose edition we were using, in the interpretation of a particular passage. This led us to compare other editions: when we ascertained, to our surprise, that the meaning which had suggested itself to our mind naturally and at once, was not only unsanctioned, but even unmentioned, by any of the commentators, from the Scholiast downwards. Such a discovery inclined us to question the soundness of our own interpretation. We therefore considered and reconsidered it in every point of view, but always with a strengthened conviction of its correctness. We are hence induced to submit our version of the passage in question to the readers of the *Classical Museum*, in order that, if false, it may receive a sufficient refutation; if true, that its truth may be generally known and admitted.

The lines to which we allude are the 11th and 12th in the following passage, which occurs in the opening scene of the play, vv. 21–36, where Antigone acquaints her sister Ismene with Creon's proclamation, forbidding the sepulture of Polynices.

Οὐ γὰρ τάφου νῶν τῷ κασιγνήτῳ Κρέων
τὸν μὲν προτίσας, τὸν δ' ἀτιμάσας ἔχει;
Ἔτεσκέλεα μὲν, ὥς λέγουσι, σὺν δίκῃ
[χρησθεῖς δικαίᾳ καὶ νόμῳ κατὰ χθονὸς]
ἔκρυψε, τοῖς ἔνερθεν ἔντιμον νεκροῖς.
τὸν δ' ἀθλίως θανόντα Πολυνείκους νέκυν
ἄστοῖσί φασιν ἐκκεκρυῖχθαι τὸ μὴ
τάφῳ καλύψαι μηδὲ κωκυσαί τινα,
ἔᾱν δ' ἄκλαυτον, ἄταφον, οἶωνοῖς γλυκὺν
θησαυρὸν εἰσορῶσι πρὸς χάριν βορᾶς.
τοιαῦτά φασι τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κρέοντα σοὶ
καὶ μοι, λέγω γὰρ καὶ μὲ, κηρύξαντ' ἔχειν,
καὶ δεῦρο νεῖσθαι ταῦτα τοῖσι μὴ εἰδόσι
σαφῇ προκηρύξοντα, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἄγειν
οὐχ ὥς παρ' οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν τούτων τι δρᾷ,
φόνον προκεῖσθαι δημόλευστον ἐν πόλει.

The 11th and 12th lines are by commentators interpreted generally thus: *This proclamation, they say, the good Creon has issued to you and to me; yes, I say to me also:* though in explaining the force of the latter parenthesis, there is some difference of opinion. Thus the Scholiast writes:—Τὸ ἐξῆς · τοιαῦτά φασι τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κρέοντα σοὶ καὶ μοι κεκηρυχέναι. Τὸ δὲ λέγω γὰρ καὶ μὲ διὰ μέσου μετὰ πάθους ἀνεφώνησεν · λέγω γάρ, φησὶν, ὅτι καὶ μὲ προσ-

περιείλφε τῷ κηρύγματι · ἔτι γὰρ καὶ ἑμαυτὴν ἐν τοῖς ζῶσι καταριθμῶ. And afterwards, εἶπερ δεῖ καὶ συγκαταριθμεῖσθαι ἐν τοῖς ζῶσι.

This solution of the words λέγω γὰρ καὶ, is manifestly bad. Accordingly Erfurdt explains thus: "*parum me norat Creon, qui me quoque facere juberet, quæ cum pietate in fratrem pugnant.*" In this view Hermann, Wunder, Mitchell, Linwood (by silence), and all other subsequent commentators, generally acquiesce; Hermann and Wunder merely cite Erfurdt with approbation; Mitchell's note is as follows:—

"The deep feeling latent in these few words, is not at first apparent. The speaker, it must be remembered, is the affianced bride of Creon's son; and, through him, the heiress to his throne. A look or gesture on the part of Ismenë would probably insinuate, 'And will *you*, so circumstanced, contravene this royal order?' 'Yes,' the words of Antigone imply; 'that order puts my duty as a subject in collision with behests of a higher and holier nature; and Creon knows nothing of me, if he supposes me capable of neglecting the latter to comply with the former.'"

This is more imaginative than true. There is nothing in Antigone's position to make it specially remarkable that Creon should address the prohibition to her; and as to Ismene's asking by gesture whether her sister means to disobey it, Ismene's subsequent language shews that no such idea is supposed to be in her mind:—

A.—Εἰ ξυμπονήσεις καὶ ξυνεργάσει σκόπει.

I.—ποῖόν τι κινδύνευμα; πῶ γνῶμης ποτ' εἶ;

A.—εἰ τὸν νεκρὸν ξὺν τῇδε κουφισῖς χερί.

I.—ἦ γὰρ νοεῖς θάπτειν σφ', ἀπόρρητον πόλει;—V. 41-4.

And we further contend, that it is inconsistent with the simple dignity of Antigone's character to suppose that she intends by these words to exalt her own moral worth in comparison with her sister's. Least of all would she do so at a time when she is on the point of urging that sister to share the honour and the peril of her pious enterprise. So much for the inadequacy of this interpretation to explain the words λέγω γὰρ καὶ. And now, what satisfactory meaning can we attach to the version: "*this proclamation, they say, the good Creon has issued to you and to me.*" Why "*to you and to me?*" Why to the sisters specially? On account of their kinship to the dead,—will be

the reply. But the decree is said above ἀστοῖσιν ἐκκεκηρῦχθαι, and when Creon himself repeats the proclamation, he says, (v. 192) κηρύξας ἔχω ἀστοῖσι, and (v. 203.) πόλει τῇδ' ἐκκεκηρῦχθαι. He says nothing specially of the sisters; nor yet, when the illicit sepulture of the corpse is announced, do his suspicions point towards them. Neither, if the proclamation were addressed at first, and in particular, to Antigone and Ismene, would Sophocles have represented it as coming to their knowledge by rumour only, (φασί) and not from the mouth of Creon himself, who was now on the point of reproclaiming it in person τοῖσι μὴ εἰδόσι.

One editor only, Wex, appears to have seen the inadmissibility of any interpretation which supposes the proclamation to be particularly addressed to the sisters. His note is as follows:—

V. 31. τὸν ἀγαθόν. Schol. ἐν εἰρωνείᾳ. v. 32. λέγω γὰρ καὶ μέ.—“Erfurdtius explicat: *parum me norat Creon, qui me quoque facere juberet, quæ cum pietate in fratrem pugnant.* Bene quidem; at modo non ita sunt explicanda hæc verba, quasi Creon dicatur sigillatim et nominatim sororibus illud edixisse. Male enim illa explicans Heinrichsius, p. 65, autumat: “In der Gewissheit, dass das Verbot *allein* nur die Familienglieder und insbesondere sie *allein* betreffe;” nec probaverim, quod Süvernus, p. 18, ait: “In der Voraussetzung, Kreons Befehl sei *hauptsächlich* gegen sie und ihre Schwester, die ihres Bruders Leichnam nicht unbeerdigt lassen würden, gemeint.” Videmus enim Creontem postea, ubi suas suspiciones expromit, nihil suspicari de sororibus. Immo hoc dicit Antigona: illud cum edixit Creon, ad te quoque pertinet hoc edictum et ad me, *ad me inquam*, quod cum repetit, significat, quam novum sibi quidem et inauditum videatur tale edictum, in quam talis obedientia cadere non possit. Indignatur igitur, quod Creon universe illud edicens a se quoque talem obedientiam exspectari posse in animum induxerit. Perverse explicat Scholiastes. Ceterum exspectaveris καμὸι, at sæpe illud λέγω, ubi aliquid materialiter repetendum erat, aut ubi explicationi illud inservit, accusativum assumit. Recte igitur Wellauer, Æ. Sept. Theb. v. 640, cum Aldo reposuit ἐπωνόμῳ δὲ κάρτα, Πολυνεικῇ λέγω.”—Cf. Lobeck, *ad Ajac.* v. 570. Matth. § 432, 4.

Wex, therefore, interprets thus:—*the good Creon has issued this proclamation, which affects you and me, yes, me also.* This

interpretation we must reject, because it is not borne out by the grammatical sense, and also because it makes the clause λέγω γὰρ καὶ ἐγὼ still harsher and more inappropriate than it is according to Erfurdt.

Having thus endeavoured to shew the unsatisfactory character of the current interpretations, we proceed to give our own version, which we should not have supposed to be *our own* in an exclusive sense, if we had not thus found it at variance with all the commentaries and translations we have been able to consult. We connect the pronouns σοὶ and ἐμοὶ (as Dativos Ethicos sive Relationis) with ἀγαθὸν, and paraphrase thus:—*this proclamation, they tell me, has been issued by that Creon whom you and I—for I own I too thought him so—called the GOOD: or, by your and my GOOD Creon—yes, mine, for I own I thought him so.*

This use of the Dative, familiar to every scholar, is a favourite construction of Sophocles,¹ either with or without the particle ὥς. Thus, without ὥς, we have,—

Aj. 1358, τοιοῖδε μέντοι φῶτες ἔμπληκτοι βροτοῖς.—

Ed. R. 40, ἀλλ' ὧ κράτιστον πᾶσιν Οἰδίου κάρα.—

Ed. Col. 1446, ἀνάξιοι γὰρ πᾶσιν ἔστε δυστυχεῖν.—

Ant. 904, καίτοι σ' ἐγὼ ἔτιμησα τοῖς φρονούσιν εὔ.—

(So Aristoph. *Pax.* 1179, οἱ θεοῖσιν οὗτοι κἀνδράσιν ῥιψάσπιδες.) And with ὥς, *Ant.* 1161, Κρέων γὰρ ἦν ζηλωτὸς, ὥς ἐμοί, τότε. The trajection of the datives to the place they occupy after the substantive Κρέοντα, (though this doubtless is the cause of the sense remaining so long unobserved,) will offend no scholar who has noticed the frequency of such dislocations in Greek, both in prose and in poetry. In this place it is even necessary, on account of the parenthetic clause λέγω γὰρ καὶ ἐγὼ, which *must* immediately follow ἐμοί, yet *cannot* interpose between the epithet ἀγαθὸν and its substantive Κρέοντα.

And now, as Reviewer of the *Anthologia Oxoniensis* in the *Christian Remembrancer*, we are desirous of noticing the Article which appeared in No. xvii. of the *Classical Museum* in reference to that review.

We frankly allow that the learned and courteous Reviewer

¹ We need hardly observe how liberally Plato employs such datives in every possible collocation.

of our Review (*custos custodum*) has shewn that we praised Mr. Jones's Latin version of Shakspeare in exaggerated and "inconsiderate" terms. Writing in haste, and pleased with the general flow of the translation, we too easily gave that gentleman credit for having found comic authority for *pōl*, *tam* familiariter, and an unusual sense of *dudum*, although our attention *was* attracted by the peculiarity of the two latter phrases. To the impropriety (which our critic has amply and learnedly shown,) of *sartor* being used to represent a "tailor and habit-maker," we cannot say we adverted at all. We have only to add, that although we should wish any criticism of ours to be just on each side, yet if, as in this instance, we fall into error, we would rather the *falsus honor* should be imputed through us, than the *mendax infamia*.

Having owned ourselves fairly unhorsed by our learned and friendly opponent in this field, he will perhaps allow us, *en revanche*, to try a tilt with him on another ground.

Speaking (p. 336,) of Mr. Goldwin Smith's translation of the lines,—

"E'en such is man, whose borrowed light
Is straight called in, and paid to-night."

"Sic importunis hominum lux credita fati
Vespere debetur, nocte redacta perit,"

he says, "the Reviewer's correction, 'lux tua talis, Homo, est; ab avaris credita fati;' leads to the conclusion, that he conceived Mr. Smith to have meant in the *ablative* '[ab] importunis fati;' liable, in absence of the preposition, to be mistaken for the dative after 'credita,' against the sense." This is not so. We understood "fati" to be meant as dative after "debetur;" but we considered it awkwardly situated, as, *at first sight*, it seems to depend, as a dative, on "credita," and may, *just possibly*, be supposed an ablative in the same dependence. We did not mean to say that a scholar, looking at the translation side by side with the original, could mistake the intended construction, but that, considered as an original, the couplet was unperspicuous. We abandon our own correction, with which at the time we were not quite satisfied; nor did we mean it to be regarded as conveying that version of *the couplet* which we would ourselves adopt; agreeing as we do with X.'s objection to the substitution of *debetur* for *repetitur* or *exigitur*.

[We also concur in his disapprobation of the elision "homo, est;" but we are not prepared to allow that *talīs* must be considered an unallowable apodosis to *ut*, though not the ordinary correlative; indeed X. himself, instead of "sic" or "ita," adopts the informal apodosis "non aliter."]

The version proposed by X. is:—

"Non aliter brevis hæc, homini quæ credita lux est,
Protinus exigitur, reddita nocte cadit."

Here the word "cadit," which X. considers an improvement, seems to us to injure the passage by confusing the metaphor. Life may be represented under the image of light; and light may be considered as a loan borrowed and repaid, *or* as a heavenly body that rises and sets; but light cannot *in the same place* be represented as a loan to be repaid, *and* as a heavenly body that rises and sets, in which latter sense *alone* it is used by Catullus in the beautiful lines cited by X.:¹

"Nobis, cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda."

The couplet in question is not easily rendered to a scholar's full contentment. We submit the following attempts.

1. Mutua sic sumit repetitaque protinus ipsâ
Nocte brevis reddit comoda lucis homo.

¹ Consider the following passage of Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 246, &c.:—

— Jamque volans apicem et latera
ardua cernit
Atlantis duri, cælum qui vertice fulcit:
Atlantis, cinctum assidue cui nubibus
atris
Piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et
imbri:
*Nix humeros infusa tegit; tum flumina
mento
Præcipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida
barba.*
Hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius
alis
Constitit: hinc toto præceps se corpore
ad undas
Misit; avi similis, quæ circum littora,
circum

Piscosos scopulos, humilis volat æquora
juxta.

*Haud aliter terras inter cælumque
volabat;

*Littus arenosum Libyæ ventosque se-
cabat

*Materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia pro-
lis.

Heyne, obelizing the three last lines, says of them: "sunt tam jejuni et salebrosi, ut vix de fraude facta dubitare liceat." We think he might with equal justice have said of the two lines, Nix . . . barba (which are a mere caricature of the allegory, Cruikshankian rather than Virgilian) "sunt tam putidi et insulsi, ut vix de fraude facta dubitare liceat."

But does not "commoda" weaken the effect?

2. Sic, modo quam sumsit, repetitam rursus acerbe
Nocte brevem vitæ lampada reddit homo.

But is it allowable to call the light a *torch* here, when *night* is the time of payment?

3. Sic sibi mane datam, repetitam vespere lucem,
Quum noctis subeunt tempora, solvit homo.

But "mane" and "vespere" are not in the original.

4. Sic quam crediderant lucem, mox fata reposcunt,
Nec mora, quin ipsa nocte resignet homo.

Fata is not in the original, but might, we think, be introduced without much impropriety. Horace's "resigno quæ dedit" and "cuncta resigno," are ample authority for this verb, which is indeed equivalent to *rescribo*, I repay.

5. Sic capit usuram lucis, propereque redactam,
Quum jam noctis eunt tempora, solvit homo.

But we think *redactam* an unfit word, because it expresses, not merely the *demand*, but the actual *recovery* of a debt.

Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam :
Quærit Kalendis ponere.—Hor. *Epod.* 2.

6. Sic capit usuram lucis, retroque petitam
Haud mora quin prima nocte resignet homo.—Or (ipsa nocte.)

Our own inclination favours this last version, in default, for the present, of something better.³ These are mere *Nugæ Metricæ*, but may, perhaps, be useful to some of our younger readers, for whose amusement we subjoin one or two more trifles, extracted from our Scrap-book :

1.

Lady, sing no more ;
Science all is vain,
Till the heart be touched, lady,
And give forth its pain.

Lux mea, pone chelyn : nil ars facit
ista canendi,
Ni mens sollicitum mota resolvat
onus.

³ X. has also mistaken our meaning in writing "STEWARTIADUM" (sic,) &c. Our "sic" was not intended to indicate any supposed error of form or

construction, but only to draw attention to the *capitals*, by which the orator, as we conceive, meant to display his zeal in favour of a Jacobite succession.

'Tis a living lyre,
 Fed by air and sun,
 O'er whose witching wire, lady,
 Faery fingers run.
 Pity comes in tears, lady,
 From her home above,
 Hope, and sometimes Fear, lady,
 And the wizard Love.
 Each doth search the heart
 To its inmost springs ;
 And when they depart, lady,
 Then the Spirit sings.

Barry Cornwall.

Mens, animata chelys, zephyrique et
 solis alumna,
 Non nisi divino pollice tacta sonat.
 Quippe, ubi flens cælo Pietas delabitur,
 et Spes,
 Et Pavor, et comitem se magus
 addit Amor,
 Hi vice quisque sua penitus præcordia
 tentant,
 Nec mora, quum fugiunt, mens re-
 soluta canit.—1847.

2.

*Inscriptum in Albo Walkhallæ, ædis splendidissimæ, a Ludovico
 rege Bavarorum conditæ.*

Qua suos lætum caput inter agros
 Prisca Reginæ⁶ prope castra tollit
 Danubi collis,⁷ propriumque longe
 Prospicit amnem,
 Vix Palatina minus æde templum
 Alter Augustus tibi dedicavit,
 Artium, virtutis, et ingeni, Ger-
 mania, nutrix.—1845.

3.

*In honorem Ludovici Bavarix regis, inscriptum in Albo Gazophylacii
 Monacensis, ubi Ducum Regumque Bavarorum κειμήλια asservantur.*

Augustum Flaccumque viro miraris in uno,
 Rege tuo felix, urbs pia, vate tuo ;
 Finge hederas auro, lauros imitare smaragdīs,
 Ut decoret tantum justa corona caput.—1845.

4.

Πλέον ἤμισιν παντός.

Uno oculo mancum, crure uno, unoque lacerto,
 Emeritum recipit fida Lycoris Hylan.
 "Siccine," miles ait, "tali male virgine dignum,
 Siccine me reducem læta, Lycori, vides ?
 Te petit Antinous, juvenum rosa, quem sibi mater
 Quæque cupit generum, quæque puella virum.

⁶ Regensburg, or Ratisbon.

⁷ Donaustauf.

Te petit Antinous : quid Hylæ sperare licebit,
 Qui mutilus rediit dimidiumque sui?"
 Illa, inter lacrymas ridens, "Mihi carior," inquit,
 "Antinoo toto dimidiatus Hylas."—1843.

These last lines are psychologically curious. They were conceived, and mainly composed, during sleep. The author had been reading, the day before, that passage of Hesiod in which the thesis occurs ; but without any thought of writing an epigram.⁸ That the subject, and the idea of its treatment, presented themselves to his mind in a sleep of the night, and that the verses were chiefly composed in that state, the author has no doubt whatsoever. He remembers, indeed, a short waking, or half-waking interval, in which he reviewed, and, it may be, retouched and completed the epigram : and to this circumstance it is probably owing that, when he awoke the next morning, the lines remained engraven on his mind, as they here stand. It had happened to him at various times during his life to compose verses in sleep : but, on waking in the morning, "*ibi omnis effusus labor*," there remained only the consciousness of having been so employed : sometimes, indeed, he has remembered the subject ; but the poetry itself was gone ; "*ceu fumus in auras commixtus tenues, fugit diversa*."⁹

Y.

III.

DR. WILHELM IHNE ON THE EARLY ROMAN CONSTITUTION.

FORSCHUNGEN AUF DEM GEBIETE DER RÖMISCHEN VERFASSUNGSGESCHICHTE, VON DR. WILHELM IHNE. Frankfurt am Main, 1847.

IN the present article, it is proposed to introduce to the reader some very original views brought forward in opposition

⁸ By an odd coincidence, the very thesis (*πλῖον ἥμισυ παντός*) was given at Cambridge a few months afterwards, as one of the subjects for the prize epigrams.

⁹ Our readers will probably remember Coleridge's account of a like incident in his life, and the rich fragment which that great genius saved from the wreck of his poetic dream.

to Niebuhr by the able author of these inquiries. It is impossible to give all of Dr. Ihne's arguments, or all the details of his opinions; but the responsibility will be here assumed of selecting those opinions which are most important, and those arguments which have most weight.

Niebuhr has endeavoured to establish, that in the earliest times of Rome the *clients* and the *plebeians* were distinct bodies. He holds that the Clients were generally townsfolk,—artisans or traders,—attached as dependents to particular patrician houses, whom they were bound to serve with purse and sword; though there were some clients who lived in the country, as farm tenants to the patricians, and could be ejected at will; but that the Plebeians were country-people, living by agriculture, having received from the state, in freehold, *seven jugera* of land each, and standing in no social relations towards the great patricians. He likewise supposes the patricians to have no right of freehold, except to the extent of *two jugera*; but that this disadvantage was compensated by their exclusive right of occupying the public land, for which they paid to the state a trifling rent, that freed them from other taxes upon it. Moreover, he believes that before Ancus, there was no plebeian body; the nucleus of which consisted of the Latins whom that king conquered.

Nearly all of these points are impugned by Ihne. First, the evidence on which Niebuhr rests for his cardinal distinction between the plebeians and clients is to be considered. Against him stands the direct testimony of ancient writers; who believed that the population of earliest Rome consisted of two classes only—patricians and plebeians; that all clients were plebeians, and that originally all plebeians were clients. This is most pointedly stated by Dionysius, II. 9 and 10; by Cicero, *De Rep.* II. 9; by Livy, VI. 18; by Festus, p. 233, Müller; and Niebuhr is fully aware of the entire novelty of his own view. He rests it, however, on certain passages of Dionysius and Livy, who, in narrating the contests of the two orders, represent the patricians as defending themselves *by aid of their clients*. Niebuhr regards this as the truth slipping out, and treats the other more formal statement as an erroneous theory, to which no attention is due. But Ihne precisely reverses the argument. Dionysius, especially, is a garrulous writer, who

tries to fill up the meagre annals of early times by details drawn from later events and circumstances; a fact which no one knew better than Niebuhr. Now in later days, it is certainly true that the nobles armed their clients against the commons: this is the representation which Dionysius would be likely to transfer by anticipation to the primitive times. But it was not afterwards true that clients and commons were identical bodies; consequently, a careless historian was less likely to slip by error into a confusion of early clients and plebeians. The statement therefore of Dionysius, which Niebuhr rejects as a mere theory, ought to be received as a matter of testimony; and that which he adopts as a truth, ought to be exploded as one of the many errors arising from the vain attempts at a "pragmatical history," where no documents existed.

It is true that Livy also, in various passages, (II. 35, 56; III. 14, 16,) distinguishes *the clients* from *the plebs* in narrating the tumults: but at most, this would only prove that he held the plebeians not to be all clients. No modern interpreter before Niebuhr ever saw a difficulty in reconciling Livy with himself. This historian undoubtedly regarded the clients and lictors as plebeians, and took exactly the same view of their position *before* the Decemviral laws, as Niebuhr takes of them *after* those laws. It is a fiction, necessary for Niebuhr's theory, but uncountenanced by authorities, that the Decemvirs introduced clients into the body of the plebs; but as Livy knew nothing of this, and makes no change in his phraseology after their laws, his evidence is not to the purpose.

Niebuhr (p. 411, vol. I., 4th edition,) argues that the plebeians were conquered Latins, as follows:—1. Ancus Martius is said to have planted *the conquered Latins* on the Aventine; 2. The Aventine was made, by the Icilian Law, the chief seat of the *plebeians*; therefore, before the Latins were conquered, there were no plebeians. But, strange to say, Niebuhr himself does not believe in the transplantation on which his argument rests. He holds the plebeians to have been country-people; and he argues, if they had been brought to Rome, they could not have tilled the lands.

He acknowledges that there are many instances in history of such transferences of population, but he is persuaded that here some Greek historian, who knew of similar measures in

Sicily, has misunderstood the Latin formula *in civitatem recepti*, which was the lot of the conquered Latins; and translated it as if it had been *in urbem recepti*.¹

Against Puchta, who imagines that this transplantation was intended to keep the conquered people in check, Ihne argues that the uniform policy of an aristocracy was the very opposite. They dreaded a mass of population in a town, and by scattering it in the country, (*διωκσμός*) made it powerless. That the obedient clients should have been town-artizans and shopmen, but the unruly plebeians country-people, is the reverse of all that Greek or Mediæval experience would suggest. Extreme oppression may, no doubt, rouse a peasantry or small farmers into rebellion; but a town population is always the soonest enfranchised from an aristocracy. *A priori* probability would lead us to conclude, that the bond of clientship was most powerful towards the country-people, and that those plebeians who were artisans or traders, were first to effect their emancipation from it.

And here it may be suitable to name a theory of Ihne's, which is recommended by great simplicity and probability. He conceives, that when the plebeians found it impossible to gain legal redress against their patrons, inasmuch as their cause could only come into the court under the patron's sanction and name, they demanded Tribunes, who should be to the plebs collectively in the place of Patrons; so that a plebeian who chose to disown his clientship, might not find himself cast out of the pale of the law. This appears happily to account for the very singular form of the office, by which the plebs sought to defend itself.

But to return to Niebuhr's views. He teaches, that the Albans, whom Tullus conquered and transplanted, were made patricians, but that Ancus could not be so liberal, since the patrician tribes were now full, and the number three was too sacred to alter: he adds, that these Albans were made into the tribe of Luceres; from which Götting, Huschke, and Becker, have justly dissented.

As for the supposed fact, which in Niebuhr's view is so important,—that never once is any contest between patricians and

¹ The fact that the Aventine was afterwards given to the plebeians, might then induce legend to fix on this as the

part of the city which Ancus gave to the Latins.

clients whispered ; knowing what we do of the avarice and cruelty of the old patricians, it would be puerile to believe that their conduct to their clients was really exemplary. This ought in itself to have led to the conclusion, that Niebuhr's fact is nothing but a verbal one. There is no contest recorded of the clients against the patricians, simply because, when the contest arises, the clients are called by the generic term plebeians. At the same time, Livy (vi. 18) makes Manlius say to the plebs, *Quot clientes circa singulos fuistis patronos, tot nunc adversus unum hostem eritis* ; so that the imaginary fact falls to the ground. But, having seen how little positive support Niebuhr has for these points, we may now draw attention to the extreme improbabilities with which his theory is encumbered.

If there was a time when Rome consisted of patricians and clients, without plebeians, the clients must of necessity have been chiefly country-people. In fact, there was originally little of manufactures and commerce in the city ; and we cannot conceive of the mass of the people as having been any thing but a peasantry ; the army also must have consisted of these clients. If so, how could the clients, a little later, have been as it were driven out of the country, and out of the regular army, by the intrusive plebeians ?

Again, if Rome, under Tullus, adopted Albans into the state without inventing a new order, we want more definite testimony than Niebuhr can produce, to make us believe that the Latins conquered by Ancus were so differently treated.

Again : Is it credible that the patricians gave to those conquered people freehold land—*seven* jugera each, when they kept them out of the pale of the constitution ; and when they did not allow to themselves, lords and masters as they were, any freehold land at all, except the miserable *two* jugera ? How unintelligible is it, that when the entire state was under their controul, they did not confer on themselves a freehold right over the public² land, but were satisfied to hold it in mere occupation !

² Niebuhr's opinion about the *two* and the *seven* jugera, may not seem well founded ; yet as regards the last objection, Ihne's own theory needs for defence a supplement which will equally shelter Niebuhr's, viz. the patricians *did* maintain that the old public land

was their private property ; and this was a safer policy with them, than to pass an enactment to this effect, which would have seemed to admit that hitherto it had not been private. Nothing but the growing strength of the plebeians defeated them.

stitute a civil action against his client who was in arrears for rent, because, the land being public property, the neglect to pay was a criminal offence, not a mere private wrong; so that the debtor was liable, not only to be arrested, imprisoned, and sold, but to be put to death. The severity of this law seems to attest that the plebeian tenants were a conquered race. Of course a tenant in arrears to the state would lose all rights as a citizen (which was the case even in Athens,) until he had paid every thing; but his connection with his land was not severed, and his debt descended to his children. Still the creditor gained little by the *Addictio* of the debtor, *who might not be forced to work*, and who seldom brought a large sum, if sold; while to kill him was useless cruelty. Hence the patricians brought in the principle of making the debtor's *property* answerable, in which case he was called *Nexus*, and was liable to be set to work as a slave. This state of things was in theory milder, but in fact worse than the former; and by the operation of it the plebeians were rooted up from the land, which was falling into the hands of the rich, as actual proprietors. But this course of events was stopped by the *Lex Poetelia*, B. C. 326, which for ever forbade the process of *Nexus*. Such is Ihne's view of this tangled subject; but he does not add any other proof of the justness of his distinctions, than the appeal to their intrinsic probability. We presume, however, that he has been guided to his hypothesis by the classical passage (Dionys. vi. 83,) which becomes very clear by means of it. "We give consent that all who owe money and cannot pay, be forgiven their debt; and if any *are under personal arrest for being behind the legitimate days*, (of payment,) these we vote to be set free; and such as have been cast in *private* suits and given over to their plaintiffs, these also we will to be free, and that the awards against them be annulled." Here, the first class are debtors against whom has been no process as yet; the second are *addicti*, under arrest for not paying the state rent to their landlords; the third are *nexi* for private suits. The second class are not borrowers, it will be observed, nor is the fact of their being in arrears a private wrong; for in this they are contrasted with the third class. This agrees, so far, exceedingly well with Ihne's theory; but the interference of the Prætor to compel and ratify the *Nexus*, which, according to this view, Dionysius must imply, is contrary to what is generally believed.

Before stating the more particular grounds which may add plausibility to Ihne's agrarian theory, its power to solve the difficulties above stated must be considered. First, it accounts for the perpetual debts to the patricians, into which the plebeians fell as a consequence of the wars. Whether their lands were ravaged by the enemy, or they themselves were forced to neglect cultivation through absence with the army, they would naturally be disabled from paying the rent. No *lending* on the part of the patricians is then requisite to produce arrears of debt. We have no longer to wonder how it is that the patricians were always rich enough to lend, nor why the creditors were always patricians, nor whence so great an amount of coin came, nor why the law against trade was inoperative against the nobility. The theory at once satisfies the demand, that it shall exhibit the plebeians and patricians, as classes, in the relation of debtors and creditors. Without denying that in early, as in later times, any person destitute of full civil rights might become a client to one who possessed them, it represents every plebeian agriculturist as naturally a client to his patrician landlord.

To enable us to conceive how the patricians might receive rent from public land, it would perhaps suffice to lay down that the early kings of Rome dealt with conquered land as feudal sovereigns did; viz. established barons upon it, who were entitled to dues from the cultivators, though the property of the land was still theoretically vested in the sovereign, who received homage for it. If, at the same time, they strictly defined the amount of rent, and guaranteed the occupancy to the tenant as long as the rent was duly discharged, (which is what an Ancus or a Servius is likely to have done,) we should at once have such a state of things as the theory requires. For, on the expulsion of the kings, the patricians would undoubtedly hold that they were now the real and sole proprietors, as individuals; while the plebeian tenants would insist that their own rights were not affected by the expulsion, and that the *state* inherited the property in the land which previously was vested in the *king*. Ihne, however, does not take the king into consideration. He conceives of the early patricians as a race of conquerors, who claim the conquered land for the state collectively; but, inasmuch as no finance-officers as yet existed, nor the means of converting produce into gold and silver, the only mode

of taking tribute for the *state* was by deputing individual nobles to take it for *themselves*. He strengthens this view, by denying that any quæstors of the treasury existed before B. C. 447, the consulship of Horatius and Valerius, a belief which Rubino has adopted on the authority of Tacit. *Ann.* XI. 22 ; which he understands to assert, that though quæstors (viz. Quæstore Parriidii) existed during the kingly period, yet quæstors *to accompany the camp* (ut rem militarem comitarentur) were first appointed sixty-three years after the expulsion of the Tarquins. The justness of this interpretation is confirmed from Livy, who, before that era, represents the *consuls* as selling the booty of war, (II. 42 ; III. 23, 29, 31,) but afterwards attributes the same uniformly to the *quæstor*, as IV. 15, 53 ; v. 19, 26. Quæstors of the treasury are first named B. C. 443, by Livy, III. 69 ; and the speech which he puts into the mouth of Canuleius (IV. 4,) shows that he believed the office of *quæstor* to have been created later than that of *tribune of the plebs* and *ædile*. In the kingly times, (it is Ihne's belief,) there was no public treasury or public taxation ; hence no treasurer was needed. Soldiers received no pay : contributions were occasional matters only, and were probably made after the census ; though the organization of the centuries had not taxation in view so much as military arrangement. In such a state of things, state-land almost necessarily fell under the power of the individual nobles.

It may be questioned, nevertheless, whether Dr. Ihne does not underrate the financial development of kingly Rome. The celebrated works then executed, and the treaty of commerce with Carthage in the year of the first consuls, strongly confirm the view that Rome was far greater under the kings than for many years afterwards ; nor is it easy to conceive that the idea of the land being *public* at all, could have established itself in such a state of things as alone he considers : but as soon as we introduce a king higher than the nobles, and solicitous to protect the commonalty from their too great power, the difficulty is relieved. Again, it is not clear why Ihne should identify the two ideas of *client*³ and *tenant*. According to all the analogy of Greece, a Patron is the person who acts as legal representative for an alien or minor. A plebeian tenant would naturally go to his patrician landlord for such services, if the

³ He suspects *clients* to be derived from *colo*, and almost equivalent to *colonus*.

two were on good terms ; but there is nothing in his position to make it legally necessary : as long as he had no occasion to appear before the judge, there seems no reason why he should be any one's client.⁴ This certainly is Livy's idea,—that all clients were plebeians, but not all plebeians always clients : nor does there appear any ground for rejecting it. In troublous times, moreover, when patricians did not hesitate to assassinate a tribune, why should it be questioned that they kept round their persons retainers, who would be peculiarly spoken of as their *clients*, and might give occasion to Dionysius's exaggerated representations ? Of course such retainers could not reside away from Rome, and in so far would justify Niebuhr's assertion, that the clients (in this restricted sense) were townspeople. As such, the consul would not covet their presence in the army : indeed, there may have been a tacit understanding among the patricians, not to press into the public service any of the clients who served as a private guard to a patrician noble.

Ihne's view of the landed property is not only simple and ingenious, but really sweeps off many serious difficulties. Yet it encounters or makes new ones, in the distinction which it introduces between *old public land* and *new public land* ; the former being that which became public before there were finance ministers, and which consequently fell under the power of individual patricians by avowed regulations ; but the latter being farmed out by the censors for five years at a time, and being allowed to become patrician property only by connivance. We should have expected this distinction of the public land to be clearly made by the ancients ; but Ihne has not set himself definitely to establish that they do make it. Perhaps he argues that so large a part of the *new public land* also was made (in every practical sense) private property, as to obliterate the division of new and old. Among the passages to which reference is made in this discussion, there is one which seems to recognize the distinction, in Livy, (IV. 51,) as late as B. C. 410 ; therefore after the appointment of quæstors of the treasury and of censors. “ *Hæc ipsa indignitas angebat animos, non in re-*

⁴ It is sometimes said that “ the client in Rome could not form and dissolve his relation to his patron at will, as in Greece ; ” but it is not clear on what evidence this rests. A client who left

his patron would probably have found it hard in early times to find another patrician *willing* to become his patron : but this is a different thing from legal incapacity.

tinendis modo *publicis agris*, quos vi teneret, pertinacem nobilitatem esse; sed ne *vacuum* quidem *agrum*, *nuper ex hostibus captum*, plebi dividere." Ihne believes that the struggle concerning the old Roman land was reproduced in the colonies, where the patricians or nobles endeavoured to keep to themselves the rights of lords of the soil, while the plebeian colonists expected that, at least *there*, they should be made freeholders. There is a great deficiency of documentary evidence on this whole subject; and general probabilities appear to stop short in this, that patricians are not likely to have been willing to join a colony, unless large landed rights were given them: these could often be had only at the expense of the Roman colonists; and as the senate must have desired to send out some patricians, in order to secure the allegiance of the colony, they are likely to have struggled to invest them with the character of patrons and landlords to the rest. Sometimes, however, their position could be maintained, at the expense not of the new colonists, but of the old inhabitants. Thus⁵ in the Roman colony at Antium, the conquered people paid rent to the Roman colonists, who became their landlords. This precisely represents Ihne's view of the old plebeians, whom he supposes in all cases a conquered people, as the Antiates afterward. He also refers to the Campanian knights, who were Roman citizens and received rents from the commonalty, as representing at a later period the same relation between the orders.

Again, if Ihne's theory is correct, an agrarian law was a different thing in earlier and in later times. With Spurius Cassius, it meant, to secure to a tenant as freehold (or perhaps rather as only a fixed tenure, liable to the payment of a quit-rent,) the land which he previously held as tenant-at-will, at least in the theory of the patricians, which they were often able to enforce. With the Gracchi, it meant to plant new proprietors on small farms which had previously been held in masses, and generally been used for pasturage only. At least we cannot conceive that Spurius Cassius could have wished to give the land to any but former tenants, except where these had died or vanished, under the pressure of distress. Perhaps, however, in the general obscurity which the ancients have left over the

⁵ Ihne quotes a passage as from Dionys. x. 60, in proof; but the reference is erroneous.

whole subject of agrarian laws, we ought not to expect this distinction (if it really existed, as Ihne's theory requires,) to have been made prominent by any early writer.

That there was a considerable portion of public land which was not practically leased out by the censors, Ihne proves from the difficulty which was experienced in the time of Tiberius Gracchus to discriminate what land was public, or at least what were the limits of it. In fact, the land really so reserved was quite exceptive: certain districts of Campania and Sicily could not otherwise have been so much talked of. We may probably infer, that the new aristocracy continued to practise as far as possible towards conquered lands, what the old patricians had done originally,—to get the state-plot into private possession, without the controul of censor or quæstor.

It is a very ingenious conjecture of Ihne's, that the zeal which so suddenly displayed itself in Rome, for founding *Latin* colonies, was intended to evade a law which enacted that the members of all future *Roman* colonies should be freeholders. At the same time, that the patricians (or rather, nobles) who chose to join a Latin colony might lose nothing, it was enacted that all the *magistrates* in such colonies should have a right to claim full Roman citizenship. This would be in perfect harmony with the proceedings of a Roman aristocracy, and seems to carry conviction to the mind, although there is a difficulty in finding the law which was to be evaded. Ihne believes it to be no other than the *Lex Genucia*, mentioned by Livy, (VII. 42,) as forbidding *fœnus*; according to which, not only must *fœnus* mean "rent of land," but an important limitation, unnamed by Livy, should be added to the law; viz. that "*in no future division of public lands shall fœnus be exacted.*" This certainly is not to interpret.

And here we perhaps hit on the main difficulty of the theory, viz. that we have no ground for translating *fœnus*, rent. The derivation of the word allies it to *fœtus*, as τόκος to τέκος, and shews that it strictly and originally meant interest of money. If land were purchased as an investment, the rent might be styled interest; but not else. Hence we shall be forced to conclude that all the ancients were in positive error, when they spoke of the Patrician nobles as *fœneratores*; unless we can be satisfied with the modified view, that the great, or at least the avowed, grievance of the plebs was, not the rent itself, but the interest

claimed upon the arrears. Certainly those who wished to rouse national odium against the patricians would select this circumstance for invective, and would thus stigmatize the patricians as *usurers*, not merely as hard landlords. This view of the case appears easier to receive, than to imagine, with Ihne, that *fœnus* ever meant rent. It will then certainly be *possible* that Genucius's law forbade, not interest generally, but interest on arrears of rent. But this will not suffice for Ihne's view of the Latin colonies, nor is it at all hard to believe that a tribune may have passed a plebiscitum to forbid *all* interest. When Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 16,) speaks of a prohibition of *versura* (or compound interest?) Ihne himself understands him as alluding to the *lex Genucia*: and why are we called on to suppose him to have been in error?

On the whole, the interpretation of the *fœnus* just suggested seems to be the least violent and most satisfactory way of presenting what is (fundamentally) Ihne's notion; for we thus avoid to come into collision with our only authorities:—to do which, is to confess that we are in the regions of mere conjecture. For the same reason, we may shrink from holding with him that *all* plebeians were clients, in the sense in which Livy uses the latter word. Slight modification⁶ appears to enable us to adopt all that part of Ihne's theory which tends to remove difficulties, without casting aside Livy's authority too rudely. We can only afford room slightly to sketch his views on some other points. He regards it as certain that the Sabine conquerors of the Capitol became supreme masters of Rome; which is the first conquest, and made the name of *Quirites*, for ever after, express full citizenship. A second conquest was by the Etruscans, under Tarquin, who depressed both the Sabine and the Latin element.⁷ Servius is the organ of a reaction *which united the two homogeneous races in final ascendancy over the Etruscans*; and in so far, elevated the plebeians into *citizens* in the English sense. His *comitia* were intended to establish the Latin supremacy. When the last Tarquin was ejected, Ihne believes that an arbitrary government was for a while essential,

⁶ This view appears to be taken by Mr. Long, in his article on *CLIENTS* (Smith's Dictionary,) as far as positive opinion can be ascertained from his very cautious writing.

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and that Valerius was elected Protector (as we should now style it,) to conduct the revolutionary war: that he held this power for years, and resided in the royal house on the Velia: that hence came the alarms lest he should found a new tyranny; but that when he had fully organized the State, and had put it into the hands of two consuls, he came to dwell at the foot of the hill; hence his fame and name as Publicola. As he had the fullest power of a dictator, though not the name, to this may be referred the fact, that some said Valerius was the first dictator.—The author's discussion itself must be read, to judge of the erudite ingenuity with which these points are supported.

He further believes that the *Comitia Centuriata* were decisively patrician, and that the right of appeal against magistrates was to be made before this assembly, according to Publicola's law: but that this gave no redress to a plebeian, who, in a dispute which concerned the interests of the orders, had nothing to hope from such a body: but, after the Decemvirate, the *Duilian* law enabled a plebeian to appeal to the *Comitia Tributa*, by which at length the plebs gained the desired legal protection.

Ilhne also attempts to explode the law of *Publius Volero* as an entire mistake. He cannot believe that the people, when they extorted Tribunes, could have been cheated into allowing them to be chosen in a patrician assembly. To us this seems very credible, and not unlike the end of an English popular movement: nor, if we found it definitely stated in an ancient author, that the first tribunes, being *Sacrosancti*, were chosen in *Comitia Calata* with a pontifex presiding, (as Becker imagines,) should we see any internal improbability in this. But in all these matters, we must beware of confounding the possible with the true: and all that we seem certainly to know, is, that before Volero, the tribunes were *not* chosen in the *Comitia Tributa*, but in some other way.

On the subject of the colonies, Ilhne endeavours to add to Madvig's able researches. It is now, perhaps, generally held, that the members of Roman colonies, as such, *had*, and those of Latin colonies *had not*, originally the rights of the Roman state; that is, *suffragium*, *honores*, *commercium*, *connubium*. Ilhne so far modifies this as to assert, that the plebeians and patricians who went out to a *Roman* colony, retained respectively the same rights as they had always had at home: hence the earliest colonies exhibited the plebeian interests in the same depression

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as in early Rome. Of these, Velitræ, Satricum, and Lavici, disappear from history, the two first being violently destroyed, and the third fallen to ruin. But the rest,—Signia, Circeii, Norba, Sutrium, Nepete,—are afterwards called *Latin* colonies; namely, (says Ihne,) because the populace retained from their first foundation only those inferior rights which were afterwards called Latin. Madvig has on the contrary inferred, that they must all have been originally Latin: but though this cannot be disproved of Signia and Circeii, which are referred to the regal period, Ihne will not admit it of Norba,—from its site beyond the Latin limits; nor of Sutrium and Nepete,—because they were planted during hostilities with Latium; the former, seven years after the Gallic conflagration according to Valerius, the latter B. C. 382,—Liv. vi. 21. When the plebeians had established full and equal rights with the patricians in Rome itself, we may perhaps believe that, even without express enactment, (for no one can refer to the Lex Genucia de Fœnore,) full and equal rights in the Roman colonies followed of course. The zeal for *Latin* colonies which presently springs up, is then well explained by Ihne, as a new artifice of the nobility. He adds, that C. Flaminius's colony in Picenum, against which the aristocracy was so furious, and by which the people were so delighted, must have been a *Roman* one. The words of Cicero (*De Senect.* 4,) “agrum viritim contra senatus auctoritatem dividenti,” imply that the mode of division was in some sense a new thing, of which the senate disapproved; and in so far it countenances Ihne's idea, that in the ordinary colonies the plebeians did not receive a perfect and clear freehold. Since *Latin* colonies were founded with the senate's sanction at Brundisium (B. C. 244,) at Spoletum (242,) and again at Cremona and Placentia (218,) in the Gallic land itself, he infers that the Picenian colony of 232, which so displeased the senate, must have had strictly *Roman* rights. *A priori* (all will probably concede to Ihne,) the whole policy of Rome, and the confessions of ancient writers that every colony was an image of the mother city, justify us in believing, that at a time when the plebeians were depressed at home, they were also depressed in the colonies, as far as all *political* right was concerned: but it is not so clear that no greater *substantial* rights, as of land, were there granted them; and if there had not been any, it is difficult to

imagine how the patricians ever expected to induce men to expose themselves on the frontier.

That Dr. Ihne rightly rejects Niebuhr's doctrine, of the plebeians possessing the decisive majority in the *Comitia Centuriata*, appears to be testified by every page of the history : but we need not infer that all of that order were sedulously kept down. If plebeians were introduced into the senate in the regal times, or by the first consuls, we must surely look upon it merely as an *ennobling* of them into patricians, so as to draw off from the commoners those who would else have been their leaders against the aristocracy. Instead of doubting the fact, with Ihne, we should rather be disposed to think it one of the causes which left the poor plebeians so helpless ; for such a measure would elevate only individuals, and weaken the order which they had left. That, as an order, they were exceedingly depressed immediately after the struggle against the Tarquins, is too plain to insist upon ; and it seems wonderful how any one can have imagined that they were supreme in the *Comitia Centuriata*, which was the sovereign power of the nation. Niebuhr was, perhaps, led into this paradox by his theory, that the patricians formed only six centuries of knights in the Servian *comitia* ; whom he identifies with the *Sex Suffragia* of Festus. But he names Festus only to say that he was quite mistaken ; and then deliberately sets aside the testimony of Livy, Dionysius, and Cicero, who describe these *Comitia* as giving all power to the rich, and hereby to the noble and few. We may admit to him that it is *remarkable*, if the centuriate assembly was timocratic, and the curiate aristocratic ; but there is no real contradiction here, any more than between a House of Commons and of Lords in England : and, on the whole, such a constitution agrees very well with the history. But to infer with Niebuhr, that "the preponderance, nay, the whole power in the *Centuriata*, lay with the plebs," would involve exactly the state of things which he had just pointed at (vol. I. p. 433,)—the rending asunder of the nation between two co-ordinate and hostile bodies. If the plebs had really been predominant in the *centuriata*, what could have made them so eager for the *tributa comitia* ? and what could possibly have forced them to contend by *Secessions*, and by the *Intercessio* of the tribune, not by the assembly itself ? Niebuhr may, in many places, seem to reply,—Because the *clients* outvoted the *plebs*. But this is to allow that

the plebs was *not* decisively predominant, and it swells the clients into a nation of rich men. For, that wealth predominated in that assembly, (only not patrician wealth,) is fully conceded by Niebuhr.⁸

F. W. N.

IV.

COMMENTARIES ON, AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF, THE
ENEIS OF VIRGIL.

BY JAMES HENRY, M.D.,

Fellow of the College of Physicians, Dublin.

PART I.—COMPREHENDING THE FIRST 350 LINES
OF BOOK I.

Ille ego, &c.—Imitated both by Spenser and Milton:—

Lo! I, the man whose muse whylome did maske,
As time her taught, in lowly shepheard's weeds,
Am now enforst a farre unfitter taske,
For trumpets sterne to chaunge mine oaten reeds,
And sing of knights' and ladies' gentle deeds.

Faerie Queene, st. 1.

I who erewhile the happy garden sung.

Par. Reg. v. 1.

V. 1. *Martis arma*.—*Martis* joined with *arma* is not (as a hasty view has led some commentators to suppose,) supererogatory; because *arma* is not a specific term, corresponding to the English *arms*, and like it applicable only to *martial weapons*, but a general term, applicable to *all kinds of implements, martial, agricultural*, (*Georg.* i. 160,) *nautical*, (*En.* v. 15,) *culinary*, (*En.* i. 177,) &c. *Martis* is therefore a proper adjunct to *arma*, and

⁸ Dr. Ihne writes as if it were a new thing to dissent from Niebuhr's view of these Comitia: but even Dr. Leonhard Schmitz, in his *History of Rome*, (p. 75,) acquiesces in the common view,

that "patricians and plebeians met on a footing of equality; for there the importance of every citizen was determined by no other standard than that of property and age."

in the present instance peculiarly proper, because it was incumbent on the poet, well to distinguish between the *arma*, the subject of his present poem, and the *arma*, of which he had treated in that former poem to which, in the passage before us, he makes direct reference. Having formerly defined the *arma* of which he was then treating, as those *quæ sint duris agrestibus*—*Queis sine nec potuere seri nec surgere messes*, (*Georg.* I. 160,) he now defines the *arma* which form his present theme, to be *arma Martis*: hence, as from every observation which tends to shew the correctness of their diction, an additional argument in favour of the authenticity of the four introductory lines of the *Eneis*. For a further argument, derived from the same source, see comment, *En.* II. 247.

V. 1.* — *At nunc horrentia Martis*

Arma, virumque cano, &c.

Canto l'armi pietose, e 'l Capitano,
 Che 'l gran Sepolero liberò di Cristo :
 Molto egli oprò col senno, e con la mano,
 Molto soffrì nel glorioso acquisto ;
 E in van l'Inferno a lui s' oppose, e in vano
 S'armò, etc. * * *
 * * * *

O Musa, tu, etc.*—*Tasso. Gerus. Lib. I. 1.*

V. 4. *Sævæ*.—The Latin *sævus* has never been correctly defined by any lexicographer. It means, I think, *possessed of, or exercising a strong power to injure*; and corresponding more nearly to the Greek *δανός* than to either of its usually assigned German and English equivalents "*streng*" and "*fierce*," has an invariable reference to the infliction or forcible causing of something evil,—some pain, punishment, harm, wrong, or damage.

V. 11. *Tantæne animis, &c.*—Oft imitated line:—

In heavenly spirits could such perverseness dwell ?

Par. Lost, VI. 788.

And in soft bosoms dwells such mighty rage ?

Rape of the Lock, I. 12.

Tant de fiel entre t'il dans l'ame des devots ?

Boileau, Lutrin. I.

32. *Acti fatis*.—Ever since the time of Servius, these words have been understood to be equivalent to *jactati fatis*: "*Si odio Junonis fatigabantur quomodo dixit acti fatis? sed hoc ipsum Junonis odium fatale est*," Servius. On the contrary, *actus*

is never *jactatus*, but always *impulsus*; and the impulsion by the Fates not only does not coincide with the impulsion by Juno, but it is directly contrary to it. The Eneadæ are driven *onward*, or toward Latium, by the Fates, (*acti Fatis*,) while, at the same time, they are driven *backward*, or from Latium, by Juno (*arcebat longe Latio*.) The result is, “*multos per annos errabant maria omnia circum* :” words could not more clearly express the opposition of the forces between which the Eneadæ are placed; an opposition on which hangs the whole action of the poem.

V. 45. *Turbine corripuit, &c.*—

Caught in a fiery tempest shall be hurled,
Each on his rock transfixed.—*Par. Lost*, II. 180.

V. 56. *Celsa sedet Æolus arce*.—Heyne, whose interpretation of this passage is silently acquiesced in by Wagner, understands Eolus to be represented as seated on an arx or eminence or peak of the mountain *outside* the cave in which the winds are confined.—“*Celsa in arce, extra antrum, alto in montis cacumine*, infra (vers. 140) *aula dicta, seu regia* ;” but, 1st, the picture thus presented of sceptred Eolus seated outside on a peak of the mountain, within which the winds are confined, is not very far removed from the ridiculous; 2dly, the words *vasto antro* are placed so much more immediately in contact with the words *rex Eolus* than with the words *ventos tempestatesque*, that it is hardly possible to doubt that they are connected with the former and not with the latter, and that their meaning is, *King Eolus, in a vast cave, keeps down the winds with his empire*, and not *King Eolus keeps down with his empire, the winds in a vast cave*. 3dly, the *aula* in which (as admitted by all commentators,) the arx was situated, is plainly declared by the epexegetic *et* in Neptune’s message to Eolus, (vers. 140,) to be one and the same with the *carcer ventorum*. 4thly, it is not easy to conceive how Eolus could, from his seat on the arx, exercise his office of mollifying the spirits and tempering the anger of the winds, (*celsa sedet Æolus arce, mollitque animos et temperat iras*,) if the arx were outside the mountain, and the winds within. 5thly, the opening made in the side of the mountain by Eolus seated on the summit, must have been so near to, and so much in the direction of the summit, that the course of the winds rushing through it, would have been, not,

as described by our author (vv. 83, 84.) towards the ground and the sea, but directly upwards, towards the sky. 6thly, Valerius Flaccus, in his manifest imitation of this passage, (*Argon.* l. 610,) distinctly describes Eolus as opening the cave from the inside.

For all these reasons, I understand the words "*celsâ sedet Æolus arce*" to be descriptive of Eolus seated on an eminence *inside* the cave; an interpretation remarkably confirmed by the following passage of Albricius Philosophus, (*De Deorum imaginibus libellus*,) "*Æolus autem in Deorum numero computatus et qui ventorum Deus dictus est, cujus talis erat imago depicta; stabat enim IN antro lineâ veste indutus, tenens sub pedibus flabra, instrumenta fabrilia; in manu autem utrâque tenebat cornua, quæ ori admovens, ea subflare, et ab unoquoque cornuum sex ventos emittere videbatur.*"

V. 60. *Abdidit*.—Not *hid*, as commonly rendered, but *stowed away*, or *put away in a place by themselves*; Jupiter's intention not being to put the winds in a place where they could not be found, but in a place where they might be under control. So *abde* is to be understood in *Georg.* III. 96, and numerous other places, where it is commonly rendered *hide*. *Abdo*, to *put or stow away*; this is not only the literal, but the more usual meaning of the term, its secondary or derived meaning, *to hide*, being comparatively rare.

V. 81. *Cavum conversâ cuspidè montem Impulit in latus*.—"Egregie dei et potentia et impetuosum obsequium declaratur, uno sub ictu monte non (ut olim accipiebam) in latus dimoto, verum latere montis percusso hasta dei, perrupto et sic patefacto" "hastam intorquet, immittit, ruptaque rupe viam ventis facit qua erumpant."—Heyne. This interpretation, also tacitly accepted by Wagner, is no less erroneous than that of *Celsa sedet Æolus arce*, (see note v. 56,) because, 1st, the act described by Heyne, viz. that of making with a cast of a spear such an opening in the side of the mountain as would allow the winds to rush out in a body, is impossible; the spear, cast with such force as we may suppose a god to have exerted, might indeed penetrate the side of the mountain, but could not by any possibility break it down, or make the considerable opening in it which is indicated by the words *qua data porta*, and *agmine facto*; 2dly, if Eolus had thus flung his spear against the side of the mountain, it was incumbent on Heyne at least, if not on Virgil, to have explained what became of the spear; whether it

“stetit tremens,” like Laocoon’s in the side of the wooden horse, in which case, the spear filling up the opening made by itself, there would have been no passage for the winds; or whether, having penetrated the cavity, it fell on the inside, or passed clear through the mountain; in either of which cases, the further explanation would have been required, how it happened that none of the winds were wounded; *3dly*, it is little likely that Virgil would either have represented the winds, (who should necessarily be let loose every time a storm was required, and be brought back to their confinement as soon as their business was done,) as confined in a place without vent or outlet; or if the place had outlets, that he would have described Eolus as making no use of them, but unnecessarily breaking down the walls, and destroying the security of the enclosure for the future; *4thly*, if the cave had no outlets, the *claustra* mentioned at vers. 56, must mean the solid resisting sides of the mountain itself; in which case it is but a sorry, un-Virgilian picture which the winds afford, *frementes* not about outlets, through which they had before frequently obtained their liberty, and hoped soon to pass free again, but every where round the solid hopeless parietes of their enclosure; *5thly*, That the cave had outlets closed by *claustra*, which Eolus struck or pushed open, not merely on this occasion, but whenever he wished to give egress to the winds, clearly appears from Statius, *Theb.* I. 346:

Subtextit nox atra polos; jam *claustra* rigentis
 Æoliæ percussa sonant, venturaque rauco
 Ore minatur hiems.

6thly, *Impello* never means *intorqueo*, *immitto*, but always simply to *push*, (see Comment. *En.* II. 50,) and (see Burmann on *Valer. Flacc.* I. 610,) is especially used to express the forcibly pushing open of doors, gates, barriers, &c. As *prima est virtus vitium fugere*, so these objections to the received, lead directly to the correct, interpretation. *Impulit*, he (viz., being inside the cave, see note vers. 56,) pushed, *cuspidē*, with the point of his spear, *cavum montem in latus*, the hollow mountain on the side, or the side of the hollow mountain, viz. that part of the side of the mountain which, (being moveable and serving like a door or shutter to *close*, *claudere*, the vent or outlet,) is at vers. 56, called *claustra*; see B. II. vers. 259. *Conversâ cuspidē*, with the point of his spear *turned* (viz. from the position in

which he had previously held it,) *towards* the side of the mountain; so, (*En. IX. 427,*) *in me convertite ferrum*. The poet, no doubt, imagined Eolus holding his spear in an upright position with the reverse end resting on the ground, while Juno addressed him, and by the words *conversâ cuspide*, describes his changing its position from upright to horizontal, so as with the point to push open the *claustra*. *Conversâ cuspide* is to be carefully distinguished from *versâ hastâ*, (*vers. 478,*) *versa* meaning simply *turned*; *conversa*, *turned towards*. Nor is *cuspide* to be taken figuratively, for the whole of the spear, but literally, for the *point*, which part alone came into contact with the *claustra*. The calm words and composed demeanour of Eolus, who uses only such moderate force (expressed by the word *impulit*) as was necessary to throw open the *claustra*, are not only in good keeping with the dignity of the god, and prison-governor, but in fine contrast with the furious rush and uproar made by the winds the next moment.—If it be asked why I have thought it necessary to adduce a long series of arguments to establish an interpretation, which a single argument (*No. 6. above*) is sufficient to set beyond the possibility of doubt, I beg to reply that my object was less to establish my own interpretation, than to show the numerous absurdities involved in that proposed by Heyne, and sanctioned by Wagner, and by thus taking some little, here in the very outset, from the prestige attaching to those justly esteemed authorities, to render the reader less unwilling to accompany me, when on some future occasions I shall invite him to enter upon paths widely divaricating from those which they have marked out, and rendered almost classical.

V. 85. *Undè Eurusque Notusque ruunt, &c.*—There can, I think, be little doubt that the whole of this fine picture of the winds indignantly roaring about the *claustra* of the *carcer* in which they are confined, and upon the opening of those *claustra* rushing out and furiously sweeping over land and sea, was suggested to Virgil by the chariot races of the *Ludi Circenses*, in which the horses, ready yoked, were kept confined until the moment of starting, within a *carcer* separated only from the *spatia* of the circus by *claustra*, for the opening of which the horses used to be seen testifying their impatience by neighing and snorting, and pawing against them with their feet, and on the opening of which they rushed forth (*agmine facto*) two,

three, or four chariots abreast, and swept the *spatia* with the impetuosity of the whirlwind.

In proof of the correctness of this opinion, I beg the reader, 1st, To observe that almost all the words of the description, and notably the words *luctantes, imperio premit, frenat, fremunt, mollit animos, temperat iras, ferant rapidi secum, verrant per auras*, are suitable to the manege; 2dly, To refer to *Val. Flaccus*, (i. 611,) where, in a manifest copy of the scene before us, he will find the winds to be styled in express terms *horses rushing from the carcer*, “*Fundunt se carcere læti Thraces equi, Zephyrusque*,” &c.; and, 3dly, To compare Virgil’s whole description with the description which Sidonius Apollinaris (*ad Consentium*) has given of the chariot-race:

Illi (viz. the horses) ad claustra (carceris viz.) fremunt,
repagulisque
Incumbunt simul, ac par obseratas
Transfumant tabulas, et ante cursum
Campus flatibus occupatur absens:
Impellunt, trepidant, trahunt, repugnant,
Ardescunt, saliant, timent, timentur,
Nec gressum cohibent, sed inquieto
Duratum pede stipitem flagellant;
Tandem murmure buccinæ strepentis,
Suspensas tubicen vocans quadrigas
Effundit celeres in arva currus;
Non sic fulminis impetus trisulci, &c.

Let him compare, also, Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 153; Lucret. vi. 194; Stat. *Theb.* vi. 397 et seq., and Virgil himself, *En.* v. 144.

Hence new grace and beauty to the whole passage, and proof additional to those adduced above, that the winds were let loose, not through a breach made in the mountain from without, but through the accustomed *claustra* thrown open from within.— See Comm. *En.* i. 81.

V. 85*. *Una Eurisque Notusque ruunt.*—

Nor slept the winds
Within their stony caves, but rushed abroad
From the four hinges of the world, and fell
On the vexed wilderness.—*Par. Reg.* b. iv.

V. 92. *Solvuntur frigore membra.*—

Hà tu devois en la Troyenne guerre
Faire couler mon cerveau contre terre,

Sans me sauver par une feinte ainsi,
 Pour me trahir a ce cruel souci ;
 J'eusse eu ma part aux tombeaux de mes peres ;
 Ou je n' atten que ces vagues ameres
 Pour mon sepulchre.

Ronsard, *La Franciade*,¹ c. 2.

Such is the only ground which it has occurred to the commentators to assign for Eneas's horror at the near prospect of death by shipwreck. There was, however, another ground for this horror, no less strong, and certainly more worthy of the hero, and especially of Eneas, the reflection that death by shipwreck was death lost and thrown away; death redounding neither to his own honour, nor to the advantage of his country or the world.—See Senec. *Agam.* 518.

Nil nobile ausos pontus atque undæ ferent?
 Ignava fortes fata consument viros?
 Perdenda mors est.

And again, *Hercul. Ætæus* 1165: Hercules speaking,—

Morior, nec ullus per meum stridet latus
 Transmissus ensis
 perdidit mortem, hei mihi!
 Toties honestam.

V. 100. ——— *Ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis
 Scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit.*

In justice to the Manes of Virgil, I shall place in juxtaposition with this and two other passages, also in the first book of the Eneis, their English representatives; I say their English representatives, because Dryden's may be truly regarded as the only translation of Virgil which is known or read in England. The literal English of the above lines is—*Where Simois rolls*

¹ One of those innumerable, once fashionable, but now forgotten poems, which the poetasters of some two hundred years ago used to manufacture out of the Eneis, and pass upon the world as original works of their own. It is impossible not to be struck by the resemblance between those professedly original poems, but really semi-translations of the Eneis, and our modern professed translations, but really semi-original poems. Both are composed

altogether *ad captum vulgi*; in the same easy, flowing, and often sweet style, and with the same total, either ignorance or disregard, of Virgil's meaning; the sole difference between them being the greater antiquity of the language of the former, and such change in the names of the actors, and in the places, times, and order of action, as was necessary to give to the former some colour of originality.—J. H.

so many shields and helmets and brave bodies of heroes, snatched under his waves. There is not one word more or less, or different from these, in the original; now hear Dryden:—

Where Simois rolls the bodies and the shields
Of heroes, whose dismembered hands yet bear
The dart aloft, and clench the pointed spear.

Again, v. 166:—

Fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum,
Intus aquæ dulces vivoque sedilia saxo,
Nympharum domus.

Under the opposite front, a cave in the hanging crags; within, sweet water, and seats of the living stone; house of the nymphs.

Hear Dryden:—

A grot is formed beneath with mossy seats,
To rest the Nereids and exclude the heats;
Down through the crannies of the living walls
The crystal streams descend in murmuring falls.

Once more, v. 416:

Ubi templum illi, centumque Sabæo
Ture calent aræ sertisque recentibus halant.

Where a temple and hundred altars glow for her, and breathe of fresh garlands. Hear Dryden:—

Where garlands ever green and ever fair
With vows are offered and with solemn prayer;
A hundred altars in her temple smoke,
A thousand bleeding hearts her power invoke.

Such, from beginning to end, with scarcely the exception of a single line, is Dryden's translation of the *Eneis*,—"the most noble and spirited translation," says Pope, "which I know in any language,"—that translation, whose very announcement, we are informed by Sir W. Scott, (see his life of Dryden,) put all literary England into a ferment of expectation—that translation which Johnson tells us, "satisfied Dryden's friends, and for the most part silenced his enemies"—that translation which, up to the present day, is the only recognised representative at the court of English Literature, of the sweet, modest, elegant, and always correct muse of Virgil.

V. 107. *Furit æstus arenis*.—*Æstus*; Germanicè, *die Brandung*. The English language possesses no corresponding term.

V. 111. *In brevia et syrtes urget, i. e. in brevia syrtium*. See *En.* v. 220: *In scopulo alto brevibusque vadis*.

V. 116. *Ast illam ter fluctus ibidem, &c.*

“Tre volte il fe’ girar con tutte l’acque ;
 Alla quarta levar la poppa in suso,
 E la prora ire in giu, com’ altrui piacque,
 Infìn che l’ mar fu sopra noi richiuso.

Dante, *Infern.* xxvi. 139.

V. 126. *Alto prospiciens*.—As the adjective *altus* signifies properly neither *height* nor *depth*, but *perpendicular distance*, which may be either *upwards* (*suspiciens altam Lunam*, *En.* ix. 403,) *downwards* (*alta theatris Fundamenta*, i. 427,) or *horizontally inwards* (*Portu se condidit alto*, v. 243); so *altum* taken substantively, and applied to the sea, is properly neither the *high sea* (*i. e.* the sea considered solely in respect of the height of its surface *above its bottom*, or, adopting the idea explained in commentary on *Prona petit maria*, *En.* v. 212, *above the shore or land*,) nor the *deep sea* (*i. e.* the sea considered solely in reference to the *depth of its bottom below the surface*,) but (if I may invent a term where the English language possesses none,) the *deep-height* or the *high-deep*, *i. e.* the sea considered in reference to the *perpendicular distance between its two surfaces*. In numerous instances where (as *En.* i. 3. iii. 11,) there is no occasion that the reader should be specially informed of the *depth* of the water below the surface, or where the idea suggested to the mind should be that of *height*, (in the passage before us, *height from which a view might be taken*,) this interpretation (*viz.* *high-deep*,) will, I think, be found to accord better with the context than the ordinarily received interpretation *the deep*.

In his gloss on this passage, Heyne, contrary to his wont, has gone a step beyond other commentators in the wrong direction, and rendered *alto* not merely *the deep*, but the *very bottom*, “*alto prospiciens, e fundo maris in quo regia dei est*,”—*taking a view from the bottom of the sea!*

In confirmation of the above interpretation of *Altum* as applied to the sea, I may observe that, unless in this word, the Romans possessed no term for the idea which modern nations express by the terms, *high sea, high water, high flood, high tide, high river, das hohe Meer, die hohe See, &c.*

V. 127. *Placidum caput*.—Not “*placidum Trojanis*” (Schirach), because Neptune (see next verse) had raised his head *placidum* from the water before he became aware that the Trojans were suffering from the storm; but *placidum, because*

he was about to still or make placid the waves; the gods, according to the opinion of the ancients, always assuming a countenance corresponding to the work in which they are engaged, placid if it be a work of peace, turbid if the contrary.

Compare "*Vultu quo cælum tempestatesque serenat,*" (i. 255.) *Hæc ubi dicta dedit terras horrenda petivit,* (vii. 323.)

V. 146. *Vastas aperit syrtes.*—All the commentators and translators adopt Heyne's interpretation of this passage, "*via ex arenosis vadis facta, ut naves exire possent;—refer ad tres naves,*" (vv. 110, 111.) But the addition of *vastas* to *syrtes* shows plainly that the action of *aperit* is not merely on that part of the *syrtes* where the three ships were imbedded, but on the *vast* *syrtes*, or the *syrtes* generally. I therefore take the meaning to be, that the god opened the *syrtes*, *i. e.* made them "*apertas,*" open or safe for ships, by levelling them where they had been raised into partial inequalities by the storm, and by spreading the water evenly upon them of such depth that vessels could sail over them without danger: the three imbedded ships were thus set afloat again. *Vastas aperit syrtes*, so understood, harmonises well with *temperat æquor*; for the sea ceased to break on the *syrtes* when they were levelled and deeply covered by the water. It is probable that *apertas* was the term ordinarily applied by seafaring men to express the safe state of the *syrtes*, or that state in which they were covered by water of depth sufficient for vessels to sail in. The same term is applied to the sea itself, both in our language and in Latin; *Aperto mari navigare.* (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 1, 2. c. 46.) The poet, having stated the precise manner in which the god removed the other three ships from the rocks, judiciously avoids a similar particularity of description with respect to those which had been imbedded in the sand, leaving his reader to conclude that the ships were not neglected, when the shoals, in which they were imbedded, were made open and navigable. The account which Sallust (*Bell. Jugurth.* c. 80,) gives of the *syrtes*, goes to confirm this explanation—"duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa impares magnitudine, pari natura: quorum proxima terræ præalta sunt; cætera, uti fors tulit, alta; alia in tempestate vadosa: nam ubi mare magnum esse et sævire cæpit ventis, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt; ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur: Syrtes ab tractu nominatæ." Sallust's account of the *Syrtes*, dressed in poeti-

cal language, becomes Virgil's; and Virgil's turned into plain prose, becomes Sallust's. The historian describes the winds and waves as rendering the Syrtes now *vadosas*, now *altas*; while the poet ascribes the same effect to the agency of Eurus and Neptune, the former of whom *illidit* (*naves viz.*) *vadis, atque aggere cingit arenæ*, i. e. makes the Syrtes *vadosas*, and dashes the ships upon them; the latter *aperit syrtes*, i. e. makes the *vadosas*, (the shallow and impassable, and therefore, closed) *altas*, (deep and passable, and therefore, open, *apertas*) and thus frees and sets afloat the ships. Our author makes a precisely similar use of *aperio*, (*En.* x. 13,) *Exitium magnum atque Alpes immittet apertas*; and thus we come round to that very common phrase, and use of the verb *aperio*, *apertus campus*.

V. 150. *Furor arma ministrat*.—Quod cuique repertum, Rimanti telum ira facit, (*En.* vii. 507).

V. 161. *Sinus reductos*.—As it is impossible for a wave to cut itself (*scindere sese*) except into parts of itself, *sinus* must be, (not as understood by some commentators and translators, *sinus litoris*, but) as rightly understood by Heyne, *sinus undæ*, viz. the hollows or *sinuosities* into which the wave cuts itself on the projections of the island. Heyne is, however, as I think, widely astray in his interpretation of *reductos*, which expresses, not the reflux of the wave, but the depth or concavity of the *sinus* which is formed in the wave by the island; or, to make my meaning more clear, that part of the wave which is opposite to the island, is held back by the obstacle which the island opposes to its progress, while those parts of it which are on the right and left of the island proceed uninterruptedly onwards towards the mainland. The even parallel line of the wave is thus broken and formed into an arch or sinus, the concavity of which is at the island, and the cornua of which extend on both sides past the island towards the mainland. The word *reductos*, expresses as clearly as possible the effect of the island to draw or keep back that part of the wave which is opposite to it, and thus forms a sinus. It is used in a similar sense in the following passages. *Reductâ valle*, *En.* vi. 703. *Reductis alis constiterant*, Liv. xxii. 47. *Ut qui singulis pinxerunt coloribus, alia tamen eminentiora, alia reductioniora fecerunt*, sine quo ne membris quidem suas lineas dedissent, Quintil. *Instit.* xi. 3, 46: in all which instances *reductus* is used adjectively, and signifies the backward position of an object or part of an

object, in comparison with the prominent or forward position of another object, or different part of the same object.

V. 164. *Æquora tuta silent*.—The commentators understand *tuta* in its passive sense, of *being safe or protected*, viz. *ipsa æquora*; “a ventorum vi defensa,”—Forbiger; “als particip. passiv. *gesichert*”—Thiel. But, 1st, It were foreign to his subject, and little short of puerile in Virgil, thus to assign a reason for the silence of the sea within the cove. 2dly, This is not the meaning of *æquora tuta*, where it occurs again, *En. v. 171*. I therefore understand *tuta* to be here taken, if I may so say, *actively*; and to mean, as in *En. v. 171*, (and in Nepos, *The-mist. c. 2*, “*Prædones maritimos consecando mare-tutum reddidit*,”) *safe for ships*. So understood, *tuta* is not only in the best harmony with Virgil’s subject, and especially with lines 168, 169, but with its own verb; *the sea was not merely safe for ships, but so safe for ships as to be even silent*.

V. 176. *Rapuitque in fomite flammam*.—*Rapio* is here used, not in its secondary, or derived, and most common sense, *to rap, snatch, or seize*, but in its original and more abstract sense of *hurrying, or performing with rapidity, the act* (of whatever kind,) *indicated by the context*; as in Seneca (*Hippol. 962*.)

Qui sparsa cito sidera mundo
Cursusque vagos rapis astrorum.

V. 178. *Fessi rerum*.—Not simply wearied, but *fessi, wearied*; *rerum, of their condition, of the world*.

V. 180. *Eneas scopulum, &c.*

Up to a hill anon his steps he reared,
From whose high top to ken the prospect round,
If cottage were in view, sheep-cote or herd;
But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote none he saw,
Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,
With chaunt of tuneful birds resounding loud.

Par. Reg. b. ii.

V. 181. *Anthea si quem*.—Neither *quendam Anthea*, nor (with Wagner) “*si forte quem eorum qui amissi videbantur ut Anthea aut Capyn videat*,” but simply *aliquem Anthea*. The expression is perfectly English; “*If by chance he might see any Antheus or any Capys, &c.* Compare verse 321, “*mearum si quam sororum*,” i. e. *si quam (aliquam) sororem meam*.

V. 196. *Heros dividit*, &c.—*Heros* belongs to *dividit*, not to *dederat*, because, first, if it belong to *dederat*, the long series of verbs, *videat*, *prospicit*, *constitit*, *corripuit*, *sternit*, *miscet*, *absistit*, *fundat*, *cœquet*, *petit*, *partitur*, *dividit*, *mulcet*, being left wholly without a nominative, the attention is directed rather to the acts themselves than to the actor; which cannot be supposed to have been the intention of the poet, the actor being no less a person than the hero of the poem. 2dly, *Dederat*, inasmuch as it is joined by the conjunction to *onerarat*, shares its nominative, *bonus Acestes*, and has no occasion for any other. 3dly, In the accurate language of Virgil, (see *En.* II. 552,) *heros* applied to *dederat*, in addition to its other nominative, would imply that there was something peculiarly heroic in Acestes giving the wine, which yet was not the fact. 4thly, It would have been rather derogatory to the hero of his poem, if Virgil had thus unnecessarily applied the term *heros* to so very unimportant and secondary a personage as Acestes, at the very moment when he was leaving Eneas without any appellative, or even so much as a bare mention of his name. 5thly, *Heros* placed just before the last of the long series of verbs descriptive of the acts of Eneas, draws back the attention, and places it on the hero of the poem even more powerfully than if it had been placed at the beginning of the series. 6thly, and principally, because it is Virgil's wont thus to draw back the attention to the subject of his sentence, either by the proper name itself, or a new appellative placed towards the close of the sentence and immediately before the verb. See Comment. on *Inscia Dido*, verse 718.

V. 214. *Fusique per herbam*.—Fusi, not *scattered*, but *laid at ease*.

Tu modo fusus humi lucem aversaris iniquam.

Stat. *Silv.* II. 1. 170.

Forte Venus

Densa sidereos per gramina fuderat artus

Acclinis florum cumulo.

Claud. *Epith. Pall. et Celerinæ*, vers. 1.

See also Claudian, *ibid.* vers. 35. There is no distributive power in the sentence except what is feebly possessed by the word *per*. Compare *Fundat humi*, verse 193.

V. 223. *Quum Jupiter*, &c.—For Spenser's imitation of this passage, and of Mercury's descent from heaven, see his *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, vers. 1225, and seq. The whole of the interview between Jupiter and Venus has been also copied and greatly amplified by Camoens, *Lusiad.* II. 33.

V. 225. *Sic vertice cæli*.—Sic, i. e. sic despiciens. Compare (*Evang. sec. Johan.* IV. 6,) "Jesus ergo fatigatus ex itinere sedebat sic (i. e. sic fatigatus) supra fontem."

V. 225*. *Vertice cæli*.—*The highest part*, or *arx*, of heaven; where (viz. because the palace of the earthly king was always seated on the *arx* of the city, see *En.* II. 760; 2 Samuel, v. 9,) the poets, necessarily taking their notions of heavenly, from the corresponding earthly objects, placed the palace of the gods. See Comment. *En.* I. 250.

V. 228. *Tristior et lacrymis oculos suffusa nitentes*.—Scarcely less beautiful are the words in which Dante causes Virgil's shade to describe the weeping regard of Beatrice:

Gli occhi lucenti lagrimando volse.

Infern. II. 116.

V. 244. *Fontem superare Timavi*.—"Restat ut hoc moneamus, *fontem Timavi* h. l. pro ipso *Timavo* dici." Heyne, *Exc.* 7, ad *En.* 1. But if *fontem Timavi* signify *ipsum* (viz. *fluvium*) *Timavum*, *unde* must be equivalent to *ex quo fluvio Timavo*; and how it is possible to render *ex quo fluvio Timavo it mare proruptum, et pel. pr. ar. son.*, so that it shall not be downright nonsense, I cannot perceive. *Unde—it.* "Hinc ille it." Heyne, *ibid.* But *ille* must refer either to *fontem Timavi*, or *Timavi*; if to the former, the sentence *fontem superare Timavi unde ille* (viz. *fons Timavi*) *it*, is nonsense, whether *Fons Timavi* be understood in its simple and literal meaning, or, with Heyne, as equivalent to *fluvius Timavus*; if to the latter, the structure contradicts the Latin idiom, which requires the pronoun to be supplied from the whole, not from a portion of the preceding subject, and in conformity with which, it is impossible to doubt that Virgil (if he had intended to express that the *fluvius Timavus* issued from the fountain,) would have written *fontem superare unde Timavus it*, as *Georg.* IV. 368, *Caput unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus*.

Mare proruptum—"ad maris speciem, magnos fluctus vol-

ventis." Heyne, *ibid.* But, 1st, *mare proruptum* were a most extravagant metaphor to apply to a river admitted by Heyne himself to have been no more than one thousand yards long. 2dly, To repeat (unnecessarily, too) in *pelago* the same metaphor which he had used in *mare proruptum* in the very same line, were altogether repugnant to the good taste and the practice of Virgil. 3dly, If this interpretation be correct, *pelago premit arva sonanti* is little more than a mere tautology of *it mare proruptum*. All these difficulties, or, to speak more correctly, all these absurdities, may be got rid of, by entirely throwing away the interpretations of the commentators, and translating the sentence according to the plain and natural construction, and the literal meaning of the words. *Fontem superare Timavi, unde, (viz. ex quo fonte Timavi) mare proruptum it, (viz. se prorumpit; compare Georg. iv. 368,) et pel. pr. arv. son.* Or, in plain prose:—the sea communicates subterraneously with, and bursts out through, the fountain of Timavus, making a roaring noise, and deluging the fields, (*pelago*) with the salt water. Understanding the passage thus, we not only give to *fontem Timavi*, and *mare proruptum*, their plain and literal meaning, and to the verb *it* the nominative, with which Virgil (as if to prevent all possibility of mistake) has placed it in immediate juxta-position, but obtain an explanation why Antenor is said to have passed not the *river*, but the *fountain* Timavus, viz., because it was not the river which was the remarkable object, but the fountain, out of which the sea used (probably in certain states only of the wind and tide) to burst with a roaring noise. I cannot comprehend how so acute a scholar as Heyne should not only have been aware of a subterranean communication between the sea and the fountain of Timavus, (see his *Exc. 7, ad En. i.*) but have actually described (*ibid.*) the bursting out of the sea through the fountain, and yet not have perceived that this very bursting out of the sea through the fountain, was the one essential thing which Virgil wished to place before the reader. I may add, that the observation of the fact of the salt or sea water issuing from the fountain, and flowing down the course of the river, so as apparently to supply a source to the sea itself, affords a much more probable origin of the ancient term *μητρὶς θαλάττης*, and its modern translation, *La madre del mare*, applied by the inhabitants to the *fons Timavi*, than any supposed resemblance to a sea, which its

breadth, rapidity, or roaring noise, may have conferred on the river Timavus.

The preceding interpretation, deduced from the actual words and grammatical construction, is abundantly confirmed by the ocular testimony of Cluverius. “Ceterum de natura septem fontium (Timavi viz.) ita tradentem supra audivimus Strabonem; Πηγὰς ἔχει ζ πότιμα ὕδατος. Πολύβιος δ’ εἶρηκε πλὴν μιᾶς τὰς ἄλλας ἀλμύρας ὕδατος.

Utrumque verum est diversi temporis respectu; quippe quum omnis hic tractus inter mare et Frigidum amnem unum perpetuumque sit saxum, [‘Hohle Kalkfelsen, die die schönsten und wunderbarsten Grotten bilden:’ Schlözer, (who was on the spot in the year 1777,) Briefwechesel II. Theil. p. 340, Göttingen, 1778,] innumeris passim altissimisque antris perforatum, cuniculi quidam a colle saxeo, qui septem Timavi fontibus imminet, ad proximi maris vada pertingunt, per quos incrementum patitur atque decrementum Timavus ex adfluxu refluxuque ejusdem maris; ita ut lenis sine ullo majore strepitu atque mansuetus dulcibus suis aquis per complures fauces defluat amnis ubi mare subsedit ac procul recessit; quam primum vero idem mare æstu suo intumuit, tanto cum impetu prædictis cuniculis infertur fontibusque Timavi permiscetur, ut ingenti cum fragore ac veluti mugitu saxei montis per complura illa spatiosa ora prorumpat, jamque alveo Timavi contineri nequeat, sed adjacentia prata, per quæ ad ostium tendit amnis, longe lateque sæpius inundet, pelagique in speciem plane contegat.....Hinc *magnum* appellavit Timavum Virgilius in *Eclog.* VIII.....Hinc item *æquoreum* dixit amnem Ausonius, in carmine de claris urbibus,² “æquoreo non plenior amne Timavus.”.....Tantâ copiâ quum fontibus Timavi permisceatur mare, horum omnium aquas salsedine suâ inficit, impotabilesque reddit, excepto uno quem omnium maximum apud ipsum divi Johannis delubrum erumpere dixi. *Hæc quum ipse egomet*

² If it be alleged that Ausonius may possibly have used the word *æquoreus* in the sense of *resembling the sea in copiousness*, not in *saltiness*, I beg to say that I am not aware that *æquoreus* has ever been used in the former sense, while, on the contrary, its use in the latter is placed beyond doubt by that passage in the *Pharsalia*, Lib. VIII.

where Lucan, speaking of the sea water used to extinguish Pompey’s funeral pyre, says,—

————— Resolutaque nondum
Ossa satis, nervis et inustis plena
medullis,
Æquoreâ restinguunt aquâ.

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coram probe expertus sim, audacter eos redarguere liceat, qui dulcibus perpetuo permanere omnibus fontibus aquas etiam mari cum maxime æstuante, docent.”—*Ital. Antiq.* i. 20.

V. 244. *Fontem...ora*.—*Fontem*, the spring or source; *ora*, the mouths which give issue to it, and through which occasionally (see preceding comment) the sea itself also bursts. These *ora* are (as described by Schlözer, *ubi supra*, from actual observation,) *holes* in the limestone rock which forms the substratum of this whole district of Carniola. “Da nun hier die See immer zunimmt, so findet der ganze Timavus beinahe keinen Abfluss mehr, und das Wasser fängt schon gleich bei seiner Entstehung an zu stehen, zumal in trocknen Zeiten, wo nur die untern *Löcher* der Felsen Wasser geben. Es sind der *Löcher* mehr als sieben.....Einige haben eine ungeheure Tiefe, andre nicht.” No word could have been better chosen than *ora* to express accurately, and at the same time poetically, these *Löcher* or holes in the rock.

Claudian's “*Stagna Timavi*” are, as I think is sufficiently shown by the adjoined *numerantur* (“Phrygii numerantur stagna Timavi,” Paneg. de tertio consulat. Honorii), neither more nor less than Virgil's *ora* Timavi, and Schlözer's *Löcher*; holes full of water, and, according to circumstances, overflowing more or less.

From the former part of Schlözer's observation, it seems not improbable that the Fons Timavi, already so much changed, and no longer (as I collect from the silence of observers since the time of Cluverius, or at least since that of Kircher,) communicating subterraneously with the sea, will, in the lapse of a few more centuries, have altogether ceased to exist.

For an account of the respective positions and names of the seven *ora* Timavi, as they existed in the year 1689, see Valvasor; *Ehre des Herzogthum's Krain*, Fol. Laybach 1689, b. II. c. 66, and b. IV. c. 44.

V. 245. *Vasto cum murmure montis pelago sonanti*.—Two noises are here accurately distinguished: (a) *the ground murmur*, or sound of the water rushing under the rocks and through their *ora* or apertures, (a sound exactly corresponding to, and expressed by, the self-same words as that of the winds roaring about the claustra of the Eolian hall, vers. 55,) and (b) *the resounding of the waves of the flood with which the eruption of the sea through the ora had covered the cultivated fields*.

V. 246. *Arva*.—The word *arva*, signifying *cultivated fields*, (compare *En.* II. 209,) goes to establish the argument (*Comment.* *En.* I. 244,) that the description is not of the permanent, but only of the occasional state of the river (or more properly the stream) Timavus, viz. of that state which would be produced by the eruption of the sea through the spring.

V. 250. *Cæli...arcem*.—Not *the high place*, viz. *heaven*, but *the high place*, or *high part* or *citadel*, of *heaven*; where, as appears from Ovid, the poets located the palace of the superior gods.

Quæ pater ut summâ vidit Saturnius arce,

* * * * *

Dextrâ lævâque Deorum

Atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis.

Plebs habitant diversa locis. A fronte potentes

Cælicolæ, clarique, suos posuere Penates.

Hic locus est, quem, si verbis audacia detur,

Haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia cæli.

Metam. I. 163.

See *Comment.* *En.* I. 225.

V. 255. *Vultu quo cælum tempestatesque serenat*; see *Comment.* *En.* I. 127.—There is a representation of Jupiter Serenus, with the inscription “Jovi Sereno sacr.,” on an ancient lamp in the Passerian Museum. It is stated by Passerius (I know not how truly,) to be the only ancient representation of Jupiter Serenus in existence. See *Lucernæ Fictiles Musæi Passerii* (3 tom. fol. Pisauri 1739) tom. I. Tab. 33. It is highly probable that the words of the text allude to some such representation of Jupiter Serenus actually existing, and well known, in the time of Virgil.

V. 292. *Cana Fides et Vesta*, &c.—The simple meaning is, *that men, ceasing from war, shall live as they did in the good old times, when they obeyed the precepts of Fides, Vesta, and Remus and Romulus*. [See next note.] It is sufficiently evident from *Georg.* I. 498, II. 533, that the deities here mentioned were specially associated in the Roman mythology with that primitive epoch of the national history, to which the Romans (sharing a feeling common to all civilised nations that have ever existed,) loved to look back as an epoch of peace and innocence; for this reason and no other are they specified as the gods of the returning golden age here announced by Jupiter. I am unwilling so far to derogate from the dignity of this sentiment, as to suppose,

with Heyne, that it contains an allusion to the trivial circumstance of the temples of Fides, Vesta, and Remus and Romulus being seated on the Palatine hill near the palace of Augustus; nor do I think it necessary to discuss the opinion advanced by the late Mr. Seward, and preserved by Hayley, in one of the notes to his second Epistle on Epic Poetry, that the meaning is, *that civil and criminal justice shall be administered in those temples*, that opinion being based on the erroneous interpretation of *jura dabunt*, pointed out in Comm., vers. 293.

The whole of this enunciation of the fates by Jupiter is one magnificent strain of adulation of Augustus. A similar adulation, although somewhat more disguised, is plainly to be read in every word of Venus's complaint to Jupiter, and in the very circumstance of the interview between the queen of love and beauty and the *Pater hominumque deûmque*; that interview having for its sole object the fortunes of Eneas, Augustus's ancestor, and the foundation by him of that great Roman empire, of which Augustus was now the absolute master and head. Nor is the adulation of Augustus confined to those parts of the Eneis, in which, as in the passages before us, there is reference to him by name or distinct allusion; it pervades the whole poem from beginning to end; and could not have been least pleasing to a person of so refined a taste where it is least direct, and where the praise is bestowed, not upon himself, but upon that famous goddess-born ancestor, from whom it was his greatest pride and boast that he was descended. Not that I suppose, with Warburton and Spence, either that the character of Augustus is adumbrated in that of Eneas, or that the Eneis is a political poem, having for its object to reconcile the Roman nation to the newly settled order of things; on the contrary, I agree with Heyne that there are no sufficient grounds for either of these opinions, and that they are each of them totally inconsistent with the boldness and freedom necessary to a great epic. But, nevertheless, without going so far as Warburton or Spence, I am certainly of opinion that Virgil wrote the Eneis in honour of Augustus: that he selected Eneas for his hero, chiefly because, as Augustus's reputed ancestor, and the first founder of the Roman empire, his praises would redound more to the honour of, and therefore be more grateful to, Augustus, than those of any other hero with which the heroic age could have furnished him; and still further, that he not only purposely abstained

from introducing topics which might have been disagreeable to the feelings, or derogatory to the reputation, of Augustus, but also seized every opportunity of giving such tendency and direction to his story, and illustrating it with such allusions as he judged would be best received by him, and shed most honour and glory upon his name. Nor let this be called mere adulation: call it rather the heartfelt gratitude of the partial poet towards his munificent friend and patron, and the fulfilment and realization of his allegorical promise to build a magnificent temple to him by Mincius' side,

— *viridi in campo templum de marmore ponant*
Propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius, et tenerâ prætexit arundine ripas.
In medio mihi Cesar erit, templumque tenebit.

Georg. III. 13-39.

V. 293. *Jura dabunt*.—*Jura dare* is, primarily, *to make and impose laws, to perform the function of lawgiver*, and, therefore, secondarily, *to rule*—Cesar dum magnus . . . victor . . . volentes Per populos dat jura.—*Georg.* IV. 560. Hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur,—*En.* I. 731. See also *En.* III. 137; V. 758; VIII. 670, &c.

It is surprising that Heyne, having correctly interpreted *jura dabunt* in the passage before us, by *præerunt*, should afterwards, at line 507, fall into the common error, and confound *jura dare* with *jus dicere*, the meaning of which is *to expound, explain, or lay down what the law is, to perform the office of a judge, to administer justice*. Ea res a Volcatio qui Romæ jus dicit, rejecta in Galliam est,—*Cicer. Fam. Epist.* 13, 14. Appius . . . quam asperrime poterat jus de creditis pecuniis dicere,—*Liv.* II. 27. Ipse jus dixit assidue, et in noctem nonnumquam: si parum corpore valeret, lecticâ pro tribunali collocatâ, vel etiam domi cubans,—*Suet. in Aug.* c. 33. I think also that Heyne confines *jura dabunt* within too narrow limits by subjoining *imperio Romano*; and that he should have used some more comprehensive term, such as *hominibus*, or *populis*, or *gentibus*, which would better harmonize with the wide extent of the term *sæcula*, and with the general spirit of the prophecy, that the peace was to be universal, to extend over the whole world.

V. 293.* ——— *Diræ ferro et compagibus arctis*
Claudentur belli portæ—

Heyne has set his seal to the following, which is the univer-

sally received, interpretation of this passage ; [belli] *porta dira*, quia dei diri et abominandi, *clauditur ferro et compagibus arctis*, seu vinculis, h. e. foribus serratis. (Excurs. 9. ad En. 1.) It seems almost incredible that neither Heyne nor any of the other commentators should have perceived that this interpretation is not only inconsistent with the well known meaning of the word *compages*, but with the plain and obvious structure of the sentence, and with the fairly presumable intention of Virgil. 1st, With the well known meaning of *compages*, which is not *bolts* or *other fastenings*, but *the conjunction or colligation of the parts of which a compound object is compacted or put together*, as of the stones or bricks of a wall, (Lucan, III. 491); of the planks of a ship (En. I. 122), or other wooden building, ex. gr. the wooden horse, (En. II. 51); or of the organs constituting an animal body, (Cic. de Senect. c. 21); or of the several constituent parts of which an empire, (Tacit. Hist. IV. 74,) or the world itself (Aul. Gell. VI. 1,) consists. This is the only meaning which the word *compages* has either in the Latin language, or in the English, into which it has been adopted from the Latin. 2dly, The received interpretation is inconsistent with the plain and obvious structure, according to which *ferro et compagibus* is connected with *diræ*, not with *claudentur*, in the same way as *ore cruento* at the close of the sentence is connected with *horridus*, not with *fremet*. It is impossible for the reader or reciter to separate *ferro et compagibus arctis* from *diræ*, or *ore cruento* from *horridus*, without making, at *diræ* and *horridus*, pauses very disagreeable both to the ear and sense. So also, in the sentence *ora modis attollens pallida miris*, (vers. 354,) *modis miris* is joined with *pallida*, not with *attollens*, as is proved by the corresponding sentence, *Georg. I. 477, Simulacra modis pallentia miris*. See note, vers. 637. Pliny uses *diræ* in precisely the same construction, (B. v. c. 4,) *Sinus vadoso mari dirus*. 3dly, Even if it were admitted (which, however, I cannot admit,) that *compages* might, in another situation, mean *the bolts or fastenings of a gate*, still we must, in justice to the *ars poetica* of Virgil, refer it in this situation to *the structure of the gate itself*, because it would have been highly incorrect and unpoetical to lay so great a stress on the mere circumstance of the *fastenings of the gate being of iron*, since it appears not only from the celebrated line of Ennius, quoted by Horace, but from Virgil's own *Belli ferratos rupit Saturnia postes* (En. VII. 622,) that *the gate itself* was

iron ; it is incredible that Virgil should have presented us with the minor picture of the *iron fastenings*, and wholly omitted the greater picture of the *iron gate*. The structure, therefore, is *diræ compagibus arctis ferri*, and these words are the description of the gate itself: *diræ* expressing the effect which its appearance produced on the mind; *ferro* informing us that its material was iron; *compagibus*, that it consisted of several pieces adapted to each other; and *arctis*, that those pieces were closely joined or compacted together; for, as appears from *En.* i. 122, closeness does not form an essential part of the ideas expressed by *compages*. It will further be observed, that the emphasis (which by the received interpretation is thrown upon the fastenings of the gate) is by this mode of rendering the passage, thrown upon *claudentur*, the really emphatic word, as containing the principal idea, the *closing* of the temple of Janus in the time of universal peace.

Exactly parallel to *ferro et compagibus arctis*, we have (*En.* ii. 627,) *ferro crebrisque bipennibus*, for *crebris bipennibus ferri*.

The turn given by Voltaire to this passage, in his application of it to Elizabeth, Queen of England, is as happy as it is truly French:

Quel exemple pour vos, monarques de la terre !
Une femme a fermé les portes de la guerre,
Et renvoyant chez vous la discorde et l'horreur,
D'un peuple qui l'adore elle a fait le bonheur.

Henriade, c. i.

V. 300. *Volat ille, &c.*

Down thither prone in flight
He speeds, and through the vast etherial sky
Sails between worlds and worlds, with steady wing.

Par. Lost, v. 266.

V. 301. *Remigio alarum.*

Ὅδε πρὸς θυμέλας ἄλλος ἐρέσσει
Κύκνος.—Eurip. *Ion*. 161.

V. 313. *Bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro*.—Lexicographers, commentators, and translators, with one consent understand *crispans*, not only here, but in the 12th Book, vers. 165, (where this whole line is repeated and applied to Turnus,) to mean brandishing; (“quassando et vibrando micare faciens.” Forcellini.) But, 1st, no example whatever has been produced of the use of the term elsewhere in this sense; and, 2dly, both

Eneas here, and Turnus in the 12th Book, are represented as peacefully engaged, (the one setting out to explore the country, the other to ratify a solemn truce,) and, therefore, could not be either poetically or pictorially drawn, *brandishing their javelins*. Let us therefore, setting aside this interpretation, seek for one which shall accord better, not only with the use made of the term by other writers, but with the Virgilian context, both here and *En. xii. 165*.

Now *crispare*, according to the use of all other Latin writers, is to *crisp* or *curl*, i. e. *to bend or fold an object upon itself in the manner in which a hair is bent upon itself in the operation of crimping or curling*; and *crispus* describes the *crisped or curled condition of such an object*. *Sanguine pulli bubonis crispari capillum*, (Plin. xxix. 4.) *Ingeminat tremulos naso crispante cachinnos*, (Persius, III. 87): the nose, crimping, wrinkling, or curling upon itself, in the expression of contempt. “*Alma novo crispans pelagus Tithonia Phœbo*,” (Valer. Flacc. i. 311,) *crisps* or *curls the sea*, produces that *wrinkling* of the water’s surface which the Italians, preserving the Latin term, call *increspatura* (“*Il mare s’increspa al levar del sole*,”) which Milton, following the Italian example, calls *crisping*:

“ — the *crisped* brooks

Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold.”

Parad. Lost, iv. 237.

And which more ordinary English writers denominate *curling*. “There is not a breath the blue wave to *curl*.” “*Crispum sub crotalo docta movere latus*” (Copa, vers. 2,) *to move the flank crisped or curled upon itself*, i. e. to bend the flank so as to bring the shoulder towards the hip, or the hip towards the shoulder, in the manner of the castagnette or tambourin dancer; for a use somewhat similar to which of the English *curl*, see Pope’s *Alexander’s Feast*.

Accordingly, in the passage before us, *crispare manu hastilia* (equivalent to the prosaic *crispare manum in hastilia*) is to *crisp* or *curl* the hand so as to close or clench it upon the spears; *to clench the spears in the hand*; an interpretation which, rendered probable by its perfect accordance not only with the general meaning of the term *crispare*, but with the Virgilian context both here and in the 12th Book, seems to be placed beyond all doubt, by the use which the French make of this very term

to express this very idea. “On établissait également que les cheveux trouvés entre *les doigts crespés* de la duchesse et dans la mare de sang ou gisait son corps étaient précisément de la même couleur et de la même longueur que ceux de son mari.”—Account of the murder of the Duchess de Choiseul-Prâslin by her husband, in the “Gazette des Tribunaux,” Paris, Aug. 20, 1847. And again, in the account given of the same murder by “Le Droit,” same date:—“*Les doigts de la main gauche* de la duchesse étaient *crespés*, et retenaient quelques cheveux du meurtrier, arrachés dans cette horrible lutte.”

V. 314. *Cui mater*, &c.—Compare the admirable conciseness of this exquisite picture with the (dare I say? tedious,) diffuseness of the Spenserian copy.—*Faerie Queene*, II. 3, 31, and seq.

V. 317. *Prævertitur Hebrum*.—The arguments of Wakefield and Wagner (ad locum,) and of the former ad Lucret. I. 1003, decide me in favour of the received reading, *Hebrum*, and against *Eurum*, the reading proposed by Huetius and Rutgersius, and adopted by Heyne.

V. 320. *Nuda genu*, &c.

Each maiden's short barbaric vest
Left all unclosed the knee and breast
And limbs of shapely jet ;

.

A quiver on their shoulders lay.

Bridal of Triermain.

V. 335. *Haud equidem tali me dignor honore*.—Not referring specially to *Multa tibi ante aras*, &c., but generally to the whole of Eneas's speech, ascribing divinity to her.

V. 339. *Genus intractabile bello*.—I am decided by the so similar phrase, *genus insuperabile bello* (*En.* IV. 40,) applied to the *Gætulæ urbes*, to take part with Heyne against Wagner, and refer *genus intractabile bello*, not to *Carthage*, but to the immediately preceding, *fines Libyci*.

V. 349. *Ante aras Clam ferro incautum superat*.—So (*En.* III. 332,) “Orestes Excipit incautum (Pyrrhum viz.) patriasque obtruncat ad aras.”

(*To be continued.*)

V.

REMARKS ON THE REVIEW OF PROFESSOR T. H. KEY'S
LATIN GRAMMAR IN THE *CLASSICAL MUSEUM*, VOL.
V. PART XV. P. 109-120.

[The following remarks were written immediately after the publication of the review of Professor Key's Grammar, and would have appeared in No. xvi. of this Journal, but they were unfortunately mislaid, and have not come to hand again till very recently. This must account for the delay in their publication.—Ed.]

P. 110.—“Seven pages (assigned) to word-building.”—Say rather 150, seeing that the heading “word-building” is the general heading to which every subsequent heading down to the syntax is subordinate.

P. 111.—“Orthography not consistent.”—Of course not, as authors of *different* ages and habits are quoted. The object was to give to each his own orthography; thus *optumus* to Cicero, *optimus* to Cæsar.

P. 111.—“The tendency is to conceal from the pupils the words in the form in which the best editions present them.”—On the contrary, it will be found that the orthography of the best editions agrees with mine, and this on the showing of G. F. himself. For example, he refers me more than once to Wagner's Virgil, and would fain be guided by Alschefski's Livy. I open the latter at random, and find in the compass of three chapters, XXII. cc. 6, 7, 8, *contio*, *nequiquam*, *milia*, *nuntiare*, *consolantis*, *gratulantis*, *tris*, (all accusatives,) *maestus*, &c., all of which G. F. would probably object to in the Grammar, as he has in fact objected to three of them. In Wagner's Virgil *nequiquam* is also adopted on the authority of the MSS. Then again for Cicero; I suppose Wunder's *Pro Plancio* will be accepted as a specimen of the best editions. This has again and again *haut*, *set*, *illut*, *viciens*, &c. In short, I have always endeavoured to give the authority of the Augustan age, following for instance the inscriptions of that period, as the Monumentum Ancyranum, &c. What G. F. has called archaic, are the very forms then in use, the very forms supported by Cicero's authority. As regards *contio* in particular, I may observe that

it is a corruption of *conventio* or *coventio*, which, in the oldest specimen of the Latin tongue, actually occurs in the sense of *a general meeting of the people*. If he wishes the authority of MSS., let him look to Sprengel's edition of Varro's *De Lingua Latina*. This editor takes great pains with his text, and always gives in the notes an account of the MSS. when they disagree from his text. Now he, like G. F., had a fancy for *concio*, which stands every where in his text, but as invariably the notes give "MSS. *contio*." Moreover, I support *contio*, if only to destroy the ludicrous etymology which would derive it from *con* and the verb *cio*, as though we had any right to avail ourselves of the first person of a verb in derivation, and as though the *n* of *contionis*, &c. could be neglected.

P. 112.—"The first person ending in *om*,"—"the analogy of *am* we cannot admit,"—"from premises so limited."—"The Greek verb," &c.—Strangely enough it happens that the Greek tongue affords the *strongest* support to my views. If we examine the middle or passive forms, *τύπτομαι, τύπτεσαι, τύπτεται, . . . τύπτονται*, we soon discover that *αι* is the distinctive characteristic of the voice, but this leaves us *τυπτομ, τυπτες, τυπτετ, . . . τυπτοντ*, which agree wonderfully with the conjugation of a Latin verb, and speak decidedly in favour of a present first person in *om*, *scribom*. But G. F. perhaps believes the gulf between verbs in *ω* and verbs in *μ* to be impassable. All doubt seems to be removed by the optative *τύπτοιμι, &c.* Moreover, the German stock of languages furnish first persons, such as *bim*, "I be or I am," *dom*, "I do," *gom* or *gam*, "I go." Again, look at the plural *τύπτομεν*, or Doric *τύπτομες*. Of these the two last letters denote plurality, and we have left *τυπτομ* for the *singular* 1st person. Other support for this view is found in *scribebam, scriberem, scripserim*. The reason why the *m* disappears so readily after an *o*, it may be difficult fully to ascertain. But we have something very parallel to it in the absorption of the *n* in *ratio, natio*, and in the Portuguese habit of suppressing an *n* in the same position. Witness their orthography of their own capital, not *Lisbon*, but *Lisboa*. So the adjective fem. *bona*, becomes with them *boa*. I ought not to omit that the best Greek philologers believe *ἔτυπτον*, the 1st person, to be a corruption of *ἔτυπτομ*. See also my Grammar, § 787. How readily a final *m* was lost in Latin is easily conceived, from the habit of treating one as nothing before a vowel in poetry, I mean in elision. Consi-

der too the practice of omitting one in writing, so that *omniū* means *omnium*. Consider further, how readily *con* becomes *co*, and that in the words *consul*, *consolere*, the *n* was treated as such a complete nonentity, that the inscriptions frequently omit it, *cosul* or *cosol*, *cosolere*, &c. The Greeks too, wrote the name of Constantine and the towns called after him Κωνσταντῖνος, &c. with an ω. Why? No doubt because the *n* was not pronounced. Hence the Cirta of Sallust in Numidia is now called *Costantina*, and *Constantia* and the *Pagus Constantinus* in France, are become *Coutances* and the *Pays Cotantin*. Observe too how readily in English *none* has been shortened into *no*.

Such detailed proofs in a grammar would be wholly out of place, simply because of the room they require.

P. 112.—“The nominative, the quarter FROM which,” &c.—G. F. has here forgotten, that as I deduce the passive through the middle or reflective, *servus cæditur* would signify originally “the slave strikes himself,” so that the blow still proceeds *from* the slave. Thus, though I may be wrong, I am at least consistent. But the example in truth confirms my view, for the full phrase of the passive requires *ab domino*, whereas *dominus* would accompany the active voice. Thus *dominus* and *ab domino* express the same relation, viz. *from*, exactly what I contend for.

P. 112.—“The nominative is formed by the suffix *s*.”—It is here objected that the exceptions are too numerous to be accounted for on one principle. Let us see. The exceptions may be reduced, I believe, to the three cases,—1. neuters; 2. nouns in *a* or the 1st declension; 3. nouns ending in a liquid, as *r*, *l*, *n*, or in *ri* or *ro*. To begin with the neuters, as my theory of the nominative insists on the case denoting the *origin of motion*, it must at first have been limited to living agents, that is, to masculine or feminine nouns, so that neuters had no original claim to the case ending.

Secondly, although the Latin first declension has no *s* in the nominative, yet the Greek has, for example, πολίτης, Ἀρισταγόρας, &c. But I may be told that this *ς* is limited to masc. nouns. This matters little, unless it be also contended, as by some it is, that the *s* is the symbol of the masculine. To such¹ I again

¹ The same parties are asked to account for this, that in *acer*, *acris*, *acre*, | the form with an *s* is at least more feminine than masculine.

object, that Homer freely uses nominatives without the ς for the masculine: Μητίετα Ζεύς, Ἰππότα, &c. ; and that these very Greek nouns in $\alpha\varsigma$ appear in the Latin prose writers of Cicero's age without an ς , viz., *Aristagora*, *Archyta*. But I go farther, and undertake to exhibit feminine nouns of this declension with an s in the nominative. It will be granted, I suppose, that σοφίη and σοφία are but dialectic varieties of the same word. But this admitted, I claim the same admission for *materia* and *materies*, *luxuria* and *luxuries*, *planitia* and *planities* ; and this the more, because I believe that Cicero declined the first of these nouns thus: N. *materies*, G. *materia*, D. *materia*, Acc. *materiem*, Ab. *materia*, thus blending completely together the so-called 1st and 5th declensions.

The case of the liquids turns upon this fact, that the letter s is strongly influenced by the neighbourhood of liquids. The Greek verbs σπείρω, στέλλω, φαίνω, νέμω, have for their radical syllables σπερ, στελ, φαν, νεμ, and should therefore have formed the first aorists ἔσπερσα, ἔστελσα, ἔφασα, ἔνεμσα ; but by assimilation they appear to have become ἔσπερρα, ἔστελλα, ἔφαννα, ἔνεμμα. Next, the first of the consonants being omitted, the vowel was lengthened by way of compensation. Hence ἔσπειρα, ἔστειλα, ἔφηνα, ἔνειμα. Another example is in the form of Greek adjectives ending in liquids. The words τυπτοντ, χαριεντ, Κίλικ, (I take them in their *crude form shape*,) made their feminines by the addition of $\sigma\alpha$, which by a slight corruption passed from τυπτοντσα, χαριεντσα, Κίλικσα, to τύπτουσα, χαρίεσσα, Κίλισσα. But when this same feminine suffix was added to adjectives ending in ρ or ν , (I cannot call to mind any in λ or μ ,) a modification took place. Thus, from μακαρ, μελαν, τερεν, were formed, first probably, μακαρσα,² μελανσα, τερενσα, then μακαρρα, μελαννα, τερεννα, then μάκαира, μέλαννα, τέρεйна.

A third case in point.—Although the old Greek infinitive ended in $\epsilon\nu$ or $\epsilon\nu\alpha$, the Romans in their oldest form appear to have had *ese* according to the usual analogy between the languages, (compare τύπτω $\epsilon\nu$, scribimus $\omicron\nu$ - $\alpha\varsigma$ = as-inus, &c.) Here then we have a suffix with an s , whence from *es*, “be,” was formed an inf. *esse*, and from *da*, “give or put” an old inf. *dase*, (see *dasi* in Forcellini's *Lexicon*.) But this infinitival suffix *ese* becomes commonly *ere*, as in *scribere*, *ferre* ; yet after the verb

² Compare the middle form of ἄρρην and ἄρσην.

vol or *vel*, "wish," the usual assimilation takes place, and we have *velle*.

A fourth case.—The Latin superlative should end in *simo* or *sumo*, but if the noun has an *r* or *l* in the last syllable, assimilation again modifies the *s*, and we have *detrurmo*, *nigerrumo*, *facillumo*, &c. In short a consonant *r* or *l* is very apt in Latin to dispose in a summary manner of a subsequent *s*, and this no matter what the part of speech be. Thus for *videbaris*, we find *videbare*; for *videreris*, *viderere*, &c. Again, among the adverbs we might have expected *tris*, *quattris*, in agreement with our own *twice*, *thrice*, the Greek τρίς, πολλάκις, &c., and the Latin *bis* = *duis*. But in fact we find *ter* and *quater*. No wonder then if we also find, not *linteris*, *puerus*, *paters*, but *linter*, *puer*, *pater*. The Greek πατήρ, to me seems to imply, by its long vowel, a previous form, πατερρ, from πατερς; and τέρην, a form τερενν from τερενς. But if the Greek nominative justifies such inferences, so also will the Latin *pater*,³ for that also is frequently long in the nominative. Precisely in the same way from the crude form *pulvis*, which already has an *s* independently of the nominative, (witness the diminutive *pulvisculus* contrasted with *navicula*, *canicula*, &c.,) was formed a nominative *pulvis*, for *pulviss*. See Virgil's line ending *pulvis inscribitur hasta*. Moreover, *facilis*, *vigilis*, *strigilis*, *mugilis*, have also the forms *facul*, *vigil*, *strigil*, *mugil*. No wonder, then, that *consuls* has become *consul*, originally perhaps *consull*.⁴ That *rations* should lose its *s*, is in accordance with *satin*, *viden*, for *satisne*, *videsne*. *N* and *S* cannot co-exist in Latin; the one or the other gives way, at least in pronunciation. The tendency of liquids to assimilate is well seen in the old Norse tongue, where the comparative generally ends in *ra*, but yet *vaen* "fair," and *sael* "happy," make their comparatives *vaenna*, *saella*. Again, in the same language, the gen. plural commonly ends in *na*, yet *dör* "spear," makes its gen. pl. *dörra*. Compare also the Latin *polliceor* for *pro-liceor*, *intellego* for *inter-lego*, *puella* for *puerula*.

P. 112.—"Dative in *bi*.—Is the author at liberty to infer

³ Virg. *Æn.* v. 521, xi. 469, xii. 13; *puer*, *Ecl.* ix. 66; *amör*, *Ecl.* x. 69; *Æn.* x. 872, xi. 323, xii. 668.

⁴ The old Norse (which usually forms its noun by the suffix *r* instead of *s*,) is not afraid of a double *ll*. Thus *ketil*,

"a kettle," has nom. *ketill*, gen. *ketils*, dat. *katli*; so *span*, "a chip" or "spoon," nom. *spann*, &c., but a single *n* in all the other cases. So also in the oldest Norse there were nominatives, *aurr*, *hnauss*. See Rask's *Grammar*.

from *two or five words, &c.*" My arguments are founded upon a much *wider* base than *tibi, sibi, ibi, ubi, alibi*. First, I must include *vobis, nobis, utrobi*; secondly, all the datives plural of the third, fourth, and fifth declensions in *bus*; thirdly, such datives of the 1st and 2d decl. as *equabus, duabus, duobus, ambobus*; fourthly, the Sanscrit datives dual and plural in *bhy-am, bhy-as*, the two last letters denoting plurality according to my view. Next, I find a great tendency in the *b* of Latin words to disappear, particularly after a short vowel. *Tibi, sibi, ibi, ubi*, are again and again monosyllables in Plautus and Terence. The same words have come down to the Italians, French, &c., as monosyllables. For instance, in French, *te, se,*⁵ *y, ou, or toi, soi*. Again, the imperatives *abi, jube*, are monosyllabic in Plautus and Terence. In the next place, the perfect and supine *jussi* and *jussum*, have no trace of a labial. The word *amentum*, too, seems by its meaning to be a corruption of *habimentum*, "something to hold by." At any rate, it must come from a verb, as its ending tells us. Besides, let this verb *habeo* be traced to the Italian and French, and the *b* will be found to have for the most part disappeared: *Fai, tu as,*⁶ *il a, ils ont*. Even the 1st and 2d persons plural, lose their *v*, (the ghost of the *b*,) when they enter into the formation of the French futures, which it is now admitted are formed by the addition of the present of *avoir* to the infinitive of a verb: *finir-ai, finir-as, finir-a, finir-ons, finir-ez, finir-ont*. Nay, the conditional also is formed from *avais*, but loses the *av*. Thus, *finir-ais*, &c. Again, the Latin imperfect tense with suffix *eba*, soon lost its *b* when it descended to the modern tongues; *recipiebam, receveva, recevea, recevoie, recevois*, in which last word the *v* represents the *p*, not the *b* of the original word. (See Raynouard's Grammar of the Languages descended from Latin.) I have forgotten to mention the Homeric datives in φ i, as $\beta\eta\varphi$ i, $\sigma\delta\rho\alpha\nu\sigma\varphi$ i, $\sigma\tau\epsilon\theta\epsilon\sigma\varphi$ i. So much for the *b*, and its tendency to disappear.⁷ That the *i* belongs to every dative in its oldest form, I suppose I need not stop to prove. Putting all this together, I hold the *base* quite wide enough to support the argument; but the cognate

⁵ "Tu te laves les mains." "Il se lave les mains."

⁶ So, also, from the German *haben*, to have, has a pres. *hat*, and a perf.

hatte. The Engl. also, *has, had*, without the *b*, or *v*.

⁷ So *ab, sub, ob*, lose their *b* in *a, asportare*; *susum* or *sursum, sustollo, ostendo, omitto*.

tongues of the Gothic family would furnish abundant aid if called upon.

P. 113.—“May the same advantage not be extended to *foris*?” As I consider *foras*, in the phrase, *foras ire*, to be an acc. pl., so I think *foris* is a dative pl., the more so, as the plural is so common in the use of *foris*, as *fores*. The supposition of the existence of a noun *fora*, of the *a* declension, is in part justified by the Greek form θύρα, whose θ may well be expected to take the form of an *f* in Latin. The giving the name of an adverb to a particle, seems to me always like an admission that we cannot explain its form, for I believe that ALL adverbs were at first, either simple adjectives, or cases of a noun substantive, or verbs, or two words grown together.

P. 113.—“Nepos; an authority Mr. K. would reject.” Certainly, (see the article Nepos in the *Penny Cyclopædia*). In a grammar it would be out of place to enter into a discussion of the kind. I fully accede to the doctrine put forward in the *P. C.*, that some late writer, say Probus, may have abridged the work of the true Nepos into a book for the use of schools. That the book abounds in bad Latin, I have no doubt. Indeed, in other more fitting places than a grammar, I have before now expressed my opinion of the Pseudo-Nepos.

P. 114.—“The doctrine hitherto received is, that *from* or *by* a place, is expressed by the ablative.” I much doubt whether I rightly understand what G. F. means by the words, *by a place*; if he means *near* a town, then I demur, for I know no way of expressing that idea but by *ad*, or *apud*, or *ante* Romam, nearly always the first. Secondly, as regards the phrase, *from a place*, I do not admit that the ordinary construction is with the simple ablative. For, in nine cases out of ten, we find the preposition *ab* preceding, and not without reason. If G. F.'s views be right, we shall have the awkward result that *Prænestæ* may have at once four different meanings, *at* Pr., *from* Pr., *to* Pr., *by* Pr. As regards the use of *ab* or *a* in the sense of *from a town*, see Livy XXIV. 20., *a Casilino*; Ib. 29, *ab Syracusis*; Ib. 40, *ab Orico*; Ib. 41, *ab Illiturgi*; Ib. 46, *ab Suessula*; and XXI. 15, 16, 19, *ab Karthagine*, &c.

P. 113.—“*Domi focique memineris*.”—This passage proves that *domi* may be used as a genitive, so far as one passage can prove it; but observe that this very passage also helps to prove my main point, for Donatus has a note thereupon, calling the

reader's attention to the fact, that *domi* and *foci* *genitivi sunt*. Surely he would not have troubled the reader with this information, if there had not been to him something strange in such a use of the word. He was no doubt thinking of the more frequent use of the word in the sense "at home," in which case his view was to consider the word not as a genitive, but as an adverb; see his note on *Mileti* in the *Adelphi*.

P. 114.—"Weakened dative."—G. F. seems here to have wholly misunderstood my meaning. What I contend for is, *not* that the weakened dative and that ablative, which originally possessed a *d*, are *one*; but the very reverse. I hold that the Latin in Cicero's age had two ablatives of a very different origin, and different power: the one degraded from the dative, and with the meaning of a dative, viz. *at*, *in*, *with*, &c.; the other descended from the old ablative in *d*,⁸ and with the sense of *from*. So far from repenting of having introduced the mention of the latter ablative in the syntax, I take blame to myself for not having given it its proper place in the etymological part.

P. 115.—"Transitive, intransitive," &c.—G. F. should add to the list the term *active*, which, as I use the words, is not identical with transitive. Take for example the verb *run*, which is active, but not transitive.

P. 115.—"We do not comprehend the principle on which *jaceo*, *habeo*, *amo*, are brought together."—Simply because they all denote a *state* of the mind or body. I am ready to admit that *amare* had probably at *first* the sense of embracing (being probably connected with the particle *am*, round,) and *then* its meaning would be active.

P. 116.—*Sido* versus *Sedeo* in re *Sedi*.—The question may perhaps be settled by this consideration, that no example exists of any tense which *must* come from the compound *consideo*, although given in our Lexicons, but abundance of examples of tenses which *must* come from *consido*. I cannot help thinking, moreover, that the very meaning of *sedeo* precludes it from having a perfect; see also my Gr. § 386, 387, 388.

P. 117.—"Verbs desiderative."—I was fully aware that the usual plan was to deduce these verbs from the participle in *turo*; but I doubted the truth of this, partly because of the quan-

⁸ Our word *him* is an example of two cases taking the same form; as an acc., it is a corruption of *hin*, Germ. *ihn*; as a dative, it has its true form, = Germ. *ihm*.

tity being different, partly because of the difference of meaning. For *the desire to eat*, and *the being about to eat*, are far from being the same ideas ; but by leaving the matter as I have done, I have decided nothing *against* the proposed view. I limit myself to an indisputable fact that the suffix is *tūri* ; but what that suffix may be, is left an open question.

P. 117.—“ *Discors* from *dis* and *corda*, ‘a string,’ of a *different note* ;” “ The old opinion is more probable.” I can readily attach a meaning to *concors*, derived from *cor*, the heart ; but scarcely so to *discors*, upon the same theory. In English, at any rate, *concord* and *discord* have so much of the musical idea about them, that they rather support my view ; compare, also, Ov. *Metam.* i. 518, *concordant carmina nervis* ; and Horace, *Ars Poetica* 374, *Symphonia discors*. I make no claim for *secors* or *vecors*, which clearly belong to *cor*, *cordis*. I am not in the slightest degree moved by Cicero’s authority, (who believed in the derivation of *concors* and *discors* from *cor*, *Tusc. Disp.* i. 9,) because I know his utter inability to understand the etymology of his own tongue. On the other hand, I set much value on the consideration that the Romans, like the Greeks, used very freely metaphors of a musical nature ; compare the words, *discrepare*, *absurdus*, &c.

P. 118.—“ *Senatus Cm. et Mm. hostes judicavit—Illis hostibus judicatis.*”—G. F. is wrong in assuming that I should admit *hostes* to be in apposition to *Catilinam et Manlium*. The genuine construction of this sentence from Sallust, I hold to be *identical* with that of *Marcium regem creavit*, viz. the people created Marcus, that is, put him *into* the position of a king. The notion of *judicare* is not unlike that of *creare*, for he who *holds* another to be a king, *makes* him a king, so far as he himself is concerned. The man is a king to *him*, as we say. Now applying this view to the idea intended to be expressed in *Illis judicatis hostibus*, my opinion is, that it would have been more *logical* if the Romans had had the courage to say *Illis hostes judicatis*. But from this more reasonable construction (more reasonable, in my view of the matter,) they were drawn away by what I have called the principle of attraction. I leave others to judge whether my view be right ; but such at any rate is my view. I suppose G. F. has not passed over the German construction mentioned in the note to § 896, *sie wählen ihn zum Führer*, they chose him (to) the leader.

P. 119.—“*Propius, proxime*, are given, § 830, along with *prope*, in the list of prepositions, while they are said, in § 908, to be adverbs.”—There is no contradiction in this, for they are sometimes one, sometimes the other, like our own three particles, *nigh, near, next*; which, by the way, also stand to each other in the relation of positive, comparative, and superlative adjectives.

P. 119.—“*Coram, clam, palam*, excluded from prepositions in § 830 and 831, are classed as such in § 914, note.”—Here again there is no contradiction. They are used sometimes as adverbs, occasionally as prepositions. Besides, G. F. has passed over § 833 of the first part, where I have actually said that they are “*rather adverbs than prepositions*,” which means merely that they are used more frequently in the first sense than the second. In fact, I put them into the note on § 914 for the sake of the *rhyme*.

P. 119.—“*Hand's Tursellinus*.”—This writer is very apt to draw distinctions utterly imaginary, and so to overwhelm the language with what appears to me to be worse than useless. I never yet saw a passage where *proinde* had more than one of two meanings, viz. *at once then*; the *pro* seeming to denote *forward*, and the *inde* then; or, secondly, for *pro eo*, with an *ut*, or some equivalent word, *considering that, according as, in proportion as, &c.*; see § 1361, 9. In saying that the MSS. generally have *proinde*, when our editions have *perinde*, I used too soft a phrase. I do not, in fact, recollect a single instance of a good MS. of Cicero failing to have *proinde*. Observe too that *inde* is never added to any prepositions but those which govern an *ablative*. Further observe, that *expurgiscor* is a corruption of *exporgiscor*,—so that even if *perinde* were found, I should hold it to be another orthography for *proinde*, the legitimate word.

P. 119.—“Even Cicero's Latinity does not escape censure.”—On consideration, G. F. will see that this involves simply a *petitio principii*. The question is, Whether Cicero *did* write it? I believe he did not. Ramshorn's authority in such a question is to be measured by the words *flocci, pili, &c.* I know his book well, and set the same value upon it that Madvig does. Kühner's I have not access to; but no authority will make me believe that the *ei* can be omitted. That an antecedent is omitted at times, I have already admitted in the Grammar, §§ 1126, 1127; but the limits I contend for are there given also, which I find agree very nearly with those laid down by Madvig in his

Gr. (§ 324 *a.* and obs.) In the juristical phrase, *Ejus pecunie, qui volet petitio esto*, the original reading I suspect to have been *quoi volet*, or *cui volet*, just as the *qui* before *lubet* in *quilibet* takes its case from the other words of the sentence, more than from *lubet*. *It likes me*, is an older form in English than *I like*.

P. 116.—“Tonitum.”—The compound *attonitus* was probably in my view; *fluctum* has not been forgotten; see § 539 or p. 77 note†. *Permulceo* was left out by mistake; but the *mulserat* attributed by Priscian to Ennius seems not to bear the sense of *mulcere*; and as some deduce it from *mulgere*, I thought it a very unsafe authority. The word *mulsus* in Plautus, &c. appears to me to be wholly unconnected with *mulceo*, and, in fact, to be formed from the subs. *mel*, “honey,” like our own *mead*. Vietus, G. F. will find was not forgotten; see § 552, or p. 87, note ||.

P. 117.—“Neglegere, negare.”—My view of the former I still retain; and I object to G. F.’s etymology of *nego*, from *ne* or *nec* and *aio*, because *I do not say yes* does not mean *I deny*. I am fully aware that verbs are formed with the negative prefix. Indeed, I have a § 761 on the subject.

P. 117.—“Terminational.”—This word seems to tell me that G. F. does not quite understand what I mean by a suffix. I will merely say that I believe every prefix and suffix to have been originally as distinct a word, and possessed as definite a meaning, as the root syllable itself. It may often be most difficult to ascertain what the meaning is, but this difficulty does not make me doubt for a moment that there was such a meaning. Again, as I believe all roots to be monosyllabic, so also I believe that every suffix was so; and if we stop at a disyllabic, or longer suffix, it is merely because we have no means of dissecting it. But further knowledge will remove these blemishes. For example, were I now writing the Grammar, I should not put down *tura* as a suffix of nouns, for I believe *pictura* to be formed directly from the subs. *pictor*. Again, in such a word as *castimonia*, one is tempted at first to treat *monia* as a suffix; but I believe the formation of the word to have been this, that *castimonia* was the abstract quality of one who is *castimōn*, an adjective signifying “pure-minded,” the syllable *mon* being the same as the radical syllable of *mens*. Compare the Greek *σωφρων*, sound-minded, from a root *φρεν*.

P. 113.—“*Karthagine* versus *Karthagini*.”—I will here first

shew that the view I have put forward is one of more than twenty years' conviction. I first stated my opinion in print in the *Journal of Education*, I. p. 107; see Dr. Schmitz's *Translation of Zumpt*, 8vo, p. 300, note;—so much to shew that it is not a *hasty* view. I further quote Suetonius's remark on *Karthagine* in Virgil (and on *Tibure* in Horace,) to shew that in *olden* times there were at least those who disagreed from the *now received* view. Ramshorn, it is true, quotes *Babylone*⁹ and *Lacedæmone*⁹ from Cicero, but he also quotes *Tiburi* from the letters to Atticus. Zumpt admits the use of *Karthagini* (p. 302, middle;) observe, too, the use of *Abydo*, *Corintho*, “at Abydos, Corinth,” as admitted in the same page. Note also, that in the epitome of Livy's 28th book, *all* the reported MSS. have *Karthagini*, and with it *novæ*, and also all the editions down to the time of Sigonius, who made the alteration upon CONJECTURE. The phrase of Drakenborch's note, *siquidem* (*if at least*,) *non est hic casus tertius*, shews that he had a scruple about the alteration, and oddly enough, by a typographical error, his text appears to share the scruple, having *novæ* in p. 147, *nova* in p. 148. Again, in such phrases of apposition, as *Antiochiæ*, *celebri quondam urbe*, there is surely some difficulty in conceiving a GENITIVE and *ablative* in apposition; but little in having a DATIVE and *ablative* in that relation, seeing we are agreed that this *ablative* was a dative in origin. In the phrase *hic viciniæ* of Terence, Zumpt seems unwilling to admit that *viciniæ* is a genitive; and I think, with reason, considering the Plautian phrase *proxumæ viciniæ*. I contend that *viciniæ* is a dative; and more than that, viz. that *hic* also is a dative, and agrees with *viciniæ* “in this neighbourhood,” according to the principle put forward in § 1150 of my Grammar. *Huc viciniæ* in the first scene of the *Andria*, is only a *conjectural* reading. I have much doubt too, whether I am right in the explanation of the construction of *interea loci*, § 923, for there is very strong reason for believing that *inteream* (the old form, in my view, of *intereā*,) contains in *eam* a dative rather than an *accusative*: and thus *loci* also may be a dative. But this, I fear, will be deemed by G. F. becoming *ex insano insanior*.

P. 117.—“*Clumsy expedients*.”—I prefer *truth*, even when it appears more clumsy, to ill-founded ingenuity; and in fact

⁹ The first time I have access to a good M.S. of these passages, I will test the matter.

in the long run, I believe we shall find truth the simpler in philology as in morality. But there is a matter involved in this passage of the review, which it may be useful to speak about. When a suffix is added to a root, certain changes for facility of pronunciation often take place, which changes depend *solely* upon the letters brought into juxtaposition, without any reference to the *part of speech* to which it belongs. Thus the suffix *to* of the *perf.* participle, and the suffix *turo* of the *future* participle, can scarcely be connected in meaning or origin, although they happen to begin both with *t*. Still, when added to the root *em*, "take" or "buy," we in both cases get a *p* inserted, *emptus* and *empturus*. I object to the process commonly followed in our grammars, of deriving the future part. *from* the perfect. In the same way in Greek, I deny that γράμμα is formed from the perfect of the passive γέγραμμαι, because words are *never* derived from perfect tenses,¹⁰ except of course other perfect tenses, much less from the first person of a tense. But at the same time I fully admit that the addition of the suffix *ματ* to *γραφ* for a noun, is accompanied by the same letter-changes in the root as when the suffix *μαι* for the *first person* of the passive is added to *γραφ*.

Orthography.—I have omitted noticing a few words objected to in p. 111. *Sescenti*—I believe G. F. could not find a SINGLE M.S. of any repute, of any Augustan author, which did not give this orthography; see Virgil, *Æn.* x. 172, Wagner on Heyne; see also Mon. Ancy. v. 20; *sescentas* (and, by the way, the same inscription *passim* for *decies*, *viciens*, &c. *tris*, *curulis*, *pluris* (acc.) &c. For *pluvit*, I have given my authority in the Gr.; and the advantage of distinguishing the perfect from the present is obvious. Lastly, as regards the orthography of *Wunder* for *Cicero*, I will confirm it by a few extracts from *Madvig's* appendix to his letter to J. C. Orelli:¹¹ I. acc. pl. in *is*: c. 7, *pluris*; c. 9, *infamis*, *immunis*; c. 19, *absentis*; c. 24, *testis*, *compluris*; c. 27, *omnis*; c. 28, *auris*; c. 42, *testis*; c. 43, *civis*; c. 60, *Thespiensis*. Book v. c. 10, *omnis*; c. 25, *compluris*, om-

¹⁰ I am aware that Buttmann derives *δυσδαίμων* *μικροβάρετος*, &c. from the aorist inf. *μιζαι*, *δισσαι*. But I wholly dissent from his view, and have just sent a paper to press which deals with

the subject, for the Philological Society of London.

¹¹ The various readings of the *CODÆX REGIUS* of Paris for the two last books of the *Verrine Orations*. *Madvig* is of most accurate habit.

nis ; c. 40, omnis, omnis, gravis, testis ; c. 43, testis, sapientis ; c. 44, omnis ; c. 47, civis ; c. 51, omnis ; c. 56, crudelis, venalis, navis ; c. 57, civis, incolumis ; c. 59, civis, c. 60, civis, civis, omnis. See also Oudendorp's *Cæsar*, Bentley's *Horace*, the editions of Sallust, &c. ; and, further, let it be recollected that in *many* passages the pupil is thus prevented from confounding a nominative with an accusative ; nor is this compensated by the disadvantage of confounding an acc. pl. with any case of the singular, because the context will, for the most part, readily decide the question of the *number*. II. *neglegere* ; c. 26, *neglegens* ; c. 38, *neglegantur* ; c. 50, *neglegere* ; c. 51, *neglegere, neglegentes* ; c. 64, *intellegere*. III. *viciens, &c.* : c. 26, *quotienscumque*. Book v. : c. 8, *quotienscunque* ; c. 15, *totiens*. IV. The use of *o* after *u* or *v* : c. 43, *convolsis, perparvola* ; c. 42, *ignavos* ; c. 46, *volnera* ; c. 49, *volt* ; c. 51, *volneris* ; c. 71, *volnos (sic)*. V. Various orthographies : c. 1, *improbissuma*;¹² c. 2, *optuma* ; c. 7, *existumare* ; c. 15, *deicere* ; c. 17, *obicio* (with these words added by M. : *hoc deinceps notare neglexi*.) c. 36, *adulescentem* (with these words added, *et sic deinceps*) ; c. 37, *lubenter* ; c. 42, *Mercuri (gen.)* ; c. 57, *Æsculapi* ; c. 59, *acerbissuma* ; c. 60, *ornatissimi*. Book v. : c. 7, *coici* ; c. 8, *suscensere* ; c. 25, *huncine, sescenos* ; c. 27, *maritumos, maxume, maritumis, maritumi* ; c. 31, *luxuriem, Cleomeni (gen.)* ; c. 35, *turpissumi* ; c. 36, *maxuma* ; c. 41, *quinto decumo* ; c. 46, *Sexti* ; c. 46, *lacrumarum, acerbissimus* ; c. 49, *lacrumis* ; c. 51, *acerrume* ; c. 52, *maritumarum* ; c. 54, *acerrume* ; c. 55, *coiciebatur* ; c. 56, *maritumos* ; c. 55, *contentionis* (meaning *contionis*) ; c. 60, *ultima* ; c. 61, *lacrumis* ; c. 72, *caelo* ; which last, by the way, is almost *without exception* spelt with an *a* in MSS., and the best foreign editions.

My Orelli's Cicero is not at home, so that I cannot turn to it. But I happen to have some time ago extracted from it some of the chief readings (as regards orthography) of the MEDICEAN M.S. of the letters ad Fam. Orelli, vol. III. p. 2, ad fin. *Ep.* 1, *tris, familiaris, idem (= iidem)* ; *Ep.* 7, *litteras, (et sic semper,) quotiens, Alexandream, neglegendendo præniteret (= pæniteret,) intellegas, adulescentem* ; *Ep.* 9, *benivolo, adulescentia, cupientis, benivolentiam, talis, qualis, (et "sic semper in hujusmodi vocibus,") existumes, intellego, ("et sic semper.")*

¹² It is true that *superl.* in *imo* also occur in this M.S.

Lib. II. 1, *opsecrare optestari*que, ("sic semper in hujusmodi vocibus"); *Ep.* 6, *benivolentiæ*que, *benivolentia*, ("et sic semper"); *Ep.* 8, *idem* (= *iidem*); *Ep.* 9, *obicitur*; *Ep.* 12, *epistulas*; *Ep.* 15, *secuntur* (= *sequuntur*); *Ep.* 17, *dest* (= *deest*); *Ep.* 19, *optigisse*. Book III. *Ep.* 10, *Sulla*; *Ep.* 11, *afuturus*. Lib. IV. *Ep.* 3, *afui*; *Ep.* 5, *quotiens*, *aliquotiens*; *Ep.* 11, *optumo*. Lib. V. *Ep.* 1, *pœnitebit*; *Ep.* 2, *imminutast* (= *imminuta est*); *Ep.* 2, *appellandast*, *quotienscumque*; *Ep.* 6, *quotienscumque*, ("et sic semper"); *Ep.* 10, *quattuor*, ("et sic postea"); *Ep.* 12, *celerrume*, *desse*, *vementius*, = *vehementius*, ("et sic semper"); 15, *quas id est* (= *quasi dest*); 20, *quom*. Lib. VI. *Ep.* 14, *vitiumst*; 19, *intumorum*; 22, *desse*. Lib. VII. 1, *consecutast*, *nullast*; 3, *visast*; 9, *desse*, *dest*; 11, *rettuleris*; 18, *contione*; 29, *quantist*; 30, *sublatast*, (*sic fere semper*). Lib. VIII. 1, *quoius*; 2, *quovis* for *quoivis* = *cuius*; 8, *quoiquam*, *coicerentur*, *istoc* (= *istuc*); 9, *istoc* (= *istuc*); 14, *quoius*, *satis pati* (= *satis spati*); 15, *illi* (= *illic*, *adv.*); 16, *quoius*; 17, *quoius*. Lib. IX. 5, *pœniteret*; 9, *rusus*, (*sic et antea et postea*); 11, *hoc* (= *huc*); 21, *hoc* (= *huc*) *ter in una epistola*, &c., &c. I repeat then, that so far from introducing archaic forms in place of those which Cicero used, I have scrupulously adhered to what I believe, on tolerably good grounds, to have been the actual orthography of the Roman orator; and I have also generally adhered to that orthography in other writers which has been sanctioned by the best editors,¹³ as Bentley, Wunder, &c.

As regards *sonitum*, G. F. may be right, but he does not seem right in saying that *legitimate analogy* would give *sonatum*. For the verb *sonēre* is of an older standing in the language than *sonāre*. I have omitted to observe in the Grammar, what I believe to be certainly true, that *sonare* (from sub. *sono*), *plicare* (from sub. *plica*), and perhaps all those from *nēca* to *juva*, in § 549, are *denominative* verbs, in other words, secondary verbs formed from nouns, (see § 742). Thus the perfects and supines in *vi*, *itum*, without an *a*, belong to the old verbs of the third conjugation, those with an *a* to the secondary verbs.

P. 119.—"Systematic prosody altogether omitted."¹⁴—True;

¹³ As regards Wagner, I should add that I have taken his LAST text, viz. that in his FIFTH volume.

says, (p. 31,) Prosody, according to the modern use of the word, includes only the teaching the *quantity* of syllables.

¹⁴ Buttmann, in his largest grammar,

but on the other hand, the quantity being marked through all the declensions conjugations and derivations, &c., the knowledge is before the pupil in one way, and I think in the best way, as I explained some years back in the *Journal of Education*, in a review of Carey's *Prosody*. I think much harm is done by those vague rules in our grammars, which begin with telling us that *e* final is long or short, &c., and which bring together words no way connected, at the same time that all principle is thrown out of view. The metres, it is true, might have been given. But I was afraid of making the book too large and too expensive, and further, of delaying its long promised publication. Moreover, if the metres of Terence and Plautus be included, as I should wish, there will be plenty of room for a separate treatise.

"*Eis*, termination of acc. pl. not recognized,"—p. 111.—This was chiefly an oversight, but one of little moment, because our MSS. rarely if ever give it, notwithstanding the disposition of the editors of Lucretius to put it forward. And even in the best inscriptions it is not commonly found, for I hold the *Duilian* Inscription (as many others do) not to be the genuine article, but a *rifacimento* after the first had been worn away. Still I regret that I did not mention the orthography.

"*Vis*."—I readily admit the authority of the *Dial. de Orat.*, which I have no doubt was written by Tacitus. The point seems to me to be quite established by the evidence to be found in Boetticher's book. But as regards this word, I have made an error, which I should wish to correct. The crude form is *vis*, not *vi*, and hence the *r* in the plural *vires*. I have given reasons for this new view in an article now printing for the *Philological Transactions*.

"*Proinde*."—I have been this morning reading a very careful edition of Ulpian by Böcking, where the readings of the *Codex Vaticanus* are minutely given, and nearly always adopted. Thus, in tit. II. § 5 and 6, the old editions had *perinde*, but he, following the MSS., has inserted *proinde*. The cause of the common error of substituting *perinde* is seen in the slight difference of the manuscript abbreviations for *pro* and *per*. I forget whether I observed that *proinde ut*, (or *atque*,) is supported by the use of *pro eo ut* and *prout*. On the other hand, I cannot trace in *perinde* any meaning that it could naturally derive from *per*.

"*Ursi*."—I ought to have inserted. But I think not *tursi*.

"Verbs defective in compounds,"—p. 115.—True, but this is perhaps in a great measure balanced by the more than usual attention paid to the sense of prepositions in composition with verbs in the Syntax. See §§ 1306, especially *e*; 1332, 1347, 1367, 1376, &c.

"Sections in gender defective."—It is quite true that the first part of the grammar was written on a different scale from the latter parts, but at the same time I hold, that our grammars are wrong in troubling themselves with minute exceptions, especially in the case of words of rare occurrence, and unimportant from their very meaning. They seem to me to belong rather to the dictionary. The grammar should deal only with classes and analogies.

"Static verbs."—The use of their tenses differ so widely in all languages from those of *active* verbs, (i. e. verbs of *action*,) that I thought it useful to mark the difference by a different name. For example, I believe that *no* static verb has a perfect or aorist tense; and for the very reason, that the static verb is already a perfect in the so-called present. All the verbs of *feeling* I include under this head, and I hold, that in the *early* language, they were none of them followed by an accusative of the thing, but took the construction of the so-called impersonals, like our own *methinks*, and the German, *es hungert mich*, *es freuet mich*. It was necessary to my explanation of the nom. and acc. case with a verb, to make the distinction between active and static verbs well marked.

"An assertion is limited and explained by *qui* and the subj." pp. 118, 119. I used the word *limitation*, because I thought the added clause really limited the verb *peccare*. "I erred in that I did so and so, not that I was altogether wrong." Take, for example, *Me cæcum qui hæc ante non viderim*, not blind in all things, but blind in not seeing this. I added the word *explanation* in the very sense in which G. F. uses the words "*statement of a reason*."

ABL. of *quality*, versus GENITIVE of *quality*, pp. 117, 118.—I think it must be admitted, that the *abl.* of quality is *almost* without exception used of *permanent* qualities. I therefore thought myself compelled to put this fact forward prominently. At the same time, I was very glad to find the example of a *temporary* use in the passage quoted from Cicero, because I be-

lieved, that in the *early* state of things, the distinction between the use of the ablative and of the genitive in the sense of quality, turned upon this very point. The ablative is well adapted to denote an *accidental* and *temporary* state of things, depending upon the place *in* which one is, and the *circumstances of the moment*; while the genitive denoting the *origin*, is well fitted to signify that which is permanent, that which is inherited from the beginning. Unfortunately, the distinctions which belong to the *first* formation of language often disappear with time. I was therefore afraid to put forward in the grammar that of which there was left *so slight* a trace in the language, that I did not feel I could with safety rely upon it even for my own views, much less for others. Again, I feel convinced that nearly all adjectives have grown out of the use of the genitive of substantives. This also was a part of higher grammar, which I thought it prudent not to put forward even in a note. Still, I do not agree with G. F., that a writer of grammar has *only* to deal with the existing language. An investigation into the older state of things is often essential to the understanding of what is more recent. Again, I wished to put some things into the grammar beyond what a pupil's immediate wants required, to stimulate him to subsequent investigations when his mind became more developed. I may add, that for the same reason I was more profuse in such matters in the latter parts of the grammar than in the first pages. It was for this I omitted at the beginning the explanation of many little matters of novelty in the grammar, for instance, the order I have given to the vowels and liquids, for which of course I had my reasons. But enough.

“Negare,” etymology of.—I ought to have added, that I fully admit the connection between *aio* and *yes*, or rather *yea*. Indeed, I have noticed in the metres of Plautus and Terence, that this word *aio* seems to have been pronounced with some initial consonant. For example, *quid ais* seems to occupy the place of an accentual *trochee*, so that the *quid* should be long by position, and I am in fact in the habit of reading the phrase (*to myself*) as *quid-yais*. We too have our words where a *y* is pronounced, but not written, as *union*, &c. I also believe that *negare* is formed from the negative *nec* or *nay*, but I doubt the point of its being a compound of *aio*. If it is, it must be on the principle I have alluded to in § 1404.

Lastly, I may add, that I purpose to abridge from the fuller

grammar so much as is necessary for beginners; but I shall adhere to the same principles, for the reasons mentioned in the preface of the Grammar. I find beginners have no difficulty whatever in understanding crude forms.

T. HEWITT KEY.

April 1. 1847.

VI.

MISCELLANIES.

1. REMARKS ON THUCYDIDES, III. 10; III. 31; V. 8.

III. 10.

Ξύμμαχοι μέντοι ἐγενόμεθα, οὐκ ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου τοῖς Ἑλλησι. I cannot agree with Arnold and Bloomfield in their construction and translation of the above passage. Dr. Arnold says, τοῖς Ἑλλησι. These words, I think, are governed of ξύμμαχοι,—“We became allies, not so much to the Athenians for the enslaving of the Greeks, as to the Greeks for their deliverance from the Mede.” Bloomfield interprets the passage nearly in the same words. If they had considered the import of the preceding sentence, they would not likely have given such a translation,—ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο πρῶτον, ἀπολειπόντων μὲν ὑμῶν ἐκ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ παλέμου, παραμεινάντων δὲ ἐκείνων πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν ἔργων. And then the historian adds, ξύμμαχοι μέντοι ἐγενόμεθα, scil. Ἀθηναίοις: *we, however, became allies to the Athenians, not for the purpose of enslaving the Greeks to the Athenians, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου τοῖς Ἑλλησι, but for the deliverance of (to) the Greeks from the Median yoke.* How could it be said that the Mytileneans became allies to the Greeks, when they told the Lacedæmonians that they had joined the Athenians, because they, the Lacedæmonians, had abandoned the prosecution of the war against the Medes to the Athenians? It is well known that the Lacedæmonians were at the head of the Greeks who opposed the domination of Athens; but the Mytileneans had not become allies to them *for their deliverance from the Mede*, but to the Athenians, with whose assistance they had the best chance of escaping the Median yoke. The collocation of the words, also, shews that the construction cannot be as Arnold and Bloomfield suppose. If such had been the view of the historian, he would probably have arranged the sentence thus: ξύμμαχοι μέντοι ἐγενόμεθα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οὐκ ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου. Dr. Arnold's no-

tions of the construction of the *dative* in Thucydides is somewhat peculiar. He seems to think that the *dative* in such a sentence as the above, is not equivalent to the *genitive*. But the fact is, that Thucydides often adopted the old forms of construction to be met with in Homer and some of the more ancient writers, and not unfrequently the *dative* for the *genitive*, to avoid the repetition of so many similar endings, and to vary the construction. Thus, in VII. 4, we find, (ἦν γὰρ τι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τοῦ τεύχους ἀσθενές ·) τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις is here equivalent to τῶν Ἀθηναίων.—τρίτον γὰρ μέρος τῶν ἱππέων τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, as τῶν Συρακοσίων.—VII. 5.

The following sentence in the 3d book, chap. 12, Arnold and Bloomfield say is similar to the above. ὃ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλιστα εὖνοια πίστιν βεβαιοῖ, ἡμῖν τοῦτο ὁ φόβος ἐχυρὸν παρείχε. There is this difference, however, between the two, that τοῦτο in the latter clause must have for its antecedent ὃ in the former. "Grammar," says Arnold, "there is none in the sentence;" and Bloomfield echoes the same opinion. As the sentence stands, it has the appearance of being ungrammatical; and yet, I think, something more may be made of it than has been done by the above editors and others. It is well known to every one who has carefully studied the language of Thucydides, that he makes frequent use, both of the *prepositive* and *postpositive article* in a somewhat indefinite manner, occasionally including under them *circumstances*, *matters*, and *sentiments*, previously made, or to be made. I conceive that the relative ὃ in the above sentence is used to denote *what circumstance* or *matter*, and τοῦτο *that circumstance*. If such be the case, ὃ must be the *subject* of the verb βεβαιοῖ, and not εὖνοια. But I consider εὖνοια as *exegetic* of ὃ, a practice very frequent in Thucydides and other Attic writers; and then it will be antithetic to φόβος. Thus Plato, *Phæd.* § 84, οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸ (τὴν ψυχὴν) ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι. This construction is only adopted with abstract nouns. I would, therefore, propose to read and translate—ὃ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλιστα, εὖνοια, πίστιν βεβαιοῖ, ἡμῖν τοῦτο ὁ φόβος ἐχυρὸν παρείχε,—what (*namely*, good will,) chiefly *confirms* confidence in others, *that* fear renders secure to us. If Thucydides had intended to make εὖνοια the subject to βεβαιοῖ, he would have used the *article* ἡ εὖνοια, just as we have ὁ φόβος in the latter clause. But εὖνοια, taken as explanatory of ὃ, could not, according to established rules, and the practice of the Attic writers, have the article.

III. 31.

The following passage in the 3d book and 31st chap. of the same historian has been given up as almost desperate by most of his editors and

commentators. Different readings have been suggested, and different interpretations given, not one of which appears to me to be correct. —For an account of the different readings I refer to Arnold's second edition, and to Poppo's Annotations. Bekker's reading involves the fewest difficulties, and seems to be the genuine one. Near the commencement of the chapter we have, ἄλλοι δέ τινες τῶν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας φυγάδων, καὶ οἱ Λέσβιοι ξυμπλέοντες παρήνουν (Ἀλκίδα) κ. τ. λ. and then the passage which occasions the principal difficulty, καὶ τὴν πρόσδοον ταύτην μεγίστην οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων ἦν ἀφέλωσι, καὶ ἅμα ἦν ἐφορμούσιν αὐτοῖς σφίσι δαπάνη γίγνηται, πείσειν τε οἷσθαι καὶ Πισσούθην ὥστε ξυμπολεμεῖν. Both Arnold and Bloomfield read ὑφέλωσι, which conveys an idea very different from what may be supposed to have been suggested by the exiled Ionians and Lesbians. ὑφαιρέω signifies, *to take away by stealth, or under concealment*. But it is evident from the narrative of the historian, that they advised Alcidas *openly* to seize upon one of the Ionian cities, or Cume, as their head-quarters, whence they would have it in their power to cause the Ionians to revolt from Athens. Their object then was, to deprive the Athenians of the very great revenue they drew from these cities. There could be no *concealment* in such an attempt. If they succeeded in obtaining a station in one of the Ionian cities, or at Cume, and if they deprived the Athenians of the great revenue accruing to them from these cities, they would be in a position to threaten the Athenian dependencies in that quarter. It does not appear to be material whether we read ἐφορῶσιν or ἐφορμούσιν: either of them must agree with σφίσι αὐτοῖς, the former signifying *making an attack upon*, and the other, *stationed against*. I would prefer the latter, as more in accordance with the proposal *to seize a place with the view of making an attack*. The chief difficulty, and what has given occasion to so many comments, lies in the clause, καὶ ἅμα ἦν ἐφορμούσιν σφίσι αὐτοῖς δαπάνη γίγνηται. Most of the commentators and editors imagine that αὐτοῖς refers to the Athenians, and are disposed to omit σφίσι altogether; but the best MSS. join them together. Now, when σφίσι is used, both in a direct and indirect speech, it always refers to the *speakers, or the persons* who made the remarks, not to a third party. The editors of Thucydides have constantly misunderstood this construction; and, of consequence, have fallen into several errors. They have, in this place also, mistaken the meaning of δαπάνη. Most of them suppose that it here signifies, *the expense incurred by the Athenians*, or, in the words of Bloomfield, *the occasioning of expense*; which would equally tend to impoverish and ruin the Athenians. That cannot be its meaning. In this place it signifies, *the means of expenditure*, as in Herodot. i. 41, δαπάνην παρέχειν, *to furnish money for spending*. That this is the true meaning of the word is, I think, evident from

what follows, *πείσειν τε οἶσθαι καὶ Πισσοῦθνην ὥστε ζυμπολεμεῖν*,—*they thought that (with these means in their power) they would also persuade Pissouthnes to engage in the war with them.* The *τε* after *πείσειν* seems to depend upon the verb *παρήνουν* in the first clause. The passage then, according to these views, may be thus rendered: *and if they should deprive the Athenians of the very great revenue that belonged to them, (from the Ionian cities,) and at the same time, if the means of expenditure should become their own, when occupying a threatening position, they thought that they would be able also to persuade Pissouthnes to engage in the war along with them.* *οἶσθαι* may be governed either by *παρήνουν* or *ἔφασαν* understood. Perhaps the latter is unnecessary, as *παρήνουν—οἶσθαι* may be translated, *they advised him that they thought*, κ. τ. λ. Arnold says, at the conclusion of his remarks, “Either the passage is altogether corrupt, possibly from the loss of some words in the middle of it, which completed the sense, or if the text be allowed to be sound, the apodosis must be in *πείσειν τε οἶσθαι*, κ. τ. λ.” I can see no reason for supposing either that the passage is corrupt, or that some words have been lost in the middle of it. Schömann, in his *Observatt. ad Thucyd. locos quosdam difficil.*, p. 10, quoted by Göller, interprets *ἦν* as synonymous with *ὅπως*, which is altogether inadmissible and unnecessary; but his reading of the words *ἦν ἐφόρμωσιν—γίγνηται*, is nearly correct: “*simulque ut sibi ipsis, illos bello persequentibus, pecunia ad sumptus tolerandos suppeteret.*” If, instead of *ut*, he had rendered *ἦν* by *si*, he would have given the precise meaning of the passage.

v. 8.

Εἰ γὰρ δεῖξειε τοῖς ἐναντίοις τό τε πλῆθος, καὶ τὴν ὄπλιν, ἀναγκαιάν οὖσαν, τῶν μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ, οὐκ ἂν ἡγείτο μᾶλλον περιγενέσθαι, ἢ ἄνευ προόψεως τε αὐτῶν, καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος καταφρονήσεως.

All the editors of Thucydides have expressed their inability to give any satisfactory explanation of the construction of the above passage. Some have suggested different readings, and others have given what they consider the meaning of the historian; all of which appear to me wide of the truth. The difficulty lies in the last clause, in the meaning of the words *ἄνευ προόψεως*, and in the construction *καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος καταφρονήσεως*. Dr. Bloomfield has translated *προόψεως αὐτῶν*, *a previous view of them*; which cannot be the correct interpretation of the words. *προόψεως* here means, *foresight, precaution* against a surprise. If the editors had considered the conduct of Cleon, and the purpose of Brasidas, as described by the historian; the one presumptuous, and despising his opponents; the other cautious, and ready to seize every advantage afforded him by the self-

confidence of his opponent, they would not have found so great a difficulty in understanding the construction and meaning of the passage. There can, I imagine, be no doubt that the noun *καταφρονήσεως* must be governed by *ἀνευ*, in the same manner as *προόψεως* at the commencement of the clause; and that is evident from the use of the two connecting particles *τε* and *καὶ*. The historian omitted *ἀνευ*, as it could not stand before *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος*, but left it to the reader's discernment to supply it before *καταφρονήσεως*. The whole of the passage, then, may be thus translated: "For if he should shew to his opponents the numbers that were with him, and their equipment, being made on the spur of the moment, he thought that he would not more readily get the better of them, than by taking advantage, both of their lack of foresight, and also not *without* their contempt of them from their present bearing or position." The two negatives, *μη* and *ἀνευ*, neutralize each other, so as to make the clause affirmative, and also by their contempt of them. *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος*, may be translated, *from their present appearance*, as Brasidas, by confining his troops within the walls of Amphipolis, had inspired Cleon with the idea that he was afraid to march out and give him battle: And hence his contempt of the enemy. The meaning given above is, I think, corroborated by what Brasidas says in his address to his troops, c. 9,—*τοὺς γὰρ ἐναντίους εἰκάζω καταφρονήσει τε ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐλπίσαντας ὥς ἂν ἐπεξεέλθοι τις αὐτοῖς ἐς μάχην, ἀναβῆναι τε πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ νῦν ἀτάκτως κατὰ θεῶν τετραμμένους ὀλιγωρεῖν*.

These remarks, with those formerly communicated to the *Classical Museum*, may, I trust, be of some use to future editors of Thucydides: For, as far as I can judge, he has not yet met with one, sufficiently acquainted with his style and manner, and the whole minutiae of the Greek language, to be able to explain satisfactorily many obscure passages in his great History.

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2. FURTHER REMARKS ON *ἄρα* AND *ἀρα*.

In the last number of the *Classical Museum*, (XVIII.) Mr. J. G. Sheppard has done me the favour to offer some remarks upon the observations I made on the particles *ἄρα* and *ἀρα* in No. XV. of the same Journal. With his remarks upon *ἄρα* I generally concur; as they do not differ much from those I had offered on that particle. But I think he has totally failed in ascribing to one common origin and general meaning the two particles. *ἄρα* is an *inferential particle*, most likely derived from *ἄρω*; but *ἀρα* is never an *inferential interro-*

gative. Mr. S. says that I have *invented* a derivation of *ἄρα* from *ἀράομαι*. The derivation is no more an *invention* than that of *ἄρα* from *ἄρω*; and the verb happens to agree with the particle both in the *quantity* of the first syllable, and in its general meaning, which *ἄρω* assuredly does not. I cannot conceive how the *meaning* of *ἄρα* could be changed by a change of accent, and giving it in *addition* the *emphasis* of *interrogation*. This is somewhat in Godofred Hermann's style, who says that *μὲν* becomes *μήν*, and *δέ*—*δή*, by the talismanic power of emphasis!! If such a doctrine were allowable, then farewell to all sound views of philology. "*Ἄρα*," says Mr. Sheppard, "is an *inferential interrogative*, and differs from another interrogation in that it *always* refers to some antecedent grounds for the question asked." This is not strictly true; for *ἄρα* frequently refers to a *future act* in no dependence upon antecedent grounds. I should like to know how Mr. Sheppard would reconcile the *interrogative ἄρα* when followed by *οὖν*, an *inferential particle* as well as *ἄρα*, in the following sentences from Plato: *Ἀρ' οὖν, ὧ' ἡγαθὲ, ἀγροικότερον τοῦ δέοντος λελοιδορήκαμεν τὴν τῶν λόγων τέχνην*, *Phædr.* § 94; and again, *Ἀρ' οὖν οὐ τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἢ ῥητορικὴ ἂν εἴη τέχνη ψυχαγωγία τις διὰ λόγων*, § 95. If *ἄρα* and *οὖν* have nearly the same signification, being both *illative* particles, with what propriety could *ἄρα* precede the latter, if it had nearly the same meaning, and only changed the accent? If we were to translate both, according to Mr. Sheppard's idea, as may be inferred from his interpretation of the line in *Hamlet*, "*Then, saw you not his face?*" the translation would be, *Then then!!* In both the sentences from Plato, *οὖν* indicates a *consequence* drawn from a preceding statement; *ἄρα*, *interrogative*, implies, a *wish* to obtain information respecting the bearing of the preceding statement, *it being taken for granted*: "*Pray, my good friend, this being the case, have we not attacked the art of oratory with more rudeness than was necessary?*"

Mr. Sheppard sneers a little at the doctrine I stated, *that a short syllable, when the second of an Iambic foot, must be pronounced long, or have double its usual time*. If he will take the trouble to examine the examples I have quoted in the Second Dissertation of my Greek Prosody, I think he will be convinced that it is a principle extensively acted upon by the Greek Tragic and Comic Poets, and is equally applicable to Trochaic and Anapæstic verse. Why, for instance, has Aristophanes, in line 409 of his *Nubes*, made the *third syllable* of *διαλᾱκήσσα* long? With the usual quantity of the syllable, it would be a *Tribrach*, but here the foot must be an *Anapæst*. Mr. Sheppard may scan the following lines, and then tell me why the quantity of the first syllable in the following words is alternately *short* and *long*. This looks like *emphasis*; but the *meaning* is not altered, nor the *accent* changed:—

ὦ τέκνα, Κάδμου τοῦ πάλαι νέα τροφή.—Soph. *Æd. Tyr.* 1.

— — — — —

ἄγω δικαίων μὴ παρ' ἀγγέλων τέκνα.—6.

The following line (298) from the *Philoctetes* of the same poet is remarkable :—

ἀλλ' ἐν πέτροισι πέτρον ἐκτρίβων, μόλις.

— — — — —

Take also the two following lines from the same Play, (587–8.)

Neopt.—ἐγὼ εἰμ' Ἀτρεΐδαις δυσμενῆς· οὗτος δέ μοι

— — — — —

φίλος μέγιστος, οὐνεκ' Ἀτρεΐδαις στυγεῖ.

— — — — —

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3. REMARKS ON A PASSAGE IN MILTON'S FIRST ELEGY.

“Me tenet urbs refluâ quam Thamesis alluit undâ,

Meque nec invitum patria dulcis habet.

Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura revisere Camum,

Nec dudum *vetiti* me *laris* angit amor.

.

“Si sit hoc *exilium* patrios adiisse penates,

Et vacuum curis otia grata sequi,

Non ego vel *profugi* nomen sortemve recuso,

Lætus et exilii conditione fruor.”

Ad Carolum Deodatum, vv. 9–20.

THE biographers of Milton seem all to concur in regarding these verses as affording conclusive evidence of his having been rusticated from college. Mr Warton observes, that “the words *vetiti laris*, and afterwards *exilium*, will not suffer us to determine otherwise than that Milton was sentenced to undergo a temporary removal or rustication from Cambridge.” Dr. Johnson is, if possible, even more decided :—“It was in the violence of controversial hostility objected to him, that he was expelled; this he steadily denies, and it was apparently not true; but it seems plain from his own verses to Deodate, that he had incurred rustication, or temporary dismissal into the country, with perhaps the loss of a term. I cannot find any meaning but this, which even kindness and reverence can give the term *vetiti laris*, ‘a habitation from which he is excluded.’” Mr. Mitford and Sir Egerton Brydges feel themselves compelled, however reluctantly, to admit the fact; while Archdeacon Todd seems to have been puzzled by the

evidence these lines are supposed to contain of the poet's "exile from Cambridge," and the circumstance, that by his admission to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1628, he had incurred no loss of terms, which rustication must have occasioned, and which the register of his College, or of the University, would probably have noticed. "His reply to an enemy," the Archdeacon proceeds to say, "who in the violence of controversy had asserted that he was expelled, may here be cited: 'I must be thought, if this libeller (for now he shows himself to be so,) can find belief, after an inordinate and riotous youth spent at the university, to have been at length 'vomited out thence.' For which commodious lie, that he may be encouraged in the trade another time, I thank him; for it hath given me an apt occasion to acknowledge publicly with all grateful mind, that more than ordinary favour and respect which I found above any of my equals at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the fellows of that college wherein I spent some years; who, at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways how much better it would content them that I would stay; as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me."¹ And still more pointedly in another place: "Pater me Cantabrigiam misit; *illic* disciplinis atque artibus tradi solitis septennium studui; *procul omni flagitio*, bonis omnibus probatus, usque dum magistri, quem vocant, gradum,"² &c. It is surprising that in the face of these remarkable passages, which could not have been penned by one who was conscious of having incurred disgrace at college, the expressions in the Elegy should ever have been construed, I need not say by "kindness and reverence," but even by malevolence and contempt, so as to lend support to a slander thus indignantly repelled by the object of it! To me it seems clear as day, that when properly interpreted, they afford not a shadow of countenance to the injurious calumny. They occur in an elegy written in London during a vacation, in the poet's eighteenth year, and addressed to his school-fellow and friend, Charles Deodate. This gentleman, after leaving Oxford, had established himself in Cheshire, whence, as appears from the poem, he addressed an epistle to Milton, probably a poetical one, in which, it would seem, ignorant of the feelings with which his friend had come to regard the University, he condoled with him on his absence from it during the vacation, and spoke of this temporary separation as a *state of exile*. This view of his position in London Milton repudiates in terms not very complimentary, I grant, to his *alma mater*, but which most assuredly do not support the imputation that has been founded on them. But, it will

¹ Apology for Smectymnuus.

² Defensio Secunda.

be said, admitting that in this way the use of the words *exilium* and *profugus* is explained, how do you account for the phrase *dudum vetiti laris*? Nothing is easier; indeed I am filled with surprise that its true meaning has so long escaped discovery. The commentators have hitherto understood these words as if they referred to the poet's cheerless apartments in Christ College, Cambridge! Milton was too good a Latinist ever to employ the word *lar* for a purpose so unsuitable. He uses it here in its only proper sense, to denote his *home*, his *father's fireside*, to revisit which during term-time had, by the discipline of his college, been *lately forbidden him*. In short, he enumerates amongst the delights of his present situation, freedom from the home-sickness with which he used to be tormented at Cambridge. When read in this light, the passage assumes consistency with itself, with other portions of Milton's writings, and with the register of his college; and, what is perhaps of higher importance, while it rescues the memory of the greatest poet and one of the ripest scholars of England from a shade that has long rested on it, it deprives giddy and thoughtless youth of a precedent they are fond of quoting for their own irregularities and contumacy.

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NOTE.—The substance of the above paper was published by me ten or twelve years ago, in another periodical; but as I am desirous of bringing the view it contains under the notice of a class of readers able to judge of its soundness, I now submit it to the readers of the *Classical Museum*.—R. M.

5. REMARKS ON SOPHOCLES, *Antig.* 679–83.

Πάτερ, θεοὶ φύουσιν ἀνθρώποις φρένας,
πάντων, ὅς' ἐστὶ, χρημάτων ὑπέρτατον ·
ἐγὼ δ' ὅπως σὺ μὴ λέγεις ὀρθῶς τάδε,
οὔτ' ἂν δυναίμην, μήτ' ἐπισταίμην λέγειν ·
γένοιτο μεντὰν χυτῆρι καλῶς ἔχον.

OF this passage the true interpretation of the last verse seems to have escaped all the editors and commentators that I have had an opportunity of consulting. The Scholiast has gone farthest astray, since he has mistaken the meaning not only of the line adverted to, but has strangely misrepresented the sense of the two verses that immediately precede it, which he paraphrases thus:—ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ δύναμαι ταῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι, ἐπειδὴ μὴ καλῶς ταῦτα λέγεις, and the concluding line he expounds as follows:—δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ ἑτέρως μετα-

βουλευσασθαι. It is surely unnecessary to be at any pains to shew that ἐγὼ δ' ὅπως, &c., cannot be understood to represent Hæmon as peremptorily saying that he does not approve of his father's sentiments. The interpretation of the last verse is equally wide of the truth, if the Scholiast understood Hæmon to hint at the possibility of Creon's changing his purpose. Musgrave suggested χᾶτέρῃ (sc. ὅδῳ) which Erfurdt adopted, and, according to this reading, the meaning would be, *But it is possible, a view of the case different from yours may be the correct one.* To this I have no other objection than that it is founded on an unwarranted alteration of the text. Brunck adhered to the common reading, χᾶτέρῳ, but affixed to it a sense which, however good in itself, the words will not bear; *est tamen ut alius etiam vera dicere queat.* Hermann edits the passage as I have quoted it, and says, καλῶς ἔχον referri puto ad χρῆμα τῶν φρενῶν. The interpretation of this violent construction would be nearly the same as that proposed by Brunck; it would represent Hæmon as suggesting the possibility of another's being in the right, who should view Antigone's conduct differently from his father: to this again I object, only because it rests on a construction forced and altogether unnecessary. For I take the easy and natural interpretation of the passage to be this: *I, even were it becoming in me to try, might have neither ability nor skill to expose the erroneousess of your sentiments; but what I cannot, or perhaps ought not to attempt, may be quite becoming in another.* All that follows is in exact accordance with this view; for Hæmon, after reminding the impetuous monarch that his rank and character were such as deterred his subjects from speaking freely in his presence, proceeds to report the sentiments expressed by his fellow-citizens, both with regard to Antigone's conduct, and the king's treatment of her.

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5. ON CICERO, *De Nat. Deorum*, II. 48.

"Quin etiam anatum ova gallinis sæpe supponimus, e quibus pulli orti primum aluntur ab iis, ut a matribus, a quibus exclusi fotique sunt; deinde eas relinquunt et effugiunt sequentes, quum primum aquam quasi naturalem domum videre potuerunt. *Tantam ingenuit animantibus conservandi sui natura custodiam.*"

IN the last number of the *Classical Museum*, there are a few "Remarks" on this passage by Dr. Maclure, to which we beg leave shortly to refer. We are much pleased with the concise and perspicuous manner in which the Doctor states his views of the passage; but we regret that he has failed to convince us of the correctness, either of the

conclusion to which he has come, or of the steps by which he has arrived at that conclusion.

The object of the Doctor's remarks is, to prove that the words *conservandi sui*, in the concluding clause, refer, not to *animantibus*, but to *natura*; and this, he says, "may be evinced by considerations drawn both from *logic* and *grammar*." Let us look first at the *grammatical* use of the reflexive pronoun *sui*; for this, the Doctor seems to think, is the strongest part of his argument; whereas, in our humble opinion, it is his weakest point. He says, "every tyro knows that the reflexive pronoun *sui* refers to the principal subject of the sentence, which is here not *animantibus*, but *natura*." And again, "I contend that the objection derived from the use of the reflexive pronoun is fatal to it."

Now, "every tyro" may know that this is a *general* rule regarding *sui*; but every scholar also knows that it is by no means a *universal* rule. To prove this, (if proof be needed,) many examples might be adduced from the best classical authors, but we think it sufficient for our present purpose to produce only one, which is perhaps of all others the most conclusive; as the whole structure of the sentence is so identical with that of the sentence under review, that the grammatical use of *sui* in the two sentences must undoubtedly stand or fall in both. It is this: Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* III. 6,—“Quod jussi sunt, faciunt; ac, subito omnibus portis eruptione facta, neque cognoscendi quid fieret, neque *sui colligendi hostibus facultatem relinquunt*.” Now, who can doubt that *sui* in this sentence refers to *hostibus*? And if so, why may not the *sui* in the sentence under review refer to *animantibus*?

Having thus, beyond all doubt, as we think, established the point that the reflexive pronoun *may* refer to *animantibus*, without any violation of grammatical exactness, let us now look at the *logical* part of the question. The Doctor says, “In all that goes before, there is nothing that has even a remote reference to *self-preservation*. To translate therefore the phrase in question, as if it referred to that great law of nature, would be to impute to Cicero a manifest *non sequitur*.” Now, so far are we from seeing any thing illogical in referring *sui* to *animantibus*, that to refer it to any thing else appears to us to involve a manifest absurdity. If *sui* refers to *natura*, as the Doctor so strenuously contends for, then, instead of nature taking care of animals by implanting in them a self-preserving instinct, he makes the animals use that instinct for preserving or taking care of nature and her arrangements. For what does he make Cicero say? Manifestly this: “Nature has implanted in animals the care of *preserving herself* [nature] and her arrangements inviolate.” This is certainly reversing the order of things. The Doctor seems to imagine that the verb *conservare*

in this sentence, if referred to *animantibus*, implies, "*keeping themselves from destruction*," whereas, in our opinion, it means, "*to conserve*," or "*keep themselves inviolate*," or, in short, "*to keep themselves as nature made them*;" for, looking back to the preceding chapter, we find Cicero, after speaking of the nature of the heavenly bodies, and of plants and trees, &c., going on to say, "*animantium vero, quanta varietas est? quanta ad eam rem vis, ut in suo quæque genere permaneat?*" And from this point down to the end of the 48th chapter, he goes on to shew the various provisions which nature has made for the *preservation* and *support* of animals. And then, as a general inference from the whole passage, he says, "*Tantam ingenuit animantibus conservandi sui natura custodiam*," which, contrary to the Doctor's opinion, we would venture to translate thus:—*Such is the care (or watchful instinct) that nature has implanted in animals, of PRESERVING (or TAKING CARE OF) THEMSELVES, OR, of SELF-CONSERVATION.*

JOHN TROTTER.

6. PARAPHRASE OF THE SONG OF THE EPOPS IN THE *Birds* OF
ARISTOPHANES, v. 227. Ed. Dindorf.

With a hip and a whoop, and a hip-hip-whoop,
I call, I call, I call,
Come trip it, trip it, trip it, trip it,
And troop, and troop, and troop,
My merry men all,
Both great and small,
Since birds of a feather
Should flock together,
Away, hie away, at my call.

Come, ye lords of the soil
And the husbandman's toil,—
Unbidden partakers
Of well-seeded acres,
Whose ample advowson
Keeps half a score thousand
Of barley-fed broods upon commons.
And you, O ye fleetest of wing,
A song for your supper who sing,
And, like rogues, as ye are, in grain,
With heaven-filched harmonies feign
To pay for your provender,
Though there is no vendor,
Hither away at my summons.

And you too, make haste, for I want ye,
 Half clodhoppers, half dilettanti,
 Who strike on the new furrow's sharp edges
 Unisons, full chords, and arpeggios,
 Perched on your orchestra
 Care not for work a straw ;
 And, overjoyed at the tones ye reiterate,
 Tirily, tirily, twit, twit, twit, twitter it.
 And all ye wardens
 Of orchards and gardens,
 And tenants in fee
 Of the green ivy-tree,
 And where, and oh, where is
 The Highlander, who lives
 On arbutus-berries
 And roots of wild olives.

Hear, gentle and simple, hear, rustic and cit,
 Your toil and your time and your tidy tit-bit,
 I give you all notice to quit, quit, quit,
 I give you all notice to quit.
 Hither, each vermicelli-lover,
 Each denizen of marshy cover,
 Hazlehen, coot, or plover,
 Whose mental and bodily tastes agree
 To dabble in Entomology,
 Who dine, of science most voracious,
 Off spiky-snouted gnat mordacious.
 And you, for whom the sun-beams brew
 Your chirping cup of spiced dew
 On Marathon's delicious plain,
 All jewelled once with richer rain ;
 Thou too, bird of pencilled pinion,
 Guinea-hen, guinea-hen, graceful guinea-hen.
 All ye that, up-borne on the billowy motion,
 With Halcyons dance it upon the green ocean,
 O, hither, and welcome, my princes and peers,
 New sights for your eyes, and new sounds for your ears.
 Time presses,—the matter's of weight,—and, in short, here's
 A general order gone out from head-quarters ;
 So, up to the muster, or every defaulter
 Shall have his long neck longer stretched with a halter.

Here's an old man, whose verjuicy visage
 May some seventy winters have seen ;

But his wits would do honour to this age,
 Original, cunning, and keen.
 And the Council's to meet on a grand speculation
 He has hatched in his head for the good of our nation.
 Now that our Parliament meets to talk it
 Over, I will that none do balk it.
 Wherefore hither
 Through wind and weather
 O'er bog and heather,
 And all together.
 Swim it, skim it, strut it, stalk it,
 Skip it, trip it, wing it, walk it.
Semichorus.—Cuckoo, cuckoo.
Semichorus.—Tu-whit, Tu-whoo, [To wit, to you.]
Chorus.—Tereu, Tereu, Tereu.

VII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

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1. CONSTRUCTIVE EXERCISES for Teaching the Elements of the Latin Language on a System of Analysis and Synthesis; with copious Vocabularies. By John Robson. London: Taylor & Walton, 1846.

WE should not think it advisable to direct the attention of the readers of the *Classical Museum* to a volume of Latin Exercises, unless such a work were distinguished either by novelty of plan or superiority of execution. Mr. Robson's book fulfils both these conditions. It is intended for the use of pupils who have no previous knowledge of the language, and its great object is to give from the very beginning an analysis of every part of the language, accompanied with a sufficient number of examples to impress the rules indelibly upon the memory. Thus the first exercise contains the rules for the formation of the nominative and accusative cases of nouns and of the third person singular of the present tense of verbs, and is followed by twenty short English sentences to be translated into Latin. Beginning in this simple manner, the author gradually proceeds through the whole of the inflections, giving, as he goes along, all the most important rules of syntax; so that by the time the pupil has finished the book, he cannot fail to have learnt, by the numerous exercises he has written, all

the principal inflections and grammatical peculiarities of the Latin language. In this way theory and practice go hand in hand, and we can imagine no better plan for obtaining a thorough knowledge of the language. At the same time, we think that the pupil ought by no means to be confined to the writing of these exercises; but after he has learnt the leading inflections from some compendious grammar, he should at once begin reading some easy Latin author; for if he be debarred from reading any writer till he has finished all the exercises, his work must of necessity become intolerably dull and tedious.

With respect to the manner in which Mr. Robson has executed his work, we are glad to be able to speak of this part of his labours with almost unqualified praise. He displays an accuracy of scholarship which does the highest credit to himself and to the institution to which he belongs, and which contrasts most favourably with the loose scholarship which is conspicuous in some of the most popular Latin Exercise Books of the present day. The only drawback to Mr. Robson's explanations is, that they are occasionally more adapted to an advanced scholar than to a youth, and are certainly quite unsuitable to a boy just beginning to learn Latin. Thus, for instance, it would be a sad puzzle to most boys to tell them, as Mr. Robson does, "that the present perfect had originally a suffix *is* or *er*," and if true, which we much doubt, would for all practical purposes be quite a useless piece of learning. But perhaps remarks of this kind are introduced, more for the use of the teacher than the learner.

To give our readers an opportunity of judging for themselves of the clear and admirable manner in which Mr. Robson explains some of the difficulties of the Latin language, we copy his account of the Gerund and the Ablative Absolute. Thus he writes of the Gerund:—

"The GERUND is a neuter abstract substantive, declined in the singular only, which is derived from verbs by suffixing to the imperfect C.F. *ndo* when it ends in *a* or *e*, and *endo* when it ends in *i*, *u*, or any consonant: as, C.F. *āra* 'plough,' GERUND *ara-ndo* 'ploughing;' C.F. *mūni* 'fortify,' GERUND *mūnī-endo* 'fortifying;' C.F. *cāp(i)*, GERUND *cāpī-endo* 'tak-ing;' C.F. deponent *cōna* 'attempt,' GERUND *cōna-ndo* 'attempt-ing.'

"The gerund corresponds to the class of English verbals which end in *ing*, and express the signification of verbs abstracted from all the notions of person, time, and mood, which are connoted by the verbs themselves: in this respect, then, the gerund resembles the infinitive, but differs from it in being declinable, and in having no variety of form expressive of the incomplete or completed state of the action.

"The gerund cannot be the subject (nominative or accusative) of

any verb but *ēs*, with all the tenses of which it may be employed; and when it is so, is always connected with a word (expressed or understood) in the *dative* case. Its meaning with *ēs* may be variously expressed in English, and very often by the verbs 'ought,' 'must,' 'be,' 'have,' followed by the infinitive corresponding to the Latin verb from which the gerund is derived. The following examples will make this subject clear, and shew how these *freer* modes of translating the gerund are derivable from its literal meaning: and it is to be especially observed that the significations here assigned, implying *duty*, *necessity*, *propriety*, are not expressed by the gerund alone, but only when it is used with the verb *ēs*; so that such translations can never be given of the gerund in any case but the nominative or accusative.

"1. *Rōmānis concēdendum nōn est*: literally, 'Giving way is not for the Romans,' i. e. 'it is not the duty or part of the Romans to give way;' or, more freely still, 'the Romans ought not to (or must not) give way.'

"2. *Mīlītēs dīxērunt (sibi) in fluctūs dēsilīendum (essē)*: literally, 'The soldiers said leaping down into the waves was for them,' i. e. 'said they had to leap down,' or 'were compelled to leap down.'"

The following is his explanation of the Ablative Absolute:—

"The word 'absolute' means 'loosened from,' i. e. 'not-connected with;' and when employed in grammar, serves to describe words which stand alone in a sentence, not being connected with, or dependent upon any other words in it: they therefore really form no part of the sentence, but may be omitted without interfering with its construction. Thus, in the sentence, 'The storm having ceased, the travellers pursued their journey,' the words, 'the storm having ceased,' are *absolute*.

"Since, then, words so employed are not dependent upon any other word, it would, *a priori*, appear difficult to decide in what case they should be put, or whether they ought not to remain in the uninflected state, that is, whether their *crude forms* ought not to be used; and this would, perhaps, better express their relation to the sentence than the method actually adopted. But as it happens that, in the great majority of cases, words used absolutely serve to *define the time* at which what is stated in the sentence took place, it was natural that they should be subjected to the same rule as words expressive of a precise point of time; and this was accordingly done both in Latin and in Greek.

"Now the general rule of the Latin language is, that words describing a precise point of time are put in the *ablative* case; and hence that became the *absolute case* in Latin.

"The absolute construction is used much more frequently in Latin than in most other languages, in consequence of the deficiency of participles, which renders it necessary, as will presently be shewn, to use various indirect and circumlocutory modes of expression; and of these the principal one is the ablative absolute.

"The cases in which it is employed may be arranged in two classes: 1st, When the words so expressed are in *signification* attached neither to the subject nor the object of the sentence, but to the *verb*; in which class of cases the absolute construction is not peculiar to Latin, but must necessarily be used in English also, unless the words be formed into a *relative* sentence, connected with the main one by some relative conjunction, as is frequently done; and in certain cases this is the *necessary* mode of expression in Latin (*vide* next Rule.) 2d, When the words so expressed are in *signification* attached to the subject; in which case they may generally be translated into English by a perfect participle active, agreeing with the subject, and having an accusative case dependent on it; for in such instances the ablative absolute is a substitute for that participle, which is, as has been already stated, wanting in Latin, except with deponent verbs.

"When the ablative absolute qualifies the verb, it may consist of a noun or pronoun, with, 1st, a perfect participle passive; 2d, an imperfect participle active; or, 3d, without any participle.

"In the other class of cases the perfect participle passive always forms a part of the absolute construction.

EXAMPLES.

I.

1. "The hostages having been delivered up, Cæsar hastened into the territories of the Ambiani:" or, "when the hostages had been delivered up, Cæsar," &c. *Obsidibus traditis, Cæsar in fines Ambianorum contendit.*

2. "No enemy hindering or delaying the march, he led the legion through into the province:" or, "as no enemy hindered or delayed the march." *Nullō hostē prōhibentē aut itēr dēmōrantē, lēgionem in prōvinciam perduxit.*

3. "Cneius Pompeius and Marcus Crassus (being) consuls:" or, "in the consulship of Cn. Pompeius and M. Crassus." *Cnēiō Pompēiō, Marcō Crassō consūlibus.*

"N.B.—This last class of cases occurs chiefly with proper names and words denoting *offices*: the imperfect participle of *ēss* not being in common use was not expressed, but its equivalent must be inserted in the translation.

II.

1. "Cæsar, the army having been landed, and a place suitable for the camp having been taken, hastens towards the enemy;" or, "Cæsar having landed the army, and taken a place," &c. *Cæsār, expōsītō exercitū, ac lēcō castrīs idōnēō captō, ad hostēs contendit.*

"That in such cases the ablative absolute is merely a substitute for a perfect participle active, is shewn by the fact that sentences frequently occur in which a perfect participle active (derived from a deponent verb) is used agreeing with the nominative, and directly afterwards, in the same sentence, the ablative absolute: as,

2. "The enemy having tarried a little while before the town, and having laid waste the lands of the Remi, all the villages and buildings having been set on fire (*i. e.* and having set on fire all the villages and buildings), hastened to Cæsar's camp." *Hostēs paullispēr āpūd oppīdum mōrātī, agrōsquē Rēmōrum dēp̄pūlātī, omnībūs vicīs ædīfīcīisquē incensīs, ad Cæsārīs castrā contendērunt.*¹

"CAUTIONS to be attended to in translating the following Exercises:

"1. Words which refer either to the subject or to the object of the sentence must be made to *agree* with them, and cannot therefore be translated by the ablative absolute: except,

"2. When a perfect participle *active* in English agrees with the subject, and has an accusative case dependent on it, it must be translated by the perfect participle *passive* agreeing with the word dependent on it (in English), and the two words must be in the ablative case: unless there is a deponent verb in Latin corresponding in meaning to the English verb; in which case the sentence must be translated *literally*, by the perfect participle agreeing with the subject, and having an accusative case dependent on it. (Vide the last example.)"

We cannot conclude this notice without expressing our hope that Mr. Robson's work will soon be extensively used in our schools. The fact that it adopts the crude form system, as it is called, will present a difficulty in some quarters; but this difficulty is more imaginary than real, as any master will soon convince himself by an actual use of the book.

¹ "It is evident that, as, for want of a perfect participle active, the Romans were compelled to use the *passive* construction, this change left the words so expressed independent of the rest of the sentence. In the last example, the words "all the villages and buildings" are, in English, in the *accusative* case, governed by the participle "having set

on fire;" but when this participle is changed into the passive "having been set on fire," which *agrees* with the substantives, they are no longer in the accusative case; and the whole phrase, not being connected with any part of the sentence, is necessarily expressed *absolutely*."

2. M. T. CICERONIS ORATIO DE PRÆTURA SICILIENSI S. DE JUDICIIS, quæ est orationum Verrinarum actionis secundæ secunda. Edited by F. Creuzer and G. H. Moser. Göttingen, 8vo. 1847. (London : D. Nutt.)

THE text of the speech of which a new edition is here presented to us, does not materially differ from that in the editions of Zumpt and Klotz; though every thing which has been published since the appearance of Zumpt's edition of the *Verrinæ*, and Klotz's edition of all Cicero's orations, and can throw light on the form and subject of this speech, has been carefully made use of. The merits of this edition, therefore, do not so much consist in a new critical constitution of the text, as in an accumulation of every thing that can contribute to arrive at a thorough understanding of the speech itself, and every thing connected with it. The volume opens with an introduction, giving an account of the life of C. Verres, (who is here at once and correctly called a member of the Cornelia gens,) and more especially of his fearful conduct in Sicily, of which he was prætor for three years, and the course of his subsequent trial. This introduction throws light not only upon the speech under consideration, but upon the whole proceedings against Verres. Next follows an analytical exposition of the subjects discussed in the speech, after which we come to the text itself, from p. 1 to 87. The remainder of the book, from p. 88 to 487, consists of a critical and explanatory commentary, extending to p. 410, and containing a digest of every thing that has ever been written to illustrate this speech. As far as quantity is concerned, there is certainly no ground for complaint, we might, on the contrary, wish for a little more condensation; but to any one who wishes to acquire a thorough and critical knowledge of the text, or seeks light for the numerous allusions to the history and condition of Sicily at the time, the commentary is invaluable. Those historical, antiquarian, and linguistic subjects which require more minute discussion, are treated of in twenty-one excursions, each of which is a valuable dissertation by itself. The first of them treats of the *leges et judicia repetundarum*, and is a digest of a portion of Zumpt's excellent treatises *De legibus judiciisque repetundarum in Republica Romana*: some are extracts from other works, and others are original. The remaining pages from 477 to the end, contain a very complete grammatical and historical index; and for the better understanding of all geographical allusions, the volume is accompanied by a map of Sicily, and a plan of Syracuse. The introduction, commentary, and exercises, are written in German, which, to many scholars in this country, must be a drawback, which is to be regretted the more, as there is no other edition of this speech which contains so complete an apparatus of everything necessary for a right understanding of it.

3. M. TULLII CICERONIS DE RE PUBLICA Librorum Fragmenta. Recensuit et adnotatione critica instruxit Fridericus Osannus. Gottingae. 8vo. 1847. (London, D. Nutt.)

THE object which Professor Osann has proposed to himself in preparing a new edition of this interesting and important work, is to give to the world a more accurate text than any of his predecessors had been able to do, and at the same time religiously to preserve the orthography of the Vatican MS., which, in his opinion, differs very little from that followed by Cicero himself. In order to secure the first of these objects, Osann, who seems to have devoted a number of years to his task, has carefully weighed and considered all the labours of his predecessors, and especially of Cardinal A. Mai's second edition of the *De Re Publica*, from which the more important remarks are here reprinted, partly under the text, and partly in an appendix. From the parts which we have had an opportunity of examining, we have gained the conviction that the present edition must be ranked among the very best that we have of any ancient author. As far as the orthography is concerned, Osann follows the example of Wunder, Madvig, and Alschefski, endeavouring to restore as much as possible the orthography of the age of Cicero, which, he thinks, was scrupulously followed by the person who wrote the Vatican codex. The editor discusses this matter in an introductory chapter from p. 8 to 13. A second introductory chapter contains a discussion on the age of the Vatican codex, which Osann is inclined to assign to the fourth century of the Christian era. In a third introductory chapter, the writer speaks on certain points connected with the work *De Re Publica*, such as the time when it was written and published, to whom it was dedicated, and what were Cicero's objects in writing it. Then follows the text, with the notes at the bottom of the page, from p. 1 to p. 424. The notes are for the most part critical, and shew an extensive knowledge of palæography, but now and then historical remarks are interspersed. One of the most valuable parts of the work are the twenty-two excursuses appended at the end, from p. 428 to p. 502, most of which treat on points of orthography and grammar; the 19th is on the celebrated passage, ii. 22, where Cicero speaks of the number of centuries in the Servian constitution. There are few books from which so much valuable instruction can be gathered regarding the orthography and the inflections of the Latin language as from Osann's edition of Cicero de *Re Publica*; and we hope that this work will meet with that share of attention from English scholars which it so richly deserves.

4. MUSIC AND EDUCATION. By Dr. Mainzer. London,
Longman. 8vo. 1848.

This excellent and eloquent little work, which deserves the most serious attention of every one engaged in education, does not, properly speaking, come within the range of books whose merits or demerits should be discussed in the *Classical Museum*; but there are some portions of it which cannot fail to be of interest also to scholars. We allude to the fifth and sixth chapters, in which the author, in brief but graphic sketches, endeavours to shew in what estimation music was held by the ancients, and what place was assigned to it by them in education. We feel the more called upon to recommend to our readers a perusal of this work, because music has hitherto been almost entirely neglected in our great educational establishments, and thus an instrument has been strangely overlooked, which is more calculated than any other to create and cherish in the young a love for what is morally beautiful and noble. The author is not insensible to certain absurdities and abuses which are daily committed in musical education; on the contrary, he openly combats them with satire and common sense, and points out the way in which the really desirable object may be attained.

VIII.

PHILOLOGICAL WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED
IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

- Æschyli quæ supersunt omnia. Ed. Fredericus A. Paley. 2 vols. 8vo. Cambridge.
- Æschyli septem contra Thebas; cum Fragmentis Deperditorum Dramatum. Fredericus A. Paley. 8vo., bound. Cambridge.
- Æschylus, the Agamemnon; with Notes. By C. C. Felton, Boston. 8vo. 1847.
- Æsop's Fables; a new Version, chiefly from Original Sources. By the Rev. Thomas James. With more than 100 Illustrations by Tenniel. Post 8vo., cloth.
- Arnold, T. K., Second Latin Book; intended as a Sequel to Henry's First Latin Book. 4th Edition. 12mo., cloth. London.
- Arnold, T. K., Greek Grammar; intended as a sufficient Grammar of Reference for Schools and Colleges. 8vo., half-bound. London.
- Bojesen's, E. F., Hand-Book of Grecian Antiquities. Translated from the German version of Dr. Hoffa, by the Rev. R. B. Paul, and

- Edited, with occasional Notes and a complete series of Questions, by the Rev. T. K. Arnold. 12mo., cloth.
- Demosthenes, the Oration on the Crown. By J. T. Champlin. 2d Edition. 8vo. Boston, 1847.
- Dobson's, W., Selections for Composition and Translation in Prose and Verse. 6th Series. 12mo., cloth.
- Euripidis Medea ad fidem Manuscriptorum, emendata et brevibus notis, emendationum potissimum rationes reddentibus instructa, edidit Ricardus Porson. 8vo., boards.
- Gaisford, T., Etymologicon Magnum, seu verius Lexicon sæpissime vocabulorum origines indagans ex pluribus Lexicis Scholiastis et Grammaticis Anonymi cuiusdam opera concinnatum ad Codd. MSS. recens. et Notis variorum instruxit Thomas Gaisford, S. T. P. Folio, cloth.
- Greece, the History of, from the Earliest Times to A.D. 1833. 12mo. with Map. Tract Society.
- Herodotus: a new and literal Translation from the Text of Baehr; with a Geographical and General Index. By Henry Cary. Post 8vo., cloth. Bohn's Classical Library.
- Herodotus. Notes on Herodotus, Original and Selected from the best Commentators. By Dawson W. Turner. 8vo., cloth.
- Horace: the Satires and Epistles of Horace; with Notes and Excursus. By Thomas Keightley. Post 8vo.
- Kennedy's The Child's Latin Primer; or First Latin Lessons. 12mo., cloth. London.
- Murphy's Grammar of the Latin Language, constructed on logical principles. 12mo., cloth.
- Plutarchi Vitæ. Secundum Codices Parisinos recognovit Theod. Doehner, Græce et Latine. Vol. 2, royal 8vo. Scriptorum Græcorum Bibliotheca.
- Taciti Opera. Edidit Franciscus Ritter. 2 vols. (containing the Annals.) 8vo., boards.
- Tacitus: the Germanica and Agricola; with Notes for Colleges. By W. S. Tyler, Professor of Greek and Latin in Amherst College, U. S. 12mo. Boston.
- Thucydidis Historia. 2 tom. 24mo., cloth. Oxford Classics.
- Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Æneis, in usum Scholarum. 24mo., cloth. Oxford Classics.
- Virgil: the Bucolics and Georgics; with Notes, &c. By Thomas Keightley. Post 8vo., cloth.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT.

- Aristophanis Byzantii, Grammatici Alexandrini, Fragmenta. Collegit et disposuit A. Nauck. Accedit P. Schmidt. Comment. de Callistrato Aristophane. Halle. 8vo. 7s.
- Aristophanis Vespæ cum Scholiis Selectis et Lectionibus Codicum Ravennatis a Bekkero, et Veneti a Cobeto denuo Excerptis. Accedunt Annotationes Crit. ad singulas Comœdias. Scrips. R. B. Hirschig. Lugd. Bat. 7s.

- Caesaris Commentarii cum Supplementis A. Hirtii et aliorum. Caesaris Hirtiique Fragmenta. C. Nipperdeius recens. optimor. codd. auctoritates annotav. quaestiones crit. praemisit. Gotha. 8vo. 16s.
- in usum Scholarum. Gotha. 8vo. 2s.
- Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Biblioth. Palatinae Vindobonensis. Pars 2. Codices Hebraici. Disseruerunt A. Krafft et S. Deutsch. Wien. 4to. 13s. 6d.
- Ciceronem Orationis pro Archia Poeta revera esse auctorem demonstratur a J. Lattmann. Göttingen. 8vo.
- Ciceronis, M. T., Oratio de Praetura Siciliensi s. de Judiciis, quae est Orationum Verrinarum actionis secundae secunda. Hrsg. v. F. Creuzer u. G. H. Moser. Götting. 8vo. 9s. 6d.
- Creuzer F., Deutsche Schriften, neue u. verbesserte. Ausgabe Abth. 3, Vol. II. Zur Gesch. der Griech. und Röm. Literatur. Darmst. 8vo. 13s. 6d.
- Forum Romanum, a Bunsenio, Quastio, Prellero et aliis. Annotavit Ed. de Muralto. Petrop. 4to. 1s.
- Geitlin, G., Principia Grammatices Neo-Persicae, cum Metrorum Doctrina et Dialogis Persicis. Hels. 12mo. 10s.—8vo. (1845.) 12s.
- Gerhard, E., Das Orakel der Themis. 6. Programm. z. Berliner Winckelmannsfest. Berlin. 4to. Plate. 2s. 6d.
- , Ueber die Gottheiten der Etrusker. Eine in d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin vorgelesene Abhandlg. 4to. 7 Plates. 7s.
- , auserlesene griech. Vasenbilder, hauptsächlich etruskischen Fundorts. Part 35. Berlin. Royal 4to. 6 coloured plates, 7s. (Complete, 3 vols. royal 4to. (40 parts,) 240 coloured plates, £14.
- Herodiani Scripta tria Emendatiora. Edidit K. Lehrs. Accedunt Analecta. Regiom. 8vo. 10s.
- Huschke, P. E., Ueber den Census u. die Steuerverfassung der früheren Römischen Kaiserzeit. E. Beitrag zur Röm. Staatswissenschaft. Berlin. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- Inscriptiones Graecae Ineditae. Ad Aug. Boeckhium misit J. L. Ussing. Havn. 4to. 6s.
- Jahn, Otto, Archæologische Beiträge. Berlin. 8vo.
- Müllenhoff, K., Commentationis de Antiquissima Germanorum Poesi Chorica Particula. Kiliae. 4to. 1s. 6d.
- Müller, K. O., Handbuch der Archäologie d. Kunst. 2e, nach d. Handexemplar des Verf. verb. bericht. und verm. Aul. von F. G. Welcker. Bresl. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
- , Kleine Deutsche Schriften über Religion, Kunst, Sprache und Litteratur, Leben und Geschichte d. Alterthums. Gesammelt u. hrsg. v. Ed. Müller. Vol. II. Bresl. 8vo. 11s. 6d. 2 vols. 21s.
- Pindari Carmina. Ed. L. Dissenius. Edit. II. cur. F. L. Schneidewin. Sect. II. Commentarius. Fasc. I. Gotha. 8vo. 3s.
- Plotini de Virtutibus et adversus Gnosticos Libellus, specimen editionis novae opp. Plotinorum. Ed. A. Kirchhoff. Berol. 4to. 2s. 6d.
- Stenzler, A. F., De Lexicographiae Sanscritae Principiis. Commentatio Academica. Vrat. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- Taciti Opera. Emendavit et Commentariis instruxit L. Döderlein. 2 vols. Halis. 8vo. 15s.—Vol. I., Annales. 7s. Vol. II., Historiae, Germania, &c. 8s.

- Thucydidis de Bello Peloponnesiaco Libri VIII. Recens. et Explic.
F. H. Bothe. Tom. I. Fasc. 2, Libros III. et IV. contin. Lipsiæ.
8vo. 3s.
- Vocabularius Optimus. Zur Begrüssung der in Basel versammelten
Philologen und Schulmänner im Auftr. der Universität hrsg. von
W. Wackernagel. Basel. 4to. 3s.
- Wal, J. de, Mythologiæ Septentrionalis Monumenta Epigraphica La-
tina. Traj. ad Rhen. 8vo.
- Zestermann, A. C. A., De Basilicis Libri Tres. Ex Comment. ab
Acad. Regia Belgica præmio Donat. ad a. 1846. Tom. XXI.
Brux. 4to. 7 plates. 10s. 6d.
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THE CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

IX.

ON THE COMITIA CURIATA.

NIEBUHR has done service to the early Roman history, (against the admirers of Dionysius,) by establishing that the Curies were essentially patrician. The fact is so very clear to one who studies Livy only, that probably nothing but the attempt to reconcile him with Dionysius can have misled previous inquirers. Nor does it appear requisite in this matter to affect to learn more out of Livy's words, than Livy himself knew. Nothing at least is let drop by him which would imply that he, as Dionysius, looked on the Curiate assembly as plebeian and democratical. On the contrary, the very first time he refers to the *auctoritas patrum*, he uses words which seem distinctly to imply that he understood by it "the assent of the Curies." It has reference to the election of Numa, Liv. i. 17. He says: "Patres decreverunt, ut cum populus regem jussisset, id sic ratum esset, si Patres auctores fierent." Then, in order to explain the last words, he subjoins: "*Hodieque* in legibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem jus, vi ademta: priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum eventum *Patres auctores fiunt*." It is perfectly clear, first, that this illustration is his own, and is not slavishly copied from an old annalist; and next, that he refers to the shadowy assembly of the Curies, (of which Cicero speaks, *In Rullum*, II. 11,) as the existing body which, before the Comitias voted, gave the "*auctoritas patrum*" to that which was about to be proposed: for no one can imagine that he meant the senate. It may almost

be inferred, that in Livy's day, the beadles of the Curies gave the assent of that body by the formula, "Patres auctores sumus:" and if so, it is unreasonable to question that the law of the dictator Publilius (Liv. VIII. 12,) was well understood by the historian who reports it in the words, "ut legum, quæ comitiis centuriatis ferrentur, ante initum suffragium Patres auctores fierent."

It is farther manifest, that the Curiata in later times had a peculiar reference to certain patrician interests; as, when a patrician was to be adopted into another family, we know by the case of Clodius, that a *lex curiata* was essential. Yet we cannot suppose that any assembly became *more* patrician as time went on; and every thing which indicates that the Curiata in later times was patrician, is an *à fortiori* proof for the early ages.

Lastly, it will be admitted that the political rights of the plebeians were first established by Servius; and that, in order to do this, he constructed a new assembly. But nothing would have been thereby gained, if they already had votes in the Curiata; on the contrary, a loss would have been incurred, if, as Dionysius supposed, the Curies had voted by the head. It is therefore only consistent in him to represent Servius as deceiving the people by a sham assembly, which was intended to lower their political position. This however no one surely will receive. On the whole, without entangling ourselves in any disputable hypotheses, the *prima facie* evidence is so clear, as at least to throw the burden of proof on one who denies that the Curies were patrician, and that it was their business to give the *auctoritas Patrum*.¹

While thus far acceding to Niebuhr's view, and acknowledging its importance, I find it impossible to follow him in much beside which he maintains, concerning the functions and activity of the Curiate Assembly *after* the legislation of Servius. In this paper it is intended to exhibit a simpler view of the subject, which alone, it is believed, our sources of knowledge justify; and afterwards to show, that the passages on which Nie-

¹ In the passage quoted from Liv. i. 17, by *populus* Livy must have meant the mass of the community, (whether called clients or plebeians,) as he contrasts them to the patrician curies and

to the senate. It would be hardy to maintain that he was correct in supposing this multitude to receive formal authority to elect a king; and perhaps we must necessarily impute error here.

buhr rests for his more artificial and various system will not support the edifice.

That Servius came to the throne by an important revolution, it seems impossible to doubt. Livy and Cicero (*de Rep.*) agree that he reigned "in jussu populi." The latter expresses it, "Non jussu sed voluntate atque concessu civium;" and adds, "Non commisit se patribus." This entirely cuts away the argument of Niebuhr, (vol. i. p. 435,) who denies that the patricians were placed in the centuries according to a timocratic arrangement, because (it seems) no aristocracy likes a distinction to be made between its members. It is elsewhere (p. 484,) distinctly admitted by Niebuhr, that they did not at all like the new assembly, and would have preferred to keep all the power of the State in their own Curies. In fact, there never yet was such a thing as a new national legislature, constructed according to the pleasure of the previous holders of power; nor made except with the express intention of greatly lowering their position. A practical Roman did not indulge idly in organic changes; and the bare fact of the sudden rise of the Centuriate assembly seems to demonstrate that Servius was borne to the throne on the shoulders of the plebeians; though not so much by a victory over the patricians, as by a revolution which expelled the Etruscan dynasty. Servius, however, saw the wisdom and justice of admitting the plebeians into full Quiritan citizenship, and did this by joining them with the patricians in his new assembly; certainly not to the full satisfaction of the latter.

If it be asked, why he did not pursue the more obvious course of distributing them into Curies, and so admitting them into the Curiate assembly, I would not at all reply, "Because the number 30 was too sacred to alter;" but would rather look to the later struggle of the plebeians for the solution. He did not dare to give such offence to patrician religion, as would have been incurred by introducing plebeians,² who might not lawfully celebrate patrician ceremonies. Objections of this nature became hypocritical in after times; but they could not have been urged at all without provoking derision, unless there had been once a period when such bigotry was sincere. Had indeed the patri-

² According to Gellius, (quoted by Niebuhr, note 502, vol. ii.) a *pontiff* presided in the Curiate assemblies.

cians been disposed to a coalition, they would doubtless have discovered religious rites suited to consecrate the plebeians and sanction *their* admission as easily as that of Appius Claudius : but as they did not, we can hardly be wrong in inferring that they urged this objection with so much pertinacity, that Servius cut the knot by erecting the new assembly.

But what then was to become of the old one, if it was not to be dissolved and annihilated ? I know not how to imagine, with Niebuhr, that it for one day remained of co-ordinate and equal authority ; nor is there, that I am aware, any passage in a Roman writer, from which this can be justly inferred. But the moment we understand that there was a religious reason against destroying the old assembly, the analogy of all antiquity, as indeed of the English ecclesiastical courts, assures us what course was likely to be taken. Its functions, namely, as a court of judicature over patricians, especially in matters of religion, (as marriages, wills, adoptions,) would be left unaltered : while, in the matters which the new assembly was competent to decide, nothing but *the religious confirmation* would be left to the old one. Nor would it by any means have free leave to refuse this confirmation, any more than an English archbishop can refuse to confirm and consecrate a person duly presented by the Crown. The only admissible ground of refusal would be a formal or religious one ; thus, if the Centuries had not fulfilled the conditions necessary for the formal legality or religious validity of their acts, the Curies would refuse their sacred sanction. Among these conditions was reckoned, perhaps from the very beginning, a due regard to the auspices.

Such is the *a priori* probability of the case. Now, *a posteriori*, we find that all the notices which survive to us of the Curiate assembly (except those of Dionysius, who is led far astray by his own theories,) are agreeable to this view. The only recorded change³ which passed on the Curies, is that by Publilius Philo's law ; a law which reduced them to manifest impotence, by bidding them to sanction every legislative measure, as soon as it was brought forward, and before the other assembly had accepted it. Yet Publilius passed this humiliating enactment without any opposition of which a whisper has come

³ The Mænian law, according to Niebuhr, extended the Publilian from laws to elections.

down to us. Surely we may infer that the assent of the Curies had previously become a merely nominal thing, involving nothing but religious formalities, which were in fact sufficiently provided for, if the Centuriate assembly was subjected to augural rule. That the formal sanction of the Curies remained *after* Publilius's law only "*auspiciorum causa*," as Cicero expresses it, (*In Rullum*, II. 11,) no one has ever doubted; but Cicero's words may as naturally be understood of the earlier times likewise; and at any rate, he treats the whole affair of a *lex curiata* as illustrative of "*religio*."

Livy has only four passages, after the Servian constitution, which speak of the Curiate assembly by name. In book v. 52, Camillus, in a long and vehement speech, dissuades on religious grounds the proposed migration to Veii. After stating that Rome was built *auspicato inauguratoque*, he recounts the names of various deities and religious ceremonies which impede the removal, and winds up by saying, that neither the "*comitia curiata, quæ rem militarem continent*," nor the "*comitia centuriata, quibus consules tribunosque militares creatis*," can be held at Veii without violating the auspices.—It is clear from Cicero, (already referred to) that the phrase "*quæ rem militarem continent*" does not necessarily denote any real power in the assembly; for in his day likewise, a consul who had come into office by the election of the centuries, to which the previous sanction of the Curies had been given, could not assume his military rank, but remained *in toga*, until he passed for himself a *lex curiata de imperio*. Cicero might still say that the Curies "*rem militarem continent*," although the thirty beadles were sufficiently submissive to the consul. The only political importance in the *lex curiata de imperio*, was, that it gave a tribune one more opportunity of interposing his veto. (*Cic. Rull. II. 12.*)

In Livy, VI. 41, Appius, enraged at the demand of a plebeian consul, says that all the religious ceremonies may as well be overturned: "*non leges auspicato ferantur, non magistratus creentur; nec centuriatis nec curiatis comitiis Patres auctores fiant*." Here it may not seem certain whether *comitiis* is dative or ablative; but I rather believe it is dative. Becker (*Antiq.* vol. II. p. 320,) justly compares the phrase "[*patres*] *auctores centuriatorum et curiatorum comitorum*," *Cic. Pro Domo*, 14; and regards it as certain that *auctores* there does

not mean the Senate, but the Patricians. I confess I feel it very hard to decide, especially concerning the passage in Livy. In neither way do we get fresh insight into the functions of the Curies; yet there is nothing inconsistent with the view which has been presented.

The *lex curiata de imperio* is alluded to in reference to Papirius's Master of the Horse, (ix. 38,) solely because it was accompanied by a bad omen. Again, v. 46, when speaking of the dictatorship of Camillus, we read, (what may be thought of more importance,) that Camillus was recalled from exile *comitiis curiatis*. To ascertain the full import of this, we ought better to understand the judicial process which exiled him; but that is so uncertain, that Niebuhr (vol. II. 503,) has half a page full of interrogations concerning it, and concludes that "to pronounce with confidence is impossible." One possibility is, that his vow of one-tenth of the spoil may have subjected him to a sacred sentence when embezzlement was proved. For us at present it is enough to insist that the affair was ostensibly judicial, not political; moreover, that at such a time it was important to call into action the most sacred machinery, in order to suggest that the gods themselves were recalling the great Camillus to save his country. As his guilt was undoubted, the process can hardly have been very legitimate; so that it seems impossible to found any general conclusions upon it.

But since with Niebuhr I admit that the "*auctoritas patrum*," in the early books of Livy naturally refers to the Curies, it remains to ask what light this will throw on their functions. Now it deserves remark, that in the earlier controversy against the plebeians, we never hear of even a threat to refuse the *auctoritas patrum*. The constitutional struggle begins upon the appointment of tribunes; previously, the plebeians had no weapons but unconstitutional force. The first hostile proceedings of the tribunes consist in the impeachment of individual patricians, and in defending plebeians who refuse to enlist in the army: with such acts, it would seem, the *auctoritas patrum* had nothing to do. The patricians defend themselves, sometimes by violence, sometimes by conciliating a majority of the tribunician college. Equally however, when Publilius Volero promulgates his bill, the patricians do not talk about refusing *auctoritas*; but prepare to stop the voting by force. The same remark applies to the civil contests which follow;—about the

Lex Terentilla, about the increase of the number of tribunes to ten; about the Lex Icilia, which divided the Aventine to the commons. The period of the Decemviri passes, and the laws of Valerius and Horatius are sanctioned, without a word about the *auctoritas patrum*. Not until Canuleius promulgates his bills for legalizing mixed marriages and opening the consulate to the plebeians, do the consuls feebly hint "*patres non accepturos*;" apparently because it was alleged that the bills were irreligious. Yet the end is, (IV. 6,) "*Victi tandem Patres, ut de connubio ferretur, consensere*:" which may, at least with much plausibility, be interpreted of the Curiate assembly. The other bill was withdrawn, without coming to a trial; and it is probable that the tribunes practised the policy of demanding both, that they might get one. I almost suspect my own accuracy in collecting the passages; so few do they appear: but if there had been more, it is probable that Becker would have alluded to them in his elaborate discussion on the *Patres Auctores* (*Antiq.* vol. II. pp. 314-332).

When, presently after the affair of Canuleius, (Liv. IV. 8,) we are told that the *Patres* gladly receive a proposal of the *Senate*, it is more obvious to understand simply that the measure was popular with the patricians, than to refer it to voting in the Curiate assembly.

The next controversy between the orders is about the agrarian law of the tribunes Maecilius and Metilius, (Liv. IV. 48,) against whom an Appius as usual displays an inveterate opposition, but says no word about refusing "*auctoritas*." He advises his Order to win over others of the tribunician college; — a plan which proves successful. The next year also the majority of the tribunes declare that they will not allow any plebiscitum to be carried, "*nisi ex auctoritate senatus*:" which shows that the patricians persevered in the same mode of action.

About forty years pass, during which the chief permanent contest is not about organic reforms, but about the elections. When the patricians have, by means of an interrex, (IV. 51,) restored consuls for military tribunes, in the fifth year the plebs at last revenges itself (IV. 54,) by creating plebeian quæstors for the first time. This is keenly resented by the *patres*, yet we do not hear that their *auctoritas* is refused. The same remark applies to their creation of plebeians as military tribunes

(v. 12, 13). It is quite certain that these were unable either to be elected or to exercise their office without the sanction of the curies and a *lex curiata*; yet even in the year in which all the military tribunes elected are plebeians, no resistance in the Curiate assembly is talked of. This appears to be a clear proof, that its sanction was not a living political reality. Finally, when Licinius and Sextius promulgate their celebrated laws, the patricians endeavour as before to oppose them by means of their colleagues; and in this way the contest is maintained for nine years, (as the Roman historians reckoned,) until the obstinacy of the tribunes prevails, and the Licinian bills are made law. When, in accordance with the third of them, L. Sextius is elected consul, then at last the patricians refuse to give their sanction (VI. 42); which however is resented so fiercely as to excite the threat of secession or civil war. That here again it was not the Senate but the Curies, that refused to confirm, is justly inferred by Niebuhr from Livy's phrase, "*Patricii* (not *Patres*) *se auctores futuros negabant.*" As it must be admitted that Livy here understood his own words, it is very gratuitous to doubt it as to book I. ch. 17.

It is difficult to say what greater proof of our proposition we want in an obscure part of history, than the phenomena which have been recounted. In a long and tedious contest, the plebeians, commencing from the lowest point of depression, gradually force their way up to the highest magistracy, and succeed in passing a long series of laws most offensive to the patricians. The earliest steps were undoubtedly the most arduous, especially because afterwards a plebeian interest was sure to grow up in the patrician ranks. It is quite certain that all this time the sanction of the Curies was essential to every law and every curule election, and that they could only say Aye or No, not being at liberty to amend a bill; *yet not once is its refusal on record.* A refusal is threatened, but only threatened, to the two laws which, in the judgment of high patricianism, were a violation of religion; those which admitted plebeians to intermarriage and to the consulate. We may add, Livy says that some wondered the sanction was *not* refused to the Valerian Horatian laws.—Such being the general facts, and the later assent of the Curies being notoriously an idle form, "*auspicio-rum causa,*" the full presumption is, that the same was the case from the first day that the Centuriate assembly came into exis-

tence. The refusal of their sanction *on the ground of something ill-omened*, was probably a common occurrence, and was an aristocratic engine of some importance, precisely because it did not give offence to the plebeians. The gods, and not men, were then thought to disapprove; hence such cases are not recorded as a refusal on the part of the patricians.

But perhaps it is proper to carry our review of facts down to the Publilian laws.—When a consul once passed in the camp a law useful to the treasury, it is remarked that the patres gave their *auctoritas*, (VII. 16,) because they were pleased with the measure. This was undoubtedly an occasion on which they might have refused with the greatest propriety and with general approval; because they might have taken exception on a point of form,—alleging that the army, while under the sacramentum, was not an assembly of freely voting citizens.—A little later (VII. 18,) a patrician interrex breaks the Licinian law by electing two patrician consuls. The usurpation being repeated the next year, stirs up evil blood anew betwixt the orders; but as soon as the plebeians regain their consul, (VII. 21,) concord returns, and continues unbroken (if we may trust Livy,) for many years. In the midst of this harmony, without complaint, without resistance, Publilius Philo puts the legislative power of the Curies aside for ever by his singular law (VIII. 12). This appears to complete the proof that they were previously a mere piece of ceremonialism, which might nevertheless sometimes work mischief.

Having missed this obvious solution, Niebuhr finds it requisite to invent a contest of which we have no trace (vol. III. pp. 146–151). “There *must have arisen*,” says he, “an important and mischievous discord between the majority of the Patres Conscripti and the common council of the Patres, the Curies.” He proceeds with elaborate ingenuity to *account* for this discord, and then furnishes us with hints as to the methods by which the senate “frightened the Curies into a renunciation of their privileges;” which he thinks may be illustrated by the Act of Roman Catholic Emancipation in England. In vol. II. p. 596, he alludes to “the *commotions* which led to the Publilian laws” as familiar and notorious, both as to the fact, and as to its causes. Such a turning of his own unsupported hypothesis into historical facts, most eminently tends to delude his reader as to the real state of the evidence.

But it is time to consider Niebuhr's own theory concerning the Curiate assembly, and the proofs which he adduces.

Not to be tedious, reference may be made to vol. i., pp. 434, 483, 518, 525, 530, 565, 608, 619, where his general doctrine admits of being thus summed up. "On the establishment of the Centuriate assembly, the Curiate stood on an equipoise with it; and the sacrifice of authority made by the patricians was very trifling. Yet the new arrangement seems to have been effected by the absolute power of the king against their resistance. The last Tarquin having reigned chiefly by the aid of the lesser houses, a schism, even under the republic, between the lesser and greater was continued, which formed separate political interests in the Curies and in the Senate. The early quæstors were chosen by the Curies.⁴ The Interrex, after plebeians were admissible to the senate, may possibly have been chosen by the Curies. The *populus* to whose *concilium* Publicola did homage, was the Curiate assembly. This also was the *populus* to whom a patrician might appeal against the consul's sentence, but only within a mile of the city. The same is the *populus*, which, according to Festus, named M. Valerius the first dictator. Even in the year of the city 444, the passing of the Lex Curiata after a dictator had been nominated was assuredly more than an empty form.⁵ During the first secession, the absence of the entire plebs made it impossible to assemble the Centuries; and the patricians caught at the opportunity of electing the new consuls by the Curies. In that assembly no candidates could present their names except through the mediation of the senate; hence the senate virtually got the elections for their own assembly. The Curies also now *empowered the senate* to negotiate with the plebs, and the compact was made, which ended in the establishment of the tribunate. The determining of war and peace rested with the Curies, after the preliminary deliberation of the senate.⁶ The Curies did not create the early tribunes of the commons, but only confirmed the choice of the

⁴ The proof (!) is; that "Junius Gracchanus says they were chosen by the *people*," Nieb. p. 525. Tacitus, he adds, is *assuredly wrong* in giving a contrary account.

⁵ This is a reference to Liv. ix. 38; a passage which I have adduced as indicating the very contrary conclusion,

viz. that the Lex Curiata was solely *auspiciorum causa*. We are there told only that the first Curia which voted was *abominanda* for having had the lead also at the Gallic defeat, and at the affair of the Caudine Forks: which was a *triste omen* to Papirius.

⁶ P. 615.—But no proof is offered.

centuries; the confirmation, however, was “*beyond all compare more momentous than the election*,” p. 619.

Passing to the second volume of Niebuhr, we find, that—“The Curies were the *populus* who condemned Sp. Cassius (p. 169); and the greater houses at this crisis began to exclude the lesser from the consulship, until the lesser coalesced with the commonalty as partizans of Cassius (p. 172). The veto of the Curies *must have* kept out of the tribuneship all men notorious for their boldness (p. 176); yet the Curies *must have* lost their Veto before the election of Volero (p. 190); which is then (as p. 211,) alluded to as an established fact. After the legal murder of Sp. Cassius, “the Centuries were to content themselves with confirming, *that is to say, with doing homage to*, the consuls appointed by the senate and Curies,” p. 179.⁷ “Unquestionably,” he continues, p. 184, “the transfer of the elective power into the hands of the Curies was so great an alteration, that a historian of the consulship could not have omitted to record its epoch, even if the effects of it had not lasted above two or three years. . . . The houses retained the advantage of bestowing *one* of the posts for full thirty years, till the ancient prætorship expired in the decemvirate.”—“A formal arrangement, by which they [the Centuries] regained the choice of one of the consuls, and were forced to give up the other to the Curies, *manifestly* preceded the election of Sp. Furius for the following year, 273, when Kæso Fabius was appointed a second time by the senate and the burgesses,” p. 188.

It is not requisite to quote more from Niebuhr. Before proceeding to consider his proofs in detail, a general remark is essential. He fully concedes, or rather maintains, that Livy, Dionysius, and Zonaras (whom he identifies with Dion Cassius only when he wishes to give weight to his testimony), were wholly unacquainted with the secret truths to which Niebuhr’s analysis forces them to bear witness. He treats their words, *ad libitum*, as either their own, or those of some old annalist unintelligently copied. Now, without denying that sometimes (especially in a native Roman writer), we may be able to discern such underlying fragments of antiquity, it must be laid down as a first principle of interpretation, that *a man’s words are his own, until proof is given to the contrary*. If on this obvious

⁷ Not a word of proof is even pretended for this.

presumption they yield a consistent intelligible sense, a tangled hypothesis like Niebuhr's is not for a moment to be listened to. Less still in Zonaras than in Livy; for Zonaras so compiles from Dion and Plutarch and perhaps from many other Greek writers, and, (according to Niebuhr), with so little sense or judgment, that no one can say how many transmutations the primitive Roman annalist may have undergone; and at any rate we have no criterion of language and style to discriminate the interfused materials. In Dionysius, perhaps least of all, is it lightly to be imagined that we can detect the primitive words of old Roman annalists: for he evidently threw them all into the crucible of his theory. It is impossible to study his extravagantly elaborated details, without seeing the pains which he has taken to mould every thing into a shapely and consistent whole: and he is indebted to the *analogy* of the Greek republics for his materials, much as Niebuhr to that of the mediæval free cities. It is about as easy, from reading Niebuhr's theoretical narrative, to infer what Dionysius wrote, as to divine from what correct Roman original Dionysius gained his erroneous statements.

Again; by Niebuhr's confession, vol. II. p. 184, (which may be hard to reconcile with his statements, which we have quoted from vol. I. p. 483,) "the transfer of the elective power into the hands of the Curies was so great an alteration, that a historian of the consulship could not have omitted to record its epoch," &c. How then has it so faded out of the record, that the alchemy of Niebuhr was needed to resuscitate the invisible traits? Without pressing the *argumentum ad hominem*, there is a dilemma in the topic itself. If little was to be gained to the patricians by the usurpation which Niebuhr supposes, it is improbable that they should have incurred the odium: if much, then the war-cry of Curies and Centuries (which would have been the *watch-words* of the parties), must have rung through the history too loudly for their echo to have been lost to Livy's ear. In short, when we consider in detail how fine-spun and exact is Niebuhr's system, it is evident that it cannot be supported upon mere *possible* interpretations of words in a different sense from that intended by the writer.

Now, that the passages on which he relies prove nothing at all, is almost certain *a priori*, from the broad fact that they were familiar to critics long before Niebuhr's time, yet no difficulty

was seen in them such as to inspire the thought that Livy (or Dionysius) did not know what he was writing. We may fairly infer that Livy is consistent with himself, and Dionysius too with himself: and if so, all need and all pretence for Niebuhr's interpretations fall away at once. Yet it is requisite, in due respect to Niebuhr's genius, learning, and fame, to examine the passages one by one. And this is our excuse, if we have to waste words: Niebuhr's name overwhelms us unless we do so.

As to the imagined schism between the greater and lesser houses, it may be that it is true; but none of the passages in Livy and Dionysius to which Niebuhr refers have any tendency to prove it: for by his confession these historians *did not mean* "greater and lesser" patres, but elder and younger, as they always explicitly call them. The narrative is uniformly self-consistent. To the younger patricians feats of bodily strength are ascribed, similar to those of gown against town in our old universities; while the prudence of the elder men deprecates an appeal to force. In this whole question Niebuhr offers nothing to refute, did he not make an unfair quotation twice over, and with much confidence of tone. Concerning the *juniore*s who espoused the cause of young Kæso Quinctius, he confesses (vol. II. p. 291), that there is no doubt Livy meant the young men; yet (he adds), "it is *quite certain* that *here again*" [what has not yet been proved at all] "the distinction was between the greater and lesser houses." In proof, it seems, of this, he refers us to note 471 as peculiarly convincing. In that note we find a reference to Liv. II. 54, a passage, as to which (both there and in vol. I., note 832,) Niebuhr is microscopically blind. Livy relates, that the consuls, when accused by the tribunes, warned the junior *patres* (whether senators or patricians is quite immaterial), *not to seek to rise to the consulate, as it would expose them to the danger of being impeached by the tribunes*. And this is gravely alluded to (quoting only so much as did not expose the error), as a decisive proof that these *juniors* cannot have been young men! Since Niebuhr is not a fool, I hardly expect my readers to believe that I am stating the facts correctly: and I therefore beg them to refer to the books themselves.

But Niebuhr seems to imagine that he has support for his notion in Festus, under the phrase, *consul major*. Vol. II. note 424, he writes: "At this time the nominee of the Curies, *as at first the consul from the Ramnes*, and subsequently the one out

of the first two tribes, was the *consul major*; agreeably to both the explanations of that phrase given by L. Cæsar in Festus. He was the first appointed, and received the fasces first.”—All this is Niebuhr’s own fancy. His idea of a consul of the *Ramnes* (vol. i. note 1143,) has no pretence to documentary evidence, and his theory entirely *assumes*, what is to be proved, that the three patrician tribes had any other distinction than that of etiquette, like the subdivisions of the English nobility. His quotation from Festus is inaccurate. “*Penes quem fasces sunt*,” cannot mean, “who *received* the fasces *first*.” When we learn from Festus that the Prætor first-created used to be called *major*, (of course when there were but two,) as afterwards *primus*, it appears a moral certainty that the other interpretation of *consul major*, viz. “the consul first elected,” is correct; and that it has nothing to do with *Ramnes*, nor with *gentes maiores*, nor with any precedence of Curies over Centuries.

That *populus* may in some instances be an antique expression for *the old citizens* is certainly possible: and in the oracle of Marcius, (Liv. xxv. 12,) such appears to be its sense. But since this is not the ordinary use of the word, the presumption is always for its common meaning. Nowhere can it be proved to mean “the old citizens *collected in the Curiate assembly*.” The concilium populi before which Valerius lowered his fasces *may* have been the Curies; but it also *may not*; and no fresh conclusions should ever be built on this unproved assumption. As to the *populus* which sentenced Sp. Cassius and M. Manlius, if it was the Curies, that was a judicial sentence of patricians on their peers, and has nothing in it to make it probable that that assembly had any political power, (legislative or elective) such as Niebuhr attributes to them.—But he tries to prove that the concilium populi to which Valerius did homage *must* have been the Curies: “Concilium,” says he, according to Lælius Felix in Gellius, (Nieb. vol. i. p. 425,) “was the assemblage of a mere part of the nation; not of the whole, as it was united in the Centuries.” Yet, in spite of Lælius Felix, Livy uses the word concerning the national comitia, (Patribus ex *concilio* submovendis,) II. 6, and in other places. In Liv. i. 8, *vocatâ ad concilium multitudine*, evidently refers to the whole people. Niebuhr farther adduces Liv. i. 36, (*concilia populi, exercitus vocati*), in proof that *concilia populi* are necessarily contrasted with the Centuries; but these words speak of the elder Tar-

quin's reign, *in which the Centuries did not exist as a concilium*; so that in no case could this make an argument. In the passage under consideration, (Liv. II. 7,) it is suicidal in Niebuhr to urge, at once that *populus* means the patricians exclusively, and that *concilium* cannot include the whole people; for, to use "populus" of the old citizens, was to ignore the plebeians as not being citizens; if so, *the patricians were the whole people*; then, according to Felix, "comitia" was the right word for their meeting, not "concilium." This is a fine-drawn argument no doubt, but it is a sufficient reply to one equally fine-drawn. In short, it is certain that Livy *meant to tell us* that the fasces were lowered *to the sovereignty of the entire nation*; and it can be nothing more than a surmise, that he took the phrase from an old annalist who meant the Curies. The presumption, hitherto undisproved, is that Livy was right. Dion held the same view, and Niebuhr is used to praise his discrimination between *δημος* and *ὄμιλος*. In the case of Sp. Cassius, Livy tells us that he is quoting the opinion of older authors, who said that Cassius was condemned by the *populus*: hence those who feel the narrative difficult to believe, if understood of the Centuries, find a *prima facie* ground for the opinion that Livy misunderstood his authorities. Even here, it must be remembered that a condemnation of Cassius by the Centuries cannot be pronounced absurd; for we do not know enough of the modes used by the patricians for managing the Centuries, and the results of the very complicated system of voting, to make such a sentence incredible. Especially we are ignorant what side the plebeian knights took in the matter, and what social power they might have over other votes. Moreover, Livy indicates the mode by which Virginius and the patricians wickedly sought to blind the people; and as we know that very similar arts were afterwards successful against C. Gracchus and M. Drusus, the improbability of Livy's tale is not at all such as has been represented. As even the tribunes joined against Manlius, his condemnation by the people is not wonderful.

Niebuhr's opinion, (which he relates with all the simplicity of historical description,) that, during the first secession, the senate managed to elect the consuls by the Curies, rests on a passage of Dionysius, (VI. 49,) which he quotes only to contradict in its vital point. The historian says that "the people found no *candidates*, and therefore elected of themselves from

the number of consulars:" Niebuhr virtually replies;—"Nay, but it was the *senate* that found no *plebs*." Dionysius says, "They met in the Campus;" and Niebuhr retorts, "*This is his usual error; he should have spoken of the council of Curies.*" And Niebuhr's word, it seems, is to content us as proof.

In this assembly, he farther asserts, there was no free competition of candidates, but it was confined to those whose names the senate presented. The only evidence referred to is this same passage of Dionysius, (vi. 49,) but it is impossible to guess what words of it he imagined could bear on such an opinion. That the Curies could *carry no laws* without a *προβούλευμα* of the senate, Dionysius elsewhere tells us; and he regarded them as a *δῆμος*. But *he nowhere at all attributes consular election to them*, and this very thing Niebuhr himself imputes as "the usual error" of Dionysius.

"The great council of the Curies empowered the senate to negotiate" with the Plebs, says he, vol. i. p. 608. He refers to Dionys. vi. 67, in proof. That author there states, that the consuls ordered all the people from the country and from the garrisons to assemble on a stated day, and, when it arrived, came out into the forum, which was crammed with a promiscuous multitude (*ὄχλῳ παντοδαπῳ*.) Then having entered the temple of Vulcan, where it was usual to hold assemblies, (*ἐκκλησίας ἐπιτελεῖν*, conciones habere?) harangued them. After this, entering the senate-house, they procured a *senatusconsultum*, appointing ten legati as plenipotentiaries to make peace; who are introduced to the assembly in chapter 69. In the preceding chapter the consuls had told the senate that it was a case of war or peace now pending, and that the senate alone was not competent to act without "the people, who alone could elect magistrates, ordain laws, and decide on peace or war." Certainly, when the state was rent in twain, a consul might naturally call on the Curies, (*supposing it to be the only remaining assembly*,) to assume at such a moment functions quite unusual. If they did this, nothing at all could be inferred concerning their ordinary constitutional acting. But Dionysius did not imagine the *whole* plebs to have seceded, nor any thing like it; nor did Livy. The two powers between whom peace or war impended, were, not patricians and plebeians, but those who stayed and those who were gone. Dionysius is at the close of ch. 69, rather elliptical, in barely stating that the plenipoten-

tiaries and the *senatusconsultum* were introduced to the assembly, without definitely adding that the assembly did or did not give its formal sanction. But this hurry of the author is natural to the hurry of the narrative, and cannot be called inconsistency. He adds, that when everybody wanted to learn the *senatusconsultum*, the consuls “publicly stated” that it was—to reunite the two orders at any expence whatever, (ὅτι ἂν τρόπῳ δύνωνται,) and the ambassadors departed that very day.

Niebuhr however informs us, that Dionysius is here “reduced to great straits;”—that the assembly in question could not have been the *δῆμος*, because *it* had no power over peace or war, but only the Curies. Now first, Niebuhr gives no proof that the Curies had power over peace and war. The Curies, I admit, gave a religious confirmation to this, as to every other act; but the Centuries, and not the Curies, *decided* on this question,—at least for any thing that Niebuhr shows. But again, supposing that doctrine to be ever so true, what is this to the purpose, when Dionysius notoriously identifies the *δῆμος* and the Curies? As *he* believed this body, (call it *δῆμος*, or call it Curies,) to be, by itself, arbiter of peace and war, it was natural to him to put words to that effect into the consul’s mouth. Yet Niebuhr adduces this congruous inference drawn by Dionysius from his error, in proof of a distinction unknown to Dionysius, and utterly opposed to every detail which he gives! But the mention of the temple of Vulcan, says Niebuhr, proves that the assembly was the Curies; for if it had been the Centuries, they would have met on the field of Mars. The Vulcanal, adds he, lay above the Comitium;⁸ *and was considered a part of the Comitium*. Of this last clause he gives no proof; but if proved, it would make very little towards his conclusion. In Dionysius, it is manifest that the consuls are anxious to have the people close to the senate-house, in order not to lose time. If it be ever so true that this author took from some old annalist the statement that they harangued them in the temple of Vulcan, it will not tend to shew that the persons harangued were patricians in Curies. He elsewhere (VII. 17,) represents *a tribune of the plebs* haranguing the people in the temple of Vulcan, in which case it is impossible by any distortion to convert the

⁸ For which he refers to Nardini; who, however, (says he,) mistakes the locality of the Comitium.

δῆμος into the curiate assembly. There is no ground adduced, for being incredulous, that the consul was used to address the common people in that place: yet if Dionysius is wrong, his error is not a divine oracle, that can dictate truth to Niebuhr. The history, as here rewritten by the latter, is one possibility out of a thousand; a guess, and not evidence.—It may however deserve remark, that the people are not said to have *voted* on the *senatusconsultum*: it may be that there was a scruple as to the auspices being good, unless they went to the field of Mars; and this would remove all remaining difficulty imaginable in the narrative. In any case it is unendurable criticism to quote single words as proof of the very opposite of what the entire sentence is relating, and that, when the author is *not* talking incoherently.

In regard to the appointment of the early tribunes of the plebs, analogy may perhaps induce us to believe that they, as the consuls, were elected by the Centuries, and confirmed by the Curies; though it is a doubtful kind of reasoning to quote Livy for the first part, and Cicero for the second, when Cicero says that the Curies *created* them. But I cannot help protesting against Niebuhr's fiction, that the Curies ceased to confirm before Volero was a candidate.⁹ In p. 190, he argues that Volero certainly would never have been elected tribune, much less re-elected, if the Curies had had a power of confirming; *therefore*, they had lost the power. And this is the sort of logic which is to establish historical certainties! As if it were so certain that Volero ever personally gave violent offence. His conduct, according to Livy, was not that of a man who had received personal injury; and it is not improbable that the scene of seizing him for a soldier has been dressed up for effect. Then, neither does his re-election seem certain to Niebuhr himself, p. 216; and undoubtedly it is Lætorius, not he, who carries the law. But again; from the very beginning the tribunes showed as undaunted a spirit as that of Volero; at least, as far as our historians tell us; so that Niebuhr ought to reject the

⁹ Niebuhr, vol. II. p. 211, says, concerning the law of tribunician election, "the commonalty beyond doubt (!) were exclusively entitled to decide, *more especially now that the confirmation of the Curies had been done away.*" In ex-

planation of what is here advanced, as if it were historical fact, he condescends to add a note:—"That they were no longer confirmed by the Curies, *has been stated in p. 190.*" That, it seems, ought to satisfy us.

confirmation of the Curies *in toto*, and not at an uncertain time between the first tribune and Volero. Once more, he all along *assumes*, that this *lex curiata* was much more than a religious formality, and that it could be refused for some other than a religious reason. Finally, he involves himself in the absurdity of supposing that the patricians gave up, (so quietly, that no tradition of the change has at all come down,) that confirmation by *their own Curies*, which he says was “beyond compare more momentous,” and yet, when it was proposed to take away the election from *those Centuries*, in which (he says) “the whole power lay with the plebs,” vol. I. p. 434, the state suffered a convulsion, which has made the law of Volero¹⁰ appear as a political revolution.—I am not concerned here to justify Niebuhr’s premises more than his conclusion; and I press the last remark only as an *argumentum ad hominem*.

Still more elaborately wrought out is his theory concerning the usurpation of consular elections by the Curies after the murder of Sp. Cassius. “The *express information*,” says he, vol. II. p. 181, “that the elections were transferred from the Centuries to the Curies, *Dionysius himself gives us* in the person of the tribune Lætorius, as it had been put into his mouth by some Roman annalist:” Dionys. IX. 46. Niebuhr, here as elsewhere, quotes just enough to make a reader who is satisfied with glancing to the bottom of the page, imagine that it is really “*express information*.” The passage is perhaps obscure, and for its explanation needs some preface.—Dionysius, it will be remembered, supposes the Curies to be as democratic and as plebeian an assembly as the tribes; only, that the former needed a *προβούλευμα* of the senate, and was subject to the auspices, (IX. 41.) When about to narrate, with his usual prolixity, how the law of Volero was carried, he probably performed his synthesis as follows:—“It could not have been by the tribes, for their ordinances were not as yet law: it could not have been by the Centuries, for they were too aristocratic,” in his judg-

¹⁰ Dionysius indeed, whom Niebuhr and Arnold follow, appears to have enormously exaggerated these Publilian laws. Livy is simple and credible, the more so, as he was evidently at a loss to know wherein the greatness of the change consisted. He first calls it *haud parva res*, and next says

that it was *major victoria quam usu*, (capp. 56, 60.) His emphatic remark, “*Tum primum tributis comitiis creati tribuni sunt*,” proves his ignorance or disbelief of the additions made by Dionysius. But this whole question needs new discussion.

ment, "to pass it; it must therefore have been passed by the δῆμος in the Curies." Well. To the speech by which Lætorius commends to the δῆμος the law of Volero, (ch. 46,) and sets forth the ὄρκοι and συνθῆκαι, made at the secession, the historian adds:—διεξεληθὼν δὲ ταῦτα, τοὺς νόμους ἀπεδείκνυτο οὐδὲς ὁ δῆμος ἐπέκωρυσεν οὐδὲ πρὸ πολλοῦ, τὸν τε περὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων μεταγωγῆς, ὡς ἔδωκεν ἡ βουλὴ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν κρίνειν οὐδὲ ἂν αὐτοῖς δόξειε τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψηφηφορίας, ὡς οὐκέτι τὴν λοχίτιν ἐκκλησίαν ἀλλὰ τὴν κουριάτιν ἐποίει τῶν ψήφων κυρίαν. That is; Lætorius encouraged them by reminding them *how much they had already extorted* from the Senate, "both the right of calling patricians to trial, [as Coriolanus already,] and the right of voting [for laws, like that of Volero,] by Curies and not by Centuries." It is not merely congruous, but was essential, to Dionysius's entire account, to believe this: there is no mark of heterogeneous material here, to suggest that we have the fragment of some annalist, who had narrated that *the Senate had by usurpation elected consuls* in the Curies instead of the Centuries. Yet it is this, of which (Niebuhr says,) the passage gives "express information!" He adds; "Taking this fact by itself, Dionysius might deem, as he does, that an advantage had been gained by the democracy:"—which shows that Niebuhr interpreted the passage exactly as I have done. Yet he coolly proceeds to say: "*As it stood in the annals, immediately after the death of Cassius*, he must have regarded it as a senseless misrepresentation," &c. Thus, in a sentence which does but tell a self-consistent romance, he not only divines an old fragment, consisting of—"votes by Curies instead of Centuries;" but fills it up thus out of his own imagination: "*Immediately after the death of Cassius, the Senate by usurpation began, in the election of the consuls, to take the votes by Curies instead of Centuries.*" Such is the "express" evidence on which he builds.

We go back from this to the passages with which he tries to connect it; viz. those which are found in the seven consulships of the Fabii. (1.) Liv. II. 42.—Invisum erat Fabium nomen: tenere tamen patres, ut cum L. Æmilio Kæso Fabius consul crearetur. And soon after: Ea pars reipublicæ vicit [sc. Patres.] Nec in præsens modo, sed in venientem etiam annum M. Fabium . . . L. Valerium consules dedit.—On these passages Niebuhr reasons to the following effect: "The Patres

brought about the election of their own candidates; but the Curies must be meant by the Patres; therefore the Curies had voted themselves, instead of letting the Centuries vote." This is as if when an English writer had left on record; "That year the Carlton Club carried the election of certain young noblemen [*tenuere ut crearentur*] for the West Riding and for Middlesex;" a German professor were to found on it the conclusion, that the Carlton Club *had of themselves elected the candidates into their places, after illegally silencing the constitutional electors*. Indeed, in Liv. II. 56, we read, *Plebs Voleronem tribunum reficit*; on which a new Niebuhr might comment, "*Plebs* must mean the assembly of the tribes; therefore the tribes usurped the right of election, before it was given them by the Publilian law." In all the other passages, Niebuhr's explanation is equally arbitrary.

(2.) Dionys. VIII. 82.—Κελεύουσι [οἱ πατρίκιοι] μετιέναι τὴν ὑπατείαν Καίσωνα Φάβιον καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πατρίκίων Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον· τούτων δὲ μετιόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν, κωλύειν μὲν οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦσαν οἱ δημοτικοὶ, καταλιπόντες δὲ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας, ὥχοντο ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου. As this distinctly contradicts Niebuhr's doctrine, that these consuls were *not* elected by the Centuries, he pronounces it a "disfigurement" of the true story. Then what infatuation to adduce the two first lines as evidence on his side! His interpretation that the πατρίκιοι mean the Senate, is possible enough; but only because, as long as the Senate was secret and unanimous, no better electioneering committee was wanted.

(3.) Dionys. VIII. 87.—οὗς ἡ βουλὴ προσέλετο καὶ οἷς παραγγέλλειν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκέλευσεν This evidently means: "Whom the Senate selected, [not *pre-elected* by forms intended to be valid in law,] and urged to become candidates for the consulship."

(4.) Dionys. IX. 1.—ἀποδείκνυται Καίσων μὲν Φάβιος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, Σπόριος δὲ Φούριος ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτικῶν. "K. Fabius is elected by the interest of the Senate, and Sp. Furius by the popular interest;" not, Fabius by *nomination* of the Senate and *usurpation of the Curies*, which Niebuhr would have us foist in.

(5.) Dionys. IX. 42.—Οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι—Ἀππίον Κλαύδιον προσεβούλευσάν τε καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο ἅποντα ὑπατον.—"The patrician party, in the absence of Ap. Claudius, nevertheless passed a *senatusconsultum*, affirming that it was for the good of the

state that he should become consul ; and forthwith carried his election (of course in the Centuries).” Nothing is said or implied about the Curies.

(6.) Dionys. viii. 90.—Συγκαλέσας τὴν λοχίτην ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τὰς φήφους κατὰ τὰ τμήματα ἀναδοῦς. Niebuhr infers from the special mention here of the Centuries and census, that it was a new thing in that year to vote by that method ; and uses the passage to prop his opinion, that for two years *both* consuls had been elected by the Curies alone, but that this year a compromise was made (and lasted till the decemvirate) of electing one consul by the Curies and one by the Centuries. This passage of Dionysius indeed distinctly states that *both* were elected by the Centuries ; but Niebuhr felt himself exempted from the necessity of finishing the quotation and placing the fact before the reader’s eyes, because, as we have seen, he claims a right of picking out half clauses from Dionysius, as from the “old annalist,” and rejecting the main statement as Dionysius’s own.—Yet to a reader of Dionysius all is self-consistent. We were told that at the previous election (ch. 87,) the Senate took the strong measure of passing a vote to indicate what patricians ought to be candidates for the consulate. In consequence the men whom the people would have chosen, refused to come forward.¹¹ Thus, as the people’s candidates were driven off the field, the election was a virtual nullity. In consequence, the year after (ch. 90), when the patricians tried to push young Appius Claudius into the consulate, the tribunes forbade the voting, the consuls went out of office, and a dead lock ensued. An outcry was made for a dictator ; but at last it was agreed to have an interrex.¹² Order was restored ; every thing was done in a constitutional way : the interrex summoned the Centuries : the parties made a compromise, and elected one consul devoted to the aristocracy, and one of a popular temperament.—Whether these details are to be believed, is another question : but as we here sufficiently see *why* Dionysius dwelt on the forms and or-

¹¹ Believing (if we are to conjecture), that they could not succeed against the organized efforts of the aristocracy, and that they would encounter, over and above, ill-will with the senate.

¹² Niebuhr asserts, that it was an *established usage* for the interrex to take

no votes except for persons proposed by the senate. Reference is made to vol. i. p. 341, in proof : but nothing there appears but quotations from Dionysius about Numa and Tullus, proving nothing, if Dionysius were ever so valid a witness.

der observed by the interrex, Niebuhr had no ground for quoting it as something unaccountable except by his theory.

(7.) Zonaras VII. 17.—Χρόνῳ δὲ ποτε ὑποτοπήσαντές τινες τὸ πραττόμενον, οὐκ εἶπον καὶ ἄμφω τοὺς ὑπατοὺς ἢ στρατηγούς ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατῶν ἀποδείκνυσθαι, ἀλλ' ἤθελον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν αἰρεῖσθαι. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο κατεργάσαντο, προσέιλοντο Σπούριον Φούριον. Niebuhr thus comments: "Dion Cassius conceived that the whole body of the patricians, not the senate alone,¹³ were in the exclusive possession [How so?] of the elections prior to 273. . . . The passage (of Dion) has been preserved, word for word, rather through the clumsiness than the faithfulness of the writer who abridged his work. But he omitted the context:" [How does that appear?] "hence it is not Dion's fault, if his words should lead us to suppose that the elections had been in the hands of the patricians much longer, perhaps ever since the death of Brutus." This is extraordinary mystification. Niebuhr, with a most condescending patronage, by anticipation shelters Dion from so grievous an imputation as that of opposing one of Niebuhr's theories; and attributes Χρόνῳ ποτε to the foolish Zonaras himself. Yet what are the facts? Zonaras tells us that hitherto the patricians had carried the elections as they pleased; but the commonalty now determined on struggling to elect at least one consul *in their own interest*. (He adds ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων, lest the reader should anticipate the Licinian law, and imagine that they were striving for a plebeian consul.) What is plainer than this? What ground does it afford for imputing "clumsiness" to Zonaras? And what for imagining *organic change* in the mode of election? Niebuhr adds: "He says προσέιλοντο on account of the *reprehensio comitiorum*; the Curies appointed absolutely, ἀπεδείκνυσαν." But this also is unfounded. Ἀπεδείκνυσαν was already quoted from Dionys. ix. 1; but there the word certainly refers to the Centuries, and to the popular party, and not to the Curies. Dionysius surely understood Greek. Προσέιλοντο ("they preferred," "they fixed upon"), does not seem to be a technical term at all; although Niebuhr in Dionys. viii. 87, renders it "pre-elected." But as the senate never had a right of pre-electing consuls, no constitutional term can have formed itself in Latin, of which προσέιλοντο might be the translation. Nor does Niebuhr pretend to render it by a Latin equivalent.

¹³ Who ever imagined such a thing of the senate!

(8.) Dion. VIII. 83, states that K. Fabius and L. Æmilius entered on their consulate "*in the year of the city 270.*" Niebuhr regards this as proving that *this* was the year when "*the great innovation in the constitution*" was made, of electing the consuls by the Curiate assembly only. But until he has proved the fact that such innovation ever took place at all, this passage of course is useless. Apparently Dionysius here specified the date so precisely, because he regarded it *as a most unfortunate consulate*, from the events of the Volscian war: in consequence of which (ch. 87), L. Æmilius "was ashamed to come home to hold the comitia, having lost the strongest part of his army."

(9.) Dionysius IX. 1.—συνέπεισαν ἀλλήλους ἀφ' ἐκάστης μερίδος ὕπατον αἰρεθῆναι. "They came to a compromise to choose a consul *from each party*:" just as election-committees do in England. Niebuhr quotes this as authorizing his statement, that they chose one consul *by the Curies* and one by the Centuries! But he also adduces the following:—

(10.) Liv. II. 43.—(Obtinuere) Patres (ut in Fabia gente consularatus maneret.) M. Fabium consulem creant: Fabio collega Cn. Manlius datur.—Niebuhr omits the words which I have enclosed in parentheses, and hereby obscures Livy's reason for giving prominence to Fabius. If there were no such reason visible in the history, and if this formula were constantly repeated henceforth down to the decemvirate, it might be inferred—not that one consul was elected by the Curies, but—that to be *consul major* conferred at this time a greater superiority of honour than afterwards. But we find the formula too seldom for this. It recurs eight years later, Liv. II. 56: "Patres (ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem venturam) Ap. Claudium (Appii filium, jam inde a paternis certaminibus invisum plebi) consulem faciunt. Collega ei T. Quinctius datur." Here again Niebuhr omits the words in parentheses, which would have guided his reader to the true solution, and shown the emptiness of his argument.—In IV. 13, also, we read: "Consul sextum creatus T. Quinctius Capitolinus, *minime opportunus vir novanti res*: collega additur ei Agrippa Menenius." A third time does Niebuhr omit the critical words which refute him; and remarks on the passage, (vol. II. p. 417): "Nothing but the unlimited influence of the patricians in the Centuries, or a *new usurpation by the Curies*, could place him

[T. Quinctius] in that station [the consulship]. *The latter is plainly stated* (!) with regard to the year 316, unless it is by mere chance that Livy makes use of terms which elsewhere convey a definite sense." But there is a *tertium quid*: it neither means a usurpation by the Curies, nor is a phrase used by chance; its meaning is plain when the unmutilated passage is read.

The same formula in fact is found, (and it is hard to think that this escaped Niebuhr's searching eye,) in VII. 1, and VII. 21; and the reason, as before, is each time evident. "Plebes consulatum L. Sextio, cujus lege partus erat, dedit: Patres præturam Sp. Furio, M. filio, Camillo. . . . L. Sextio collega ex Patribus datus L. Æmilius Mamercinus." Here if we were to quote and reason as Niebuhr, we might drop the words, *cujus lege partus erat*, and proceed: "Thus the plebeians perpetrated the usurpation of electing L. Sextius consul, *in the assembly of the tribes*; and the patricians in *their Curies* effected a like usurpation in regard to the prætorship."—Again, ch. 21, "P. Valerio Publicolæ datus e plebe collega C. Marcius Rutilus."

(11.) Vol. II. p. 189.—"The annalist who supplied Livy with materials for making the tribune Lætorius say, II. 56,—*A patribus non consulem sed carnificem ad vexandam et lacerandam plebem creatum esse*,—certainly did not regard his election as the act of the *people*. At this time the nominee of the Curies," &c. This has been already answered in the similar comment just suggested on Liv. VII. 1.

(12.) Another argument Niebuhr draws from the appointment of Cincinnatus (Liv. III. 19,) in place of the slain P. Valerius. The surviving consul, (says he, vol. II. p. 297,) "*instead of convoking the Centuries*,—which alone had a right to fill up the vacant consulship, even supposing they had given up the other for ever,—got the *Curies* to confirm L. Cincinnatus, *who was appointed consul by an ordinance of the Senate*." In proof of what is here narrated in so historical a tone, note 676 refers us to note 425, note 425 sends us back to 676, and refers also to note 389; and 389 only says that there *must* have been usurpation, because "the appointment of Cincinnatus by the *plebs* would be *unaccountable*." A reader who has no time to turn backwards and forwards, naturally imagines that in one or other of the three notes there is some good proof; but there is

nothing more than this one argument!—Need it be said, how often an English election is *unaccountable* to those who do not know the secret influences at work? No one here can tell, whether Cincinnatus's celebrity as a general may not have turned the scale in his favour, when a consul had just fallen in battle. Whether Dionysius (x. 17,) has explained this election rightly or not, is another question; but it is not Niebuhr who has any right to complain that he “has utterly misrepresented it.” Dionysius says that the Senate fixed on Cincinnatus in a *secret* conclave, (which explains what he meant before by ἡ βουλὴ προεῖλετο, &c. . . . in other cases,) and by their intrigues the first class voted for him with such unanimity, as to have a majority at once in the Comitia. That may be false, but it is not at all incredible.

(13.) From the bare fact of the Fabii holding one of the consulships for seven successive years, Niebuhr reasons as follows, p. 175: “That this cannot have been *matter of chance* is the more certain, inasmuch as the effect, *so long as the lesser houses formed a separate body*, must have been that either they or the greater houses, as an estate, were excluded. One cannot but see that this must have been connected with *some revolution*, &c. . . .;” which revolution, it seems, must have been the usurpation by the Curies!—Never was a plain case more needlessly embroiled. No one has ever yet supposed that the seven consulships were matter of chance. They are ascribed to the power of the Fabia gens at that crisis; a power which is *essential* equally under Niebuhr's hypothesis, and *sufficient* to account for the facts in the common story. At least, if it is not sufficient, then neither will a usurpation by the Curies aid in the solution. For if there was no such real greatness in the Fabii, why would the other patricians give way to them in the Curies? The Senate, it may be said, had its own purposes to serve by the Fabii. Well: if so, that would be equally true, in whichever assembly the voting went on.—But when Niebuhr introduces the “greater and lesser houses,” he does but build new results on unsubstantiated hypothesis.

At the risk of tedium, I have thus endeavoured to scrape together all that Niebuhr advances with any attempt at argument on this subject, and I have tried to omit nothing. Numerous scattered *assertions* probably remain; as vol. II. p. 119, “It is

related that the first elective warden was appointed by the Senate; *which is tantamount to a declaration that he was appointed by the Curies:*" but where we have no evidence beyond Niebuhr's word offered, there is of course nothing to refute. On the whole, nothing that he has adduced appears to add even the faintest plausibility to his gratuitous attempts thus to rewrite the old annalists of this period, and to ascribe to the Curies a prominence which must infallibly (as was said above) have made their name a party watchword. Not a trace is left of its ever having been controverted in Rome, *which assembly should elect the consuls*. If the Curies and Centuries had been (as Niebuhr says) on an equipoise; had the patricians been supreme in one and the plebeians in the other, (as he teaches); then the State would have been rent asunder in the very way, which (he remarks in the same passage, vol. I. p. 433,) would have happened from making the Tribes and Curies co-ordinate bodies. The Centuries could have stopped the machine of State, unless the patricians gave way to their demands; nor would any tribune's veto have been needed. Yet it is gratuitous in Niebuhr to ascribe to the plebeians this supreme power over the Centuriate election. Parties, it is manifest, were very much balanced in that assembly; and from year to year the scale swayed various ways.

F. W. NEWMAN.

X.

COMMENTARIES ON, AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF, THE ENEIS OF VIRGIL.—(*Continued from last Part.*)

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PART II.—COMPREHENDING FROM v. 364 to 754.

V. 364. *Pygmalionis opes*.—These words have been hitherto understood to mean the treasures, of which Pygmalion hoped to obtain possession by the murder of Sichæus, "*quas ille*

animo et spe jam præceperat," Heyne; whose interpretation has been adopted by succeeding commentators. This interpretation is undoubtedly incorrect: for;—1st, The peculiar and proper meaning of *opes* is not treasures, but opulence, and the strength and power consequent upon opulence; so *dives opum*, *En.* I. 14; *Trojanas ut opes*, *En.* II. 4: *Has evertit opes*, *En.* II. 603; *Opibus juvabo*, *En.* I. 571. 2dly, The possessive *Pygmalionis* cannot without great violence be wrested so as to mean *hope* of possession. 3dly, Supposing the structure to admit of such interpretation, it were unworthy of Virgil, having already employed one sentence in informing us that the ships were seized, and another in informing us that they were loaded with gold, to occupy a third with the statement that the gold sailed. We have only to give to *opes* its true signification of *opulentia substance*, and to *Pygmalionis* its proper *possessive* force, and we have a meaning at once simple and worthy of the author, viz.:—*that the strength and substance of Pygmalion was carried away over the sea.* That this is the true meaning, is further proved by the very next sentence, *dux fœmina facti*, as well as by *ulta virum, pœnas inimico a fratre recepi*, *En.* IV. 656. For, what was the deed achieved by a woman? or what was the revenge which Dido had for her murdered husband? or what was the punishment inflicted upon her hostile brother? Not surely the running away with a treasure which belonged to her own husband, and which Pygmalion had never even so much as possessed; but the emasculating Pygmalion's kingdom, by carrying away, (along with the treasure,) men, ships, and munitions of war, in sufficient quantity to found a great city and a rival empire. Thus it is not indifferently or *otiose*, that Venus informs Eneas (and Virgil his reader) that the *opes Pygmalionis* sailed the deep, but expressly for the purpose of preparing him for the display of wealth and power (*opes*) with which he is greeted at Carthage; and thus again, the *nodus*, which made it necessary for Venus to appear in person, becomes *dignior vindice deâ*. It may be observed further; 1st, that the term *veteres* (vers. 358) is almost by itself sufficient to show that the *thesauros* did not belong either to Sichæus or Pygmalion, but were one of those old hoards, of the existence of which no person living was aware, and which it has been from time immemorial the province of ghosts to reveal; and 2dly, that *opes* must be interpreted as I have proposed, in order to afford a

plausible pretext for the apprehension expressed (if not felt) by Dido (*En.* iv. 325), that Pygmalion would follow her, and make war upon Carthage.

V. 368. *Taurino tergo*.—Viz. cut in such a manner as to form one long and slender thong. For a curious modern illustration of this old story, see Thienemann, *Reise in Island*, 1820. Zweite Abtheil. Zweiter Abschn., where we are informed by that very close investigator, that the Icelanders are in the habit of cutting up the skin of a particular species of seal in the same manner. “Das Fell dieses Seehundes wird besonders geschätzt. Von jüngern Thieren giebt es sehr gutes Schuhleder; von ältern dient es zu Riemen, zu denen man *das Ganze* in einzelne Stücke schneidet.”

V. 395. *Nunc terras ordine longo*.—“*Li lætantes agmine nunc terras partim e longinquo oculis capere* (s. locum ubi considant designare), *partim easdem captas jam ex propinquo spectare videntur*; (hoc pertinet ad eos qui sunt in primo agmine, illud ad eos qui in extremo); *factoque in orbem volatu, cum cantu revertuntur*.” Wagner (*Virg. Br. En.*) But, 1st, no instance has been produced, nor I think can be found, in which *capere*, simply and without adjunct, signifies *oculis capere*, *designare*. 2dly, If *capere* be *oculis designare*, *captas* must be *oculis designatas*; and then what kind of sense does *despectare*, viz. *oculis, terras jam oculis designatas*, afford? or how could Venus possibly point out, or Eneas possibly observe, a distinction between the fore part of the flock of birds, *despectantes terras oculis*, and the hind part, *designantes terras oculis*? 3dly, It is not probable, nor according to nature, that the fugitive swans should sport *stridentibus alis*, should wheel about in circles, and sing their song of triumph, *before* they had reached their place of safety. 4th, The comparison to Eneas’s fleet fails in its most important part (*portum tenet*), all the swans being represented only as arriving at, none as actually in, port.

I therefore understand the swans to be pointed out by Venus at the moment that some of them are in the act of alighting on the ground, while others who have previously alighted, and instantly (according to the well-known manner of swans, geese, and such like birds,) risen again upon the wing, wheel about in the air, and seem to look down upon the place which they have just left, and on which their comrades are in the act of alighting. While Venus still speaks, the last arrivers have also

risen, and they all (illi) sport on whirring wings, wheel round in circles, and sing their jubilee: This immediate return to the air, this sporting about in circles and singing, evincing, not merely their joy, but the small amount of damage they have received from the enemy.

Capere terras; as *capere portum*, Cæs. *B. G.* iv. 36; (observe the force and propriety with which Virgil applies to the swans' arrival at their port, the ground, the very term ordinarily used to express a ship's refuging in port); *capere Italiam*, *En.* ix. 267; *tumulum capit*, *En.* vi. 754; *locum capiunt*, *En.* v. 315; and the, if possible, still more exact French parallel *prendre terre, to land*; with which compare the converse expression of Ovid, *Amor.* iii. 2, 48,—“*Nil mihi cum pelago; me mea terra capit.*”

Videntur, although in the strict construction pertaining equally to *capere* and *despectare*, is (according to the style of which Virgil is so fond; see *Comment.* vers. 416;—and of which see a most remarkable example, *En.* x. 13,) to be referred in the sense to *despectare* alone, as if Virgil had said *Either alight or seem to look down*, for Eneas could see the swans actually alighting, although he could not see them actually looking down, but only *seeming* as if they looked down.

Jam despectare.—Already (*i. e.* so soon after their calamity,) are looking down from the air, *not without contempt* (“*Piso vix Tiberio cedere; liberos ejus, ut multum infra despectare.*”—*Tacit. Annal.* ii. 43, 6. “*Despectare omnia terrena.*—*Ammian.* xiv. 11.), on the ground, the shelter of which they no longer require.

Reduces, not *returning*, or *on their way back*; (“*factoque in orbem volatu, cum cantu revertuntur.*”—Wagner, *ubi supra*,) but *actually returned*; (1st,) because such is the ordinary meaning of the term, (*Quæ tibi polliceor reduci rebusque secundis*, *En.* ix. 301. *Gratatur reduces*, *En.* v. 40); and (2dly,) because the swans cannot well be supposed to celebrate their escape before they have actually arrived in a place of safety.

Aut portum tenet, aut pleno subit ostia velo.—Those swans which, at the moment the flock was first pointed out by Venus, had already alighted, and having risen again upon the wing, were wheeling about in circles in the air, and singing, are *the ships already in port*; those which were in the act of alighting, *the ships entering the harbour*.

V. 398. *Cantusque dedere.*—An eye-and-ear-witness gives

the following account of the music of the wild swan: "Seine Stimme lässt er (viz. Cynus musicus) im hohen Fluge ertönen, und ob sie gleich dem *Gak-Gak* der Gänse ähnelt, so ist sie doch weit voller und reiner, und wenn viele zusammen sich hören lassen, klingt es wie ein Glockenspiel, da die Stimme der ältern und jüngern, oder männlichen und weiblichen Vögel höher oder tiefer ist." Reise in Island, Anno 1820, von Thienemann, (a most intelligent and accurate observer of nature.) Zweite Abtheilung, Zweiter Abschnitt.

V. 403. *Divinum vertice odorem*.—

θεῖον ὀσμῆς πνεῦμα,

Hippolytus recognising the presence of a divinity by the odour. Eurip. Hippol. 1391.

V. 407. *falsis ludis imaginibus*.—

"Mock us with his blest sight, then snatch him hence."

Par. Reg. II. 56.

V. 407. *Tu quoque*.—Not *tu quoque ludis*, but *tu quoque crudelis*, viz. as well as those other deities who take delight in persecuting me.

V. 416. *Ubi templum illi*.—These words, as usually rendered, (*ubi templum est illi*) are mere prose. They become poetic, however, if *templum* be referred as an additional nominative to *calent*, so as to agree with that verb in the loose sense in which Virgil delights to connect a second subject or a second object with his verb (see note v. 395), or a second verb with his subject or object. See *En.* I. 230, and comment. *En.* II. 552.

V. 416.(*) *Sabæo thure*.—"Fili Chus; Saba, Ævila," &c. Genesis x. 7. In quem locum ita S. Hieronymus, "Saba, a quo Sabæi de quibus Virgilius."

V. 423. *Pars ducere muros*.—If *muros* be, as hitherto supposed, the walls of the city, Virgil has been guilty of a gross incorrectness in his division of the Tyrians into *pars* and *pars*: for:—1st, One and the same *pars* could not be employed at works so remote from each other as the building of the walls of the city, viz. *at the circumference*, and the building of the citadel, viz. *at the centre*. And, 2dly, The first *pars* would be necessarily mixed up and confused with the second, the works at which both were engaged (viz. *ducere muros urbis, et concludere sulco*,) being close to and connected with each other. But let us understand *muros* to be the walls of the *citadel, arcis*

being suggested after *muros* by the immediately following *arcem*, and we render the division perfectly correct and complete; the one *pars* being employed altogether *at the centre* about the citadel; and the other altogether *towards the circumference*, in choosing, and enclosing with a trench, the site for the houses: and this division is the more complete, because the two works are distinct, not only in their situation but in their nature; the one being the erection of a fortress, the other the laying out of a site for peaceful dwellings, and enclosing it, or marking its bounds with a furrow. For proof that citadels, no less than cities, had *muri*, see Livy, XXIV. 3; XXV. 11; XXV. 25.

V. 431.—*Adultos*;—having undergone their transformations, and assumed the perfect or adult insect-form, that of *imago*.

Gentis;—because “*solæ communes gnatos—habent.*”—*Georg.* IV. 153.

V. 444. *Caput acris equi*.—See a representation on an ancient Roman lamp in the Passerian Collection, of a war-horse's head transfixd with a spear; set down by Passerius (*Lucernæ Fictiles*, Tom. II. Tab. 27,) as an emblem of the conquest of Carthage.

V. 448. *Nixæque ære trabes*.—Virgil's principal commentators, while they agree in adopting the vulgar reading of this passage, *nexæque ære trabes*, differ toto cælo in its interpretation. Heyne (who is followed by Wagner) having justly rejected the usually received meaning (“*ære nexæ vulgo sic accipi videas, ut postium, h. e. trabium, ex ligno, v. c. abiagnarum, vincula et clavi seu unci sint ex ære*”) as utterly unworthy of the dignity of the description, gives his own interpretation in these words: “*nexæque liminibus (adjunctæ et impositæ liminî) trabes (postes) surgebant (erant ex) ære.*” Wunderlich, on the other hand, objecting with equal justice to Heyne's gloss, that *ære* cannot be separated from *nexæ*, and that there is a manifest incorrectness in the double construction, *ærea surgebant* and *surgebant ære*, understands *nexæ ære*, to be equivalent to *æreus*. But if equivalent to *æreus*, *nexæ ære* had better been omitted, as embarrassing the construction without conveying any meaning not already conveyed by *ærea*, the action of which is as full and perfect on *trabes* as on *limina*. Besides these separate, there is one general, objection to all the explanations which have been, or, as far as I can see, can be offered of this reading; viz., that they all so limit Virgil's description as to make it the descrip-

tion, not of a temple, or the façade or portal of a temple, but of a mere door; the sum total of the sense contained in the two lines being, *that there were steps up to the door; the sill, posts, and valves of which were of brass.* I therefore unite with Catrou in rejecting the common reading, as incapable of affording any good sense, and in adopting the more unusual one, *nixæque*, the authorities for which are enumerated in Heyne's *Variæ Lectiones*. This reading being adopted, the passage becomes disembarassed of all difficulty, the construction clear, and the meaning harmonious to the context, and worthy of Virgil. *Limina* is not merely the threshold, but the whole *solum* or ground in front of, and adjoining, the door, including the steps themselves. *Trabes* are the beams or architraves supporting the roof. "*Trabes supra columnas et paratas et antas ponuntur,*" Vitruv. b. iv. c. 2. And again, b. iv. c. 7. "*Eæque trabes compactiles ponantur ut tantam habeant crassitudinem quantæ summæ columnæ erit hypotrachelium.*" That these *trabes* were sometimes of brass, or overlaid with brass, appears from Claudian, 33, 342; "*Trabibus solidatur ahenis Culmen.*" *Ærea surgebant* is the common predicate of *limina* and *trabes*: *nixæ ære* the special predicate of *trabes*, which are represented as leaning on brass, (*viz. brazen columns*), the precise position of the *trabes*, (the modern *architrave*), as described by Vitruvius. The picture presented is therefore that of the whole façade of the temple, consisting of the brazen *limina*, the brazen *architrave*, supported on *brazen columns*, and the *brazen folding or valved doors*, all elevated on a flight of steps. The palace of Alcinous, (*Odyss.* vii.) the Roman Pantheon, and the doors of the court of Solomon's temple, afford well-known exemplifications of the ancient practice of plating various parts of buildings with brass, for the sake of ornament. In further confirmation of the reading *nixæ*, I may observe, that the omission of columns in the description of so great and magnificent a temple, would have been very singular and remarkable.¹

¹ Wagner having adopted (*viz. in his Virg. Br. En.*, published since the above comment was written,) the reading *nixæ*, thus observes, "*Trabes, postes intellige; eæ surgunt ære nixæ; i. e. ære sustentæ; sustineri autem, sive*

erectæ stare, ære dicuntur, quia ipsæ sunt æræ." As, however, he has advanced no argument in support of that interpretation, I prefer to adhere to the view I have taken above; the more especially as I find, from Statius's ma-

470. *Primo somno*.—I understand these words to mean, not “*Quem Rhesus prima nocte postquam ad Trojam venit, capiebat*,” (Wagner, Virg. br. en.) but *in the first part, beginning of sleep*; or, as, using the self-same form of expression, we say in English, *in the first sleep*; 1st, because this latter is the meaning of the phrase, as established by the use of other authors; ex. gr. Phædr. III. 10. *Sopita primo quæ nil somno senserat*. 2dly, Because, so understood, the sense is not only stronger, but more fully explanatory of the subsequent “*Priusquam Pabula gustassent*,” &c. viz. *in the early part of the night before they had time to taste*, &c. 3dly, Because the fact that the slaughter of Rhesus had taken place on the *first night* after his arrival at Troy, was so well known as not to require express specification.

V. 471. *Multâ vastabat cæde cruentus*.—The construction is, *cruentus multâ cæde*; not, *vastabat multâ cæde*. See Comm. vers. 293* and 637.

V. 474. *Amissis Troilus armis*.—Compare Hippolytus dragged by his runaway horses and chariot: Eurip. *Hippol.* 1236; also the fabricated story which the messenger tells Clytemnestra of the death of Orestes. Sophocl. *Electra*, 748.

V. 478. *Versâ hasta*.—Not *inverted*, but simply *turned*, viz. backwards; the meaning being that the spear held by the usual part, was trailed behind, the point being furthest from Troilus, and in the dust; versus, simply *turned*; inversus, (our topsy-turvey,) turned *so that that part of the object which has been below or above, or at one side, becomes above or below or at the opposite side*, (see *Vomere terras invertisse*, Georg. III. 526;) *Conversus* turned toward another object. (See “*In me convertite ferrum*,” *En.* IX. 427. *Conversâ cuspidē*; *En.* I. 81, and Comment.)

V. 483. *Raptaverat Hectora . . . exanimumque corpus vendebat*.—Had rapt round the walls Hector while yet alive, (see Comment. on Tumentes, *En.* II. 273); and having so deprived him of life, was now selling his dead body.

V. 486. *Currus*.—The chariot not, as hitherto understood, of Achilles, but, as required by the context, and as no doubt

nifest imitation, that it is the very view which was taken of it by that close follower in the footsteps of Virgil:—

Ferrea compago laterum (viz. templi Martis), ferro arcta teruntur
Limina; ferratis incumbunt tecta columnis.—*Theb.* VII. 43.—I. H.

authorized by the non-Homeric narrative here followed by Virgil, (see *En.* II. 273,) the chariot of Hector himself.

V. 492. *Subnectens . . . bellatrix ; audet . . . virgo.*—See Comment. *En.* II. 552.

V. 494. *Dardanio Æneæ.*—Observe the delicate propriety with which the term *Dardan* is applied to Eneas, at the moment when, by the sudden presentation to him, in a strange land, of his own and his country's history, his mind is filled with, and overwhelmed by, *Dardan* recollections.

V. 496. *Regina ad templum, &c.*—Our author, according to his wont, (see Comment. *En.* II. 18 and 51,) especially on occasions when he wishes to be more than usually impressive, presents us, first, with the single principal idea, and afterwards adds those which are necessary for explanation or embellishment. *The queen comes to the temple ; she is of exquisite beauty, and her name is Dido.* *Regina* contains the principal idea, because it is the *queen*, as *queen*, whom Eneas is expecting and recognizes ; it is, therefore, placed first: *pulcherrima* follows next, because the queen's beauty was almost of necessity the immediately succeeding idea in Eneas's mind ; and the *name*, *Dido*, is placed last, as of least importance, and serving only to identify, and connect with the narrative of Venus.

V. 496.**Regina ad templum, &c.*—Parallel, but (as usual in Shakespeare, and to his great honour) without imitation.

. The rich stream
Of lords and ladies, having brought the queen
To a prepared place in the choir, fell off
A distance from her ; while her grace sat down
To rest a while, some half an hour or so,
In a rich chair of state ; opposing freely
The beauty of her person to the people.

Henry VIII. Act 4.

V. 502. *Latonæ tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus.*

These growing thoughts my mother soon perceiving
. inly rejoiced.

Par. Reg. I. 227.

V. 506. *Solioque alte subnixa.*—*Subniti ; to take or derive support out of something placed underneath ; to lean upon* (without, however, including the idea of reclination, or deviation from the perpendicular) ; *to rest upon* (without including the

idea of repose). From this, the primitive meaning of *subniti*, (not sufficiently understood by any of the commentators or translators,) directly flows its derived meaning of *relying upon*.

Subnixa operates, not (as gratuitously and most unpoetically supposed by Heyne) on *scabello* understood, but on *solio* expressed; and the *ordo* is, *sæpta armis subnixaque alte solio, re-sedit foribus divæ, &c.*

V. 548. *Non metus, &c.*—"Non metuendum est ne te pœniteat beneficiis nos provocasse."—Heyne. But, 1st, *non metuendum, &c.* is weak and impotent as the sole conclusion from a premiss which Virgil has taken care to render as impressive as possible, by repeating it three times in different words. 2dly, This conclusion might have been expressed more shortly, simply, and clearly, by a single negative joined to *pœniteat* (or *pœnitebit*,) than by the double negative, *non metus ne*. 3dly, *Non metus*, so understood, conveys the very uncomplimentary imputation, that Dido *did* fear that she might receive no recompense for kindness shown to the Trojans. 4thly, This interpretation makes it necessary to substitute a new reading, *ne*, for the received one, *nec*. For all these reasons, I understand Ilioneus as drawing two distinct conclusions from his premises; the first, *non metus*, referring solely to the Trojans; the second, *officio nec te, &c.* referring to Dido; an interpretation which is strongly confirmed by the words *sin absumta salus, &c.* v. 555, (referring plainly, as I think, to the preceding *non metus*); but if, *Eneas having perished, our safety is gone, and we have therefore every thing to fear, &c.*

V. 602. *Magnum quæ sparsa per orbem.*—Besides the settlements which the Trojans made in Italy under Antenor and Eneas, they are also said to have made one in Denmark.

Quant jadis fut destruite Troie,

.

Plusors qui escaper se porent,

.

Par granz labors par granz perilz

Par plusors terres s'epandirent,

Terres poplerent, citez firent,

Une gent de Troie escaperent,

Ki en Danemarche assenerent.

The alleged origin of the race of Northmans or Normans, who, under Bier and Hasting, invaded and conquered the north-

western part of France, since, from them, called Normandy.—See *Roman de Rou*, 157, and *seq.*

V. 605. *Quæ te tam læta tulerunt sæcula?*

“Wer bist du, heilig wunderbares Mädchen?

Welch glücklich Land gebahr dich? Sprich, wer sind

Die gottgeliebten Aeltern die dich zeugten?”

Schiller, *Jungf. v. Orleans*, Act 1.

V. 610. *Quæ me cunque*, &c.—“Quocunque abiero, beneficii accepti memor ero.”—Heyne. “In iis terris in quibus consero, ut perennis sit beneficii tui memoria efficiam.”—Wagner. I am inclined to think that Eneas’s nobler meaning is, *no matter whither I may be called, no matter what becomes of ME, YOUR fame will last as long as the world itself.* The reader will also recognize in the words, *quæ me cunque vocant terræ*, (*vocant* being in the indicative, not the subjunctive mood,) a polite and graceful intimation, (in answer to Dido’s invitation, v. 572,) that Eneas’s duty leads him away from Carthage.

V. 630. *Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.*—Scarcely less pathetic is our own Sterne, “She had suffered persecution and learned mercy.” Nor is Ulysses’s sympathy with Ajax (Soph. *Ajax*. 1381,) less natural and touching, although, as arising not from recollection of the past but from expectation of the future, it is somewhat of a different kind:

A. ὙΑνωγας οὖν με τὸν νεκρὸν θάπτειν ἔαν;

O. ὙΕγωγε, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐνθάδ’ ἵξομαι.

Compare also St. Paul, *Epist. to Hebr.* iv. 15, quoted by Peerlkamp, οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ἀρχιερέα μὴ δυνάμενον συμπάθῃαι ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν, πεπειρασμένον δὲ κατὰ πάντα.

V. 636. *Munera lætitiæque Dei.*—The sense of this line (as of 534, 560, and I believe of all those which Virgil has left incomplete,) is perfect, although the verse is not; *Munera lætitiæque Dei*, i. e. *Munera læta Dei*; the particular god intended being sufficiently indicated;—(a) by the word *lætitiæ*, (see *Lætitiæ Bacchus dator*, v. 734. Διονύσου γένος, Eurip. *Cycl.* 414; Βότρυος γένος, Idem, *Bacchid.* 261 and 382; Οἶα Διώνυσος δῶκ’ ἀνδράσι χάριμα, Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 400); and (b) by the obvious necessity (observed by La Cerda and others) that wine should form a part of Dido’s presents.

I therefore adhere, with Forbiger, to the ordinary reading,

and reject with him, as affording a much inferior sense, the reading *diū*, proposed by A. Gellius, and adopted by Heyne, Brunck, Jahn, Wagner, and Thiel. Compare *En.* ix. 337, where Virgil again applies to Bacchus the term *Deus* without any distinguishing adjunct; “*Membra Deo victus* ;” and *En.* iii. 177, *Munera libo Intemerata focus*, where *munera intemerata* is the poetic equivalent for *merum vinum*.

V. 637. *Regali splendida luxu instruitur*.—The structure is *splendida regali luxu*, not *instruitur regali luxu* ; as in vers. 471, *cruentus multâ cæde*, not *vastabat multâ cæde*. See also comment on *diræ ferro et compagibus arctis*, vers. 293.

V. 664. *Nate meæ vires*, &c.—Compare Venus’s similar persuasion of Cupid to wound Medea with the love of Jason :

Εἰ δ’ ἄγε μοι προφρὼν, &c.—Apollon. Rhod. iii. 131.

V. 664.* *Mea magna potentia ; solus, Nate*, &c.—With Servius, and Weichert (Annot. in *Æneid*, Libr. 11 priores. Lucaviæ, no date,²) I believe the structure to be, *Nate, qui solus temnis*, and therefore place a semicolon between *potentia* and *solus*.

V. 665. *Tela Typhæia temnis*.—See (in Gorius, *Mus. Florent.* Tom. ii. Tab. 16, Fig. 1,) a representation, taken from a gem, of Cupid breaking Jupiter’s thunder-bolts across his knee.

V. 682. *Ne qua scire dolos*, &c.—Venus proposes so to dispose of Ascanius, that it may be impossible for him, either *knowingly* or *accidentally*, to interrupt her plot. That this is the meaning is sufficiently evidenced : 1st, by the disjunctive *ve* ; 2dly, by the word *occurrere*, indicating an accidental, not an intentional interruption ; and, 3dly, by the no less necessity which existed, of preventing the real Ascanius from *accidentally* appearing, than of *keeping him in ignorance of what was going on*.

V. 688. *Fallasque veneno*.—*Fallas* repeats the idea contained in *occultum*, and is emphatic ; the gist of Venus’s instruc-

* A work of only 14 quarto pages, printed a short time before the author’s death, and distributed amongst his friends, but never exposed to sale. Among the many attentions which I received from Mr. Wagner, when I

had the pleasure of seeing that eminent scholar at Dresden, in the winter of 1846–7, was the loan of a copy of this little work, which had been presented to Mr. Wagner by the author himself.—I. H.

tions to Cupid being, not merely to breathe the poisonous fire into Dido, but to do so *secretly*, so as not to be perceived even by Dido herself; compare vers. 718. The force of the expression *Fallas veneno* is therefore not in *veneno*, but in *Fallas*; as has been well pointed out by Peerlkamp, who alone of all the commentators has perceived the true construction:—"Arcte jungenda sunt *inspires et fallas*; i. e. *clam inspires ut non sentiat*, λαθών. Non *fallas Didonem veneno*, sed *ipse lateas dum ignem per venenum tuum, et animam, et dona inspires*."

V. 718. *Inscia Dido, Insideat quantus miseræ deus*.—"That the word *Dido*, after *reginam* and *hæc*, is clumsy, and hath a bad effect, will be acknowledged I believe by every poet. I should rather thus: *Inscia quantus, Insideat quantus miseræ Deus*."—Jortin, *Philol. Tracts*. On the contrary, the insertion of Dido's name in this position not only gives additional pathos to the passage, but is according to Virgil's manner. Donec regina sacerdos, Marte gravis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.—*En. i. 273*. See also *En. i. 496* and *690*; *ii. 403*, and comment.; also the separation of Delius from Apollo (*En. iii. 162*); of Ithacus from Ulysses (*iii. 628*); and of Saturnia from Jovis conjux (*iv. 91*); and the junction of the separated appellatives with separate verbs. The proposed repetition of *quantus* would have only operated to withdraw the attention from the principal personage, for the purpose of fixing it on one which performs only a secondary part.

Akin to this criticism of the learned Jortin on *Inscia Dido*, is that of Steevens, the celebrated editor of Shakespeare, on

At *Venus* obscuro gradientes aëre sepsit,
Et multo nebulae circum *dea* fudit amictu.

En. i. 411.

"Had Virgil lived to have revised his *Eneid*, he would hardly have permitted both of these lines to have remained in his text. The awkward repetition of the nominative case in the second of them seems to decide very strongly against it."—Steevens's Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act iv. sc. 1, note. Hard indeed is the destiny of authors! transcendent excellence, clearness, and beauty of style, are as surely accounted awkwardness, clumsiness, and error, by the judges who sit on our critical bench, as, two centuries ago, superior physical knowledge, or even singular blamelessness of life, was received in our criminal

courts as proof incontrovertible of communication with the father of evil.

V. 724. *Crateras magnos statuunt.*

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐς αὐλοὺς ἦκεν, ἐς κρατῆρα τε
Καινὸν, γέρον ἔλεξ' ἀφαρπάζειν χρεὼν
Οἶνηρά σκεύη σμικρὰ, μεγάλα δ' εἰσφέρειν.

Euripid. *Ion*, 1177, ubi vide Barnes.

V. 724*. *Magnos.*—No inappropriate or idle epithet, these *crateres* being sometimes so large that a man could hide himself behind one of them. “Magnum metuens se post cratera tegebat.”—*En.* ix. 346. Hence the propriety of the verb *statuunt*, not merely *place* or *set*, but (correctly of a large unwieldy object) *establish*.

Among the princely presents of ancient times, we not unfrequently meet one of these huge *crateres* of silver or other costly material, carved or chased over with emblematical or historical images. See *En.* v. 536.

V. 724. *Vina coronant.*—Car. Wagner, Professor Marburgiensis, (opuscula Academica, Marb. 1832,) has, I think satisfactorily, shown that Homer's *κρατῆρας ἐπεστέφαντο ποτοῖο*, must not be confounded with Virgil's *vina coronant*; the former being (as indeed the ipsissima verba sufficiently indicate) to be understood of filling the vessels up to the brim with liquor; the latter, of a custom unknown in Homer's time, but well known in Virgil's, viz., that of crowning the vessels with flowers.

V. 739. *Pleno se proluit auro.*—Compare “Æstivo recubans te prolue vitro.”—Copa. vers. 29.

V. 740. *Cithara crinitus Iopas*, &c.—Virgil has taken from Eurip. (see *Ion*, vers. 1146, and seq., and also vers. 190,) not merely the whole of the subjects of Iopas's song, and a considerable part of the description of the banquet, but the general idea (without however the particulars) of the painting on the walls of Juno's temple, vers. 456. See also the song of the Argonauts in the beginning of Apollonius Rhodius's poem.

V. 741. *Personat.*—*Suonare* is the term commonly used throughout Italy at the present day to express *playing upon a musical instrument*, the Italian derivative, in this instance as in so many others, retaining not merely the general sense, but the special application of the Latin original.

V. 741*. *Docuit quæ maximus Atlas.*—The calm and philo-

sophical subject of Iopas's song contrasts finely with the subsequent romantic and exciting narrative of Eneas. In this respect, as in so many others, Virgil has improved upon his master, who, making his minstrel sing, and his hero tell, similarly romantic stories, loses the advantage of contrast. See *Odyss.* books VIII. IX.

V. 746. *Quæ tardis mora noctibus obstet.*—Viz., *quin præcipitantes cælo* (see *En.* II. 8), *se quoque tingant oceano.*

V. 754. *Dic nobis Insidias Danaum.* See *En.* II. 65, and comment.

(*To be continued.*)

XI.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE CONSIDERED AS A PRACTICAL BASIS FOR THE STUDY OF OTHER INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

I FEAR we do not appreciate enough the advantage of a good stock of words for a beginner in Grammar. Yet if we call to mind what discouraged us most in our first attempts at translating from a foreign language, ancient or modern, into our native tongue, we shall be obliged to confess that it was our great want of words. We knew perhaps our grammar very well, we saw at once the construction of the whole sentence before us by a glance over the endings of the words, and according to the endings we had ready in our minds all the necessary articles in their requisite cases, as, *the, of the, &c.*; besides the necessary auxiliaries, as, *has, should be, &c.* And so we set to work to make out the meaning with good courage and not without self-satisfaction. But here we wanted a substantive, further on a verb, here an adjective, and there an adverb; and looking first for the substantive in the dictionary, we found so many meanings to it, that we were obliged to know first the meanings of the other words, or at least of the verb, before we could decide on the meaning of the substantive. We hasten to the verb, but the verb has as many different meanings as the substantive. Almost every word we look for, makes it more

difficult for us to find out the meaning of the whole sentence. Every sentence becomes, through our want of a sufficient stock of words, almost an equation with three and more unknown quantities.

We ought not, in my opinion, to begin translating with our pupils before we have given them a sufficient number of words; and that number of words ought to be given, even *before they begin grammar at all*. This is the natural way of beginning a language. The substance must be ready before forms can be applied. The exercises we make with words known to us, are not only easier, but make also a deeper impression on our minds, and lead us safely and surely to the true understanding of the grammatical forms we are practising, and through it to the formal genius of the language. This applies particularly to the ancient languages, where the case-endings seem to acquire, in the minds of boys, a different character from what they really are. Besides, there is no doubt but that, in order to learn a new language and its grammar rapidly, one's ears and organs of speech must be accustomed to, and have been rendered familiar with, the new sounds. It is true *we* have done without it, and many have succeeded on the usual method; but it is not less true that, at the very outset of our grammatical studies of a foreign tongue, we load our pupils with two difficulties at once, and the more harassing of the two is precisely the one for which the master usually has no indulgence at all, I mean the pronunciation of Latin and Greek. The two following results of experience with boys are well known; *first*, they are much inclined to learn things mechanically by heart; and, *secondly*, they do not learn quickly a new accidence, though they are in most cases only required to learn it mechanically by heart. These two statements would contradict one another, if we had not to add that the first applies to the mother tongue, where the boy's organs have to do so only with known sounds, while the second relates to a foreign language, where all is new and difficult to him, even the mere pronunciation. His interest, his memory—and memory is nothing else but that interest, that attention which we may be led to attach to any thing—is drawn off from the forms or endings to the unusual sound of the word, and the difficulty which his organs of speech have in pronouncing it. If a boy repeat his declensions or conjugations badly and almost stammering, it is very often, not because he

has forgotten the endings, but because his attention has been drawn from the endings to the unusual sound of the crude form or root of the word to be declined or conjugated, and because his organs prevented him from going on as quickly as he would have wished to do. We are right in supposing that he did it from inattention, but that inattention is the necessary consequence of our method, and, consequently, not so much the boy's as the master's fault. The new crude form absorbed the boy's whole attention.

That this is the case, may easily be proved by the following experiment. Suppose a boy is at the first Latin declension; he cannot decline *musa* or *mensa* without stammering. Make him say then the mere endings: *a*, *æ*, *æ*, *am*, *â*. They are easy, English sounds and words; after a few repetitions he will repeat them perfectly well; he will like to repeat them. You are sure he knows them. Take then *musa* or *mensa* again, and have them declined. You will find, I fear, that they will not go much better than before. But give him only an easy letter to pronounce before the terminations, as, *s* or *t*, and all will proceed as well as you could wish. Take again instead of *s* or *t*, another consonant hard for the boy to pronounce, and all the terminations will seem to be entirely forgotten again. I think these experiments must prove to every one, that the difficulty boys generally have in learning a foreign language and grammar, ancient or modern, lies not so much in the variety of grammatical forms, which, almost throughout, are simple and easy, as in the unusual sounds or compositions of sounds or letters, in the hearing or pronunciation of which the boy's whole attention is absorbed; that in consequence of this experience, boys ought to practise first their ears, eyes, and organs in a new language, before they begin its grammar. The most useful way of doing this, would be to give them a list of the most useful words to learn by heart. This stock of words would not only take away more than half from the beginner's difficulties, but afterwards most decidedly assist him in reading any author with facility and pleasure.

But learning by heart mere words for the sake of introduction to an unknown language, seems to be objectionable on many grounds. Besides there are two methods used already by many authors of practical grammars (for beginners), by which it is intended to initiate the pupil at once into the genius

of the language, and to furnish him in an easy practical way with the rules of etymology and syntax, that is, the explanatory examples in Latin or Greek are literally translated into English, or the English exercises are allowed to be in all cases literal Latin or Greek translations. These two methods, used either separately or together, are often attended with great success.¹ Their principle is the right one: *all study of foreign tongues must begin with a comparative study of the mother tongue*. Yet the application seems to be objectionable, because one thing will be bad, either the literal translation of the English or that of the Latin. Bopp, Donaldson, Grimm, Latham, Pott, and others, in writing their comparative treatises, grammars, and etymologies, certainly never thought of first beginners to help them in that respect, yet their best researches and discoveries can be made accessible and useful to them. I proceed to explain the plan which, in my opinion, would answer those two requisites of a beginner's comparative grammar, which we have already been discussing: viz. 1. That it ought to furnish the pupil with a sufficient stock of words to begin with advantage the new accidence; and, 2. That the method by which it is attempted to get that stock, ought to proceed from a comparative study of the respective mother tongue. And I remark by the way, that it will be found to be further recommended by the fact, that it is founded upon the most practical of all practical maxims, "to make the best of what one has,"—that is, in the case supposed, the English language.

The English language has about 53,000 words, of which about 3,820 may be considered primitives. Of these, about 2,500 (2,513,) belong to the Germanic, 1,250 to the classic stock.²

¹ Becker, Dr. K. Ferd. *Ausführliche* D. G., Ed. II. vol. I. p. 8, applies this principle only to the Syntax: "Die Grammatik jeder besondern Sprache hat nur die der fremden mit der Muttersprache gemeinsamen Verhältnisse (des Gedankens und der Begriffe) zu entwickeln, und die ihnen entsprechenden Formen, wie sie entweder mit denen der Muttersprache übereinstimmen oder von ihnen abweichen, nachzuweisen." The true object of any grammar is to him "die Sprache zu verstehen." But in order to understand a language, one

must first learn it; and to teach a language is the object of grammar also.

² The principal books that have been consulted for the given results, are, Charles Richardson's *New Dictionary of the English Language*, Ed. II. 1844; T. H. Kaltschmidt's *Sprachvergleichendes Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1839; the Tauchnitz Editions of the Dutch, Danish, and Swedish Dictionaries; T. Bosworth's *Dictionary of the A. S. Language*, 1838; Erasmus Rask's *Grammar of the A. S. Tongue*, translated by B. Thorpe, 1830; *The*

Considering first the 2,500 Germanic primitives, we may fairly conclude, that as the English language, a daughter of the Anglo-Saxon, with the Dutch, German, Danish, Swedish, Icelandic, and their elder branches, the Gothic, &c. forms the Germanic stock of languages, the above number of words will, to a greater or less extent, serve us to begin with advantage any of those languages. We shall get in this way, for instance, about 2000 words for the German, without being obliged as yet to touch any of the difficulties of the language. There is no learning by heart; it is sufficient to read once or twice over the examples that follow a given rule, and they will be remembered. Without entering into any details of the consonantal law that rules the transition between the English and German languages, let us here give only, for illustration's sake, one rule separately with its examples: The English sharp labial *p* answers to the German labial aspirates, *f* or *pf*; 1st, at the beginning of words, English *p* to German *pf*, as: path—Pfad, pale—Pfahl, pan—Pfanne, penny—Pfennig, plaster—Pflaster, plum—Pflaume, to pluck—pflücken, plough—Pflug, port—Pforte, post—Pfoste, pound—Pfund, pool—Pfuhl; 2d, at the end of words or syllables, English *p* to German *f*, *ff* or *pf*, as: ape—Affe, to gape—gaffen, to gripe—greifen, harp—Harfe, to help—helfen, to hope—hoffen, coop—Kufe, open—offen, ripe—reif, sharp—scharf, ship—Schiff, sleep—Schlaf; carp—Karpfen, apple—Apfel, to hop—hüpfen, cramp—Krampf, copper—Kupfer; prop—Pfropf; pepper—Pfeffer, pipe—Pfeife, &c. It seems to me essential that the number of examples falling under one rule should be as complete as possible.³

To prepare a boy for this sort of study, nothing more is re-

English Language, by Professor Laatham, 1841; T. M. McCulloch's (D.D.) *Manual of English Grammar*, Ed. ix. 1845; Allen and Cornwell's *English Grammar*, Ed. xi. 1846; J. Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*, Ed. ii. 1822; K. F. Becker's *Ausführliche Deutsche Grammatik*, Ed. ii. 1842; T. E. Riddle's Latin and H. G. Liddell and R. Scott's Greek Dictionaries.

³ The mere comparing of simple sounds, the very first step to be done by this method, might be made a source for acquiring words. Who knows the secret of another's memory? On com-

paring, *e. gr.* the three long vowels, *a* in father, *o* in note, *oo* in fool, the following words might be chosen to prove the similarity of the English and German sounds; are and aar, (an eagle,) art and Art, (a kind, a manner,) spar and spar' (spare thou, imperat.) bar and baar, (gold, ready money,) far and fahr' (drive thou in a carriage, imp.) coat and Koth, (mud,) coal and Kohl, (cabbage,) whole s. hole and hol' (fetch thou, imp.) loan and Lohn, (wages,) do and du, (thou,) noon and nun, (now,) room and Ruhm (glory,) &c.

For the whole system of simple arti-

quired than a fair knowledge of his mother tongue. He who has gone through and well understood the etymological part of any of those excellent English grammars now in use, is fully prepared for any thing that might be expected from him for the purpose of giving him the full advantage of the proposed method of comparative etymology. All the exercises considered necessary according to this plan, might be done in a little reading for the further practice of the organs of speech, the ear and the eye. Words found, that follow in their transition one of the known rules, are to be pointed out and looked for in the given list. A few weeks practice would be sufficient to give the beginner the required stock of words.

Besides the German, the other languages of the Germanic stock may be learned on the same plan, and with the same advantages. Moreover, if any one knows already one of these languages, *e. g.* the German, and wishes to apply himself to Dutch, Danish, &c. he can get his stock of words now by comparing English and Dutch,⁴ &c., but he will get a great

culature sounds, it is no little advantage to the English boy, that *the vowel system of his mother tongue is, in a physiological point of view, the simplest and the most regular, its system of consonants one of the most complete of all the Germanic languages.* Latham, *l. c.* p. 100-113; p. 112, "Concerning tion," does not seem fully to appreciate that system.

⁴ *E. gr.* Long English *o*, (in note,) and Dutch *ee*, (*a* in *ale*,) sound as *woe—wee, roe—ree, road—reede, ghost (germ. Geist,)—geest, alone (allein)—aleen, oath (Eid)—eed, whole (heil)—heel, most (meist)—meest, token (zeichen)—teeken, soap (seife)—zeep, woad (waid)—weed, rope—reep, mare—meer, loam—leem, loan—leen, &c.*

And then from the German, *e. gr.*, German *ti*, and Dutch *oe*, (*oo* in *ooze*) as *sühnen (versöhnen, to reconcile)—zoenen, schwül (sultry)—zwoel, süsz (sweet)—zoet, fügen (to join)—voegen, fühlen (to feel)—voelen, führen (to lead)—voeren, wüst (desert, waste)—woest, rühmen (to extol)—roemen, rühren (to touch)—roeren, prüfen (to*

examine)—proeven, müde (tired)—moede, &c.

Or when intending to learn Danish, one would first read over the rules and examples of transition that exist between the English and Danish, *e. gr.*, that of *t* unchanged, as: *cat—kat, salt—salt, malt—malt, tin—tin, mint—mynt, stilt—stylte, net—net, &c.*; referring then to the rule, that English *t* answers to German *z* (or *tz*), and therefore German *z* also to Danish *t*, many more Danish words would be found, by this rule, that are not in the English language, as: *Germ. Kerze (candle)—Dan. Kert, Ketzer—Klätter (heretic)—nützen (to be useful)—nytte, stolz (proud)—stolt, zwingen (to compel)—tvinge, Zwang (compulsion)—Tvang, &c.*

But the German *d* answers also in many cases to the Danish *t*, as: *diene (to serve)—tiene, drücken (to press)—trykke, dingene (to hire)—tinge, Dirne (lass)—Terne, &c.* And as this German *d*, together with the Danish *t*, corresponds with the English *th*, we have, in this case, the whole law of transition

many more by looking over the rules of transition, with their examples, that exist between German and Dutch, &c.⁵

The greater part of the 1250 words that are taken from the classic stock, are only found in composition. Primitives, derivatives, and compounds, taken from this stock, make in all about 17,700 words. About 900 of the primitives belong to the Latin, about 330 to the Greek. With them the same method for preparing a pupil may be followed. But, as I am still engaged in working out that plan practically, and not time enough having yet elapsed to judge of its efficacy for these languages, I shall not now go into any details, but make only a few remarks. The changes that have taken place with the Latin and Greek words adopted in English do not follow organic laws like those existing between the English and the other Germanic Languages, or between the Gothic and the Latin and Greek, as given in the well-known passage of J. Grimm's *D. Gr.* i. p. 584. "The Latin (and Greek) words," (says T. M. McCulloch, D.D., in his excellent little English Grammar, p. 87,) "which have been adopted, have, for the most part, suffered (only) a change of termination." If we wished to point out in these adopted words, examples of organic laws, we should have but to compare words of the same root, and the same original meaning, but the one coming into the English through the Germanic, the other through the classic stock. In fact, we should find examples enough to illustrate the whole of Grimm's law respecting the Classic and Gothic languages. Classic p and Gothic f, as pater(nal) and father; Classic f and Gothic b, as to (per)forate and to bore; Classic b and Gothic p, as burse and purse;⁶ Classic t and Gothic th, as trinity and three; Classic th and Gothic d, as ther(iac) and deer; Classic d and

for the t—sounds before us, such as it exists in its three gradations from the classic languages to the Gothic and Old High German, from Lat. *tu*, to Goth. *thu*, and Ohg. *du*, e. gr., Dan. *Ting*—Eng. thing—Germ. *Ding*, Torn—thorn—Dorn, Trang—throng—Drang, tyk—thick—dick, tynd—thin—dünn, Töirst—thirst—Durst, Tyv—thief—Dieb, tänke—to think—denken, &c.

⁵ Although J. Grimm has not given that rule—for in exhibiting his law he does not mention the English language,

(l. c. i. p. 581,)—yet it may be said to belong to him, as the English stands almost always in the same consonantal relation to the New High German as the Gothic does to the Old High German. All the examples are given from my own collections.—Comp. T. Hewitt Key's *Alphabet*. London, 1844. P. 49.

⁶ J. Grimm, l. c. p. 58, says, that he does not know any German word beginning with p, high Germ. f (pf) answering the classic b, (as βᾶδος, A. S. *paad*, hg. *pfad*) to prove his law in this case.

Gothic *t*, as *dent*(ist) and *tooth*; Classic *k* and Gothic *h*, (instead of *ch*, v. Grimm, l. c. p. 584, fin.) as (uni)corn and *horn*; Classic *ch* and Gothic *g*, as *chol*(erië) and *gall*; Classic *g* and Gothic *k*, as *gelid* and *cold*.

But besides these, there are other advantages we can draw from those primitives of the classic stock. They will help us also to acquire a most desirable stock of words for the study of any of the modern languages belonging to the classic stock, as the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, &c. Each such introductory study has to begin, as already stated, with a comparison between the English and the other respective system of simple sounds, following physiological principles, so that one may be enabled to reduce, to a sort of standard measure, all sounds of any language which one may wish to compare with English.

We have still to go one step farther; the intimate connexions of the English language go beyond the Germanic and classic stock. For these two are again only branches of the tribe of the Indo-European languages, and in this way intimately connected with the Sanscrit, Persian, Lithuanian, Slavonic, and Celtic stocks. From this fact we may fairly conclude (by analogy,) without knowing yet exactly the whole importance of it, that the English language will give us most desirable aid in learning any of the last-named languages. But now that our range is wider, it will be well to consider the simple *roots* of the English language, instead of its primitives.

There are about 497 roots to the 3820 primitives; 470 of them are Sanscrit roots, or roots which the English has in common with the Sanscrit.⁷ If in the Indian languages the proportion of the roots to the primitives, or to the whole mass of words derived from them, were the same as in English, i. e. if each root gave about 7 primitives, or 100 words of all sorts,

⁷ In these statements I follow principally F. G. Eichhoff,—*Parallèle des Langues de l'Europe et de l'Inde*, Paris, 1836,—who gives a detailed list of the 550 Sanscrit roots that allow a *parallèle des Langues de l'Europe et de l'Inde*. N. L. Westergaard, in his *Radices Linguae Sanscritae*, Bonn, 1841, has about 3,500 verbs, of which about 1,380 are roots, yet without counting the “ra-

lices etymologicæ, quæ ab antiquissimis grammaticis in collectiones radicum non relatæ sunt,” p. 333.

Fr. Bopp, in his *Glossarium Sanscritum*, Berlin, 1847, has the same number of roots as Westergaard. Wilson, in the 2d edition of his *Sanscrit Grammar*, 1847, gives a list of 500 roots, the most useful verbs (he says).

those 470 roots would give 3350 primitives, or 47,000 words. I know very well that it is neither useful nor practical to take up such an enormous mass of words; I put the numbers down only to shew in a few lines what might be got from the English language for linguistic studies, if any one should wish to take advantage of all the facilities it offers to the student. A few examples will suffice to show, that in point of simple etymology, the Sanscrit is in many cases almost more nearly related to the English than any of the Germanic languages, *e. g.* :—

Mad,⁸ (to be mad, Wilson's *Sanskrit Gramm.* Ed. II., 1847, p. 295;) here Sanscrit and English are both the same. Let us compare what is said about the etymology of "mad" in one of the best English Dictionaries, (C. Richardson's Ed. II. 1844, ad voc.) "The older etymologists refer to the Greek; but do not agree upon the specific source. Sk.—yemaad, gemæd, insanus, vecors. Ital. matto, stultus. Seren.—from Go. mod, anger. Tooke,—from A. S. metan, somniare, to mete, to dream; past p. mætt, mæd. Tooke also disputes the Greek origin ascribed to It. matto. The Greek derivatives (he observes) in the It. proceed through the L.; and in the Latin there is nothing which resembles "matto."⁹

⁸ J. Grimm, *l.c.* p. 588, Obs. 1, says, that "Words of the Classic, Gothic, and High Germ. languages, in which two consonants follow his law (as *τρίχισ*, Goth. thragjan: *πρόις*, fōtjus,) are doubly sure; those that have only one agreeing and the other disagreeing, are suspicious; still more so those that are found with the very same consonants in all the three languages." To this we observe, that the following words, though they preserve almost all their consonants unchanged, do not fall under the last point of the given rule, as one of the two consonants of each word is either a Liquid or a Spirant. But Liquids (and mostly Spirants too,) remain unchanged, (Grimm. *l.l.* p. 581. Thus a word with two Liquids may keep its consonants throughout the languages of the Indo-European tribe, *e. gr.*, name, Scr. náman, Lat. nomen, Gr. ὄνομα, Germ. name, Slav. imja (Them. imen, instead of nimen,) Gal. ainm, Pers. nam.

⁹ Another interesting example of this sort, is the verb "to pour," of which no satisfactory etymology has been given yet. Ch. Richardson, *ad voc.*, says: "Mins. derives from D. bor-en, to tilt (a vessel,) sk.—either from the sound of falling water, or from L. purus. In some parts of England the influx of the tide, the rush of it, is called the bore; and in Scotland an opening in the clouds, when the sky is thick and gloomy, or during rain, is called the blue bore.—Jamieson. The word "bore" in each of these usages, may be traced to the A. S. bor-ian, to bore, to pierce; and cons., to make an opening. To pour (by the change of p into b,) may be the same word, and app. as above explained." But there is no other example of an A. S. b. being changed into English p. Perch, A. S. bærs, bears, the only word that might be adduced, is derived from the L. perca. The Sanscrit root is simply pūr, implere, satiare, lar-

Bhri (frigere, affare, Westerg. *l. l.* p. 78; chauffer, brûler, Eichhoff *l. l.* p. 341,) root to the verb "to brew."

Stri (étendre, répandre, Eichhoff *l. l.* p. 292,) to strew.

Man (putare, credere, opinari, Westerg. *l. l.* p. 196,) comp. to mean.

Van (négociar, acquérir, Eichhoff *l. l.* p. 323,) comp. to win.

Dal (findere, Westerg. p. 251, Eichhoff p. 281,) comp. to deal.

Sék (aller, approcher, to seek, Eichhoff p. 271,) comp. to seek.

Vas' (desiderare, Bopp. *l. l.* p. 311,) comp. to wish.

Váj (excitare, parare, Westerg. p. 120,) comp. to wake, to watch.

Vaksh (crescere, Bopp. p. 304,) comp. to wax.

Mur (circumdare, Bopp. p. 267,) to mure.

I might furnish a great many more examples of the same kind, if this were the proper place for reviewing the rules of consonantal transitions between these two languages.¹⁰ The English having, for the most part, thrown off the Germanic inflexions, and yet in most cases retained the radical letters, presents in many cases (as we have seen,) almost Sanscrit roots; even Latin words have been, in English, contracted in such a way, that one who had not traced the origin of such words historically, might be tempted to take them for pure Sanscrit. As we have had "man" to mean, "dal" to deal, thus Sanscrit "prach" (precor,) might be the root of the verb "to preach," as the meaning agrees perfectly well with the English word: yet "to preach" is contracted from the Latin *prædicare*.

With these roots, then, and the others that might easily be acquired besides by following the organic laws of transition,

giri, trajicere (cf. Bopp's *Gloss.* p. 222, Westerg. p. 77,) to pour; Bopp derives *L.* pleo, ejectione vocali, mutato *r* in *l*, and *πύμαλινι*, &c. from it. As to the *A. S.* *bor-ian*, *L.* *for-are*, it can only answer the Sanscrit *bh* in *bhuo*, *ferire* (v. Donaldson's *New Cratylus*, p. 137; after Pott's *Etymologische Forschungen*, i. p. 84; and Westerg. *l. l.* p. 260,) showing the very natural common origin of *ferire* and *forare*.

¹⁰ Donaldson, *N. Cr.*, p. 132, gives, after Bopp, a certain number of comparative examples to illustrate Grimm's law. If English words were introduced

into that list, we should easily see, that in many cases they are next to Sanscrit, e. gr. *bhratr*, *φράτωρ*, *frater*, *Gt.* *brôthar*, *Ohg.* *pruoder*. Among these, the Gothic approaches Sanscrit the nearest, but the English "brother," having a short vowel in the first syllable, comes still nearer; cf. H. H. Wilson's *Sansc. Gr.*, 2d ed. p. 4. The same is the case with *bhr s. bhar*, *φίλω*, *fero*, *Gt.* *baira*, *ohg.* *piru*. Again the English, to bear, stands nearer than the *Gt.* *baira*. Again *λίχω*, *lingo*, *Gt.* *laigô*, *ohg.* *lêkôm*; the English "to lick" comes next to Sanscrit "lih," &c.

and by easy and regular derivations and compositions, we should get that stock of words which must be considered indispensable, if we wish to learn Sanscrit in a shorter time, and with less trouble, than is generally the case. The greater part of these roots would give, also, important aid in learning any of the modern Indian languages connected with Sanscrit, as the Hindi, Hindoostani, Maharashtri, Pendshabi, &c. There is no doubt that an Englishman has, in his native language, root-words enough to begin any of those languages with a considerable stock of words, and that would do much to remove that one impediment, the thought of which is the most deterring of all in beginning a new language.

As for the other languages of the Indo-European tribe, I can only say, that according to Eichhoff, out of the 470 English-Sanscrit roots, 242 are met with in the Lithuanian, 146 in the Russian language, that is, one full half of them in the former, almost one-third in the latter. But we need not go any farther; we have said enough to show, first, that want of words is one of the greatest impediments in learning languages; and secondly, that the English language, when properly studied for the purpose, would remedy that impediment, as it contains words enough for every language within the Indo-European tribe to begin with advantageously, and that therefore writers of grammars (of ancient or modern languages,) should give, before the accidence, the full list of those English words, which, according to established rules of transition, might be made use of in beginning the new language with which the Grammar is concerned. At the same time I cannot help pointing out, that by this method the study of every other language would contribute largely to a profound knowledge of the mother tongue. And this fact alone is, in my opinion, the highest recommendation that could be made out for any specific method of learning languages.

B. GÄBLER.

XII.

ON THE MUMMY CLOTH OF EGYPT.

PART FIRST.¹

I.

THE inquiries which form the subject of the following paper were undertaken many years ago ; circumstances, which it is unnecessary here to explain, have delayed their publication ; but the results were communicated to numerous individuals. The revival lately of similar inquiries by others, apparently unacquainted with what is already known, induces me to believe that this communication may not be wholly without interest.

My attention was attracted to the subject of Egyptian manufactures by the late Mr. Belzoni, in the year 1822, during the exhibition of a model of the ancient tomb discovered by that enterprising traveller in Egypt. He had the goodness to present to me various specimens of cloth, chiefly from the mummies in his possession, one of which he had entirely denuded.

On my remarking that these fabrics scarcely deserved the appellation of "fine linen," which from all antiquity had been bestowed on the linen of Egypt, and that the observations of Dr. Hadley, in the *Philosophical Transactions* for the year 1764, had thrown some doubt on the supposed fineness of this linen, he informed me, that during his researches in Egypt, in those tombs and mummy-pits which he had explored, he had met with cloth of every degree of fineness, from the coarsest sacking to the finest and most transparent muslin,—a fact which I subsequently found in a great degree confirmed by the acquisition of

¹ The FIRST PART of this Memoir is reprinted from the *Annals of Philosophy* for June 1834,—a scientific journal, in which it first appeared. It is now republished in its original form, with a few verbal corrections and additions only, in compliance with the wishes and

suggestions of others whose opinions I highly value. The additional facts and observations since collected, with replies to the objections of some Italian antiquaries, will be found in the SECOND PART.

some interesting specimens of mummy cloth sent to this country by the then Consul-general of Egypt, the late Mr. Salt. The subject appearing to me sufficiently interesting to deserve investigation, and having collected a variety of specimens of cloth, my first care was to ascertain of what material they were made. This question had already engaged the attention of various inquirers, and given birth to learned dissertations.

Rouelle, in the Memoirs of the French Academy of Sciences for the year 1750 ; Larcher, the translator of Herodotus, in the notes of that celebrated work ; and the learned John Reinhold Forster, who wrote a tract *De Byssu Antiquorum*, had all endeavoured to prove from their own examination, that the mummy cloth of Egypt was cotton : and this opinion, on their authority, was adopted by the learned of Europe. It is singular that neither in the memoir of Rouelle, nor in the notes of Larcher, nor in the dissertation of Dr. Forster, in which this opinion is expressed, are any grounds assigned for, or any proofs given of this opinion. The amount of their assertion is, that having examined the bandages of various mummies, which are designated by them, and some of which I have myself since carefully examined, they found all those which were free from resinous matter to be cotton. I am forced to confess, that with all the attention I could bestow upon them, and with the assistance of various intelligent manufacturers, I was unable to arrive at such a conclusion. Some were of opinion that the cloth was cotton ; others that it was linen ; and some again, that there were in the collection specimens of both,—a proof that our means of judging were unworthy of confidence.

The great difference in the specific gravities, as well as in the conducting power of linen and cotton, is sufficient to enable us, by careful experiments, to discriminate accurately between them ; and there are few individuals, who have been accustomed to the use of both cotton and linen, who cannot readily distinguish, by that delicate sense of touch diffused over the whole body, between the two fabrics : but such tests require much larger portions of the material than I had at my disposal, many of the specimens submitted to my examination not being larger than a shilling. I found the difference of smell in the burnt fibres, and the degree of polish which each kind of cloth took on being rubbed with a glass stopper, as well as other empirical modes suggested to me, liable to great uncertainty, and I sought in vain for

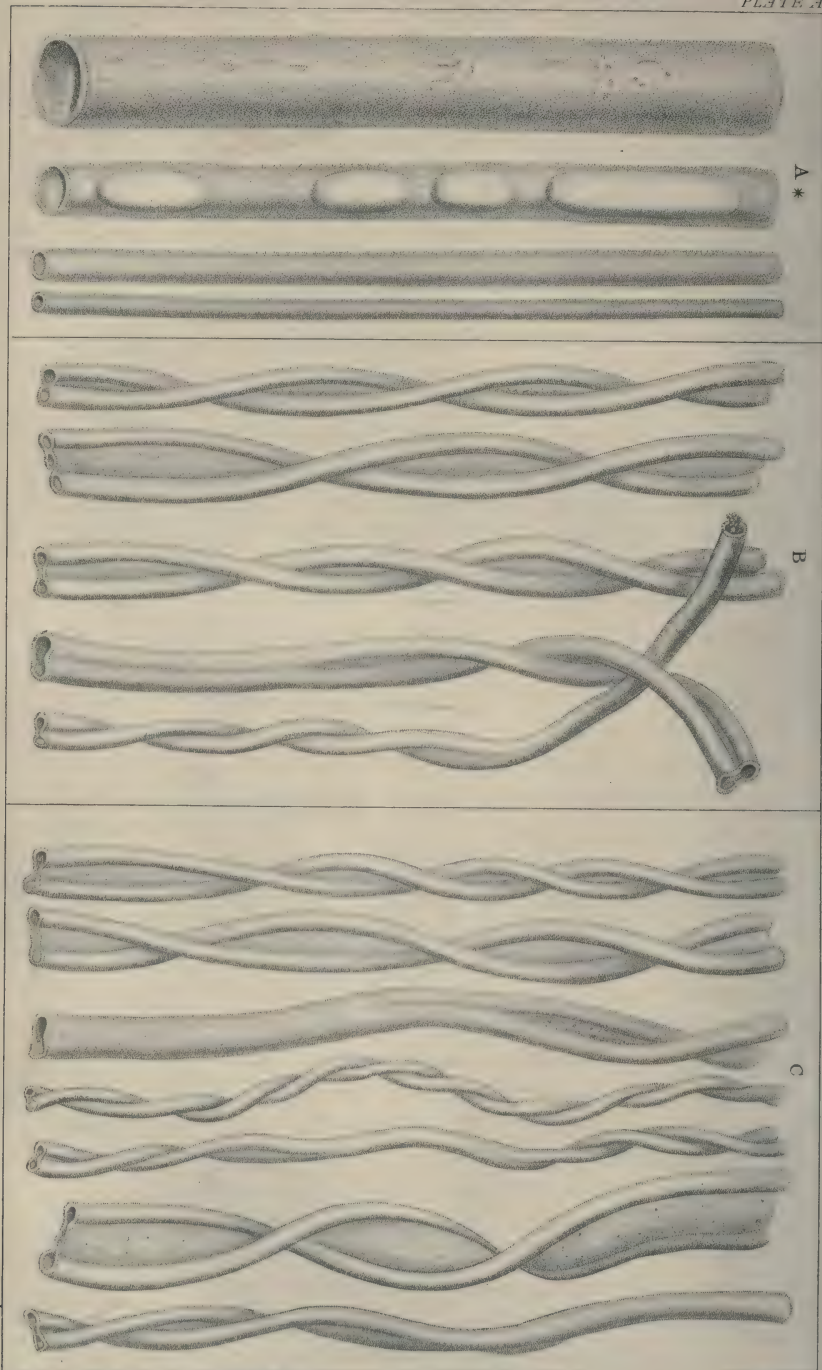
any chemical test. It occurred to me that the supposed unfitness of cotton lint, compared with linen, for dressing wounds, had been accounted for by the different form of their fibres, the one being sharp and angular, and the other round and smooth; and, in fact, I found in the 12th volume of the *Philosophical Transactions*, for the year 1678, this structure ascribed to them by that early microscopic observer, Mr. Leuwenhoek. It seemed to me, therefore, that the most simple mode of distinguishing between cotton and linen would be to subject the fibres to examination under a powerful microscope. Not being possessed of such an instrument, nor accustomed to its management, my friend Mr. Children undertook, through Sir Everard Home, to solicit the assistance of Mr. Bauer, whose labours are well known to the scientific world, and whose microscopic drawings have for a series of years enriched the transactions of the Royal Society. I transmitted to him various fibres of cotton and linen, both manufactured and in their raw state, as well as fibres of unravelled mummy cloth; and in a few days I received from him a letter, in which he pronounced every specimen of mummy cloth subjected to his examination to be linen.

This letter was accompanied by a beautiful drawing, exhibiting the fibres of both raw and unravelled cotton as flattened cylinders, twisted like a corkscrew, whilst the fibres of linen and various mummy cloths were straight and cylindrical.

Repeated observations having established, beyond all doubt, the power of the microscope accurately to distinguish between the fibres of cotton and linen, I obtained, through the kindness of various individuals connected with the British Museum, the Royal College of Surgeons, the Hunterian Museum of Glasgow, as well as other public institutions, both at home and abroad, a great variety of cloths of human mummies, and of animals and birds, which, being subjected to the microscope of Mr. Bauer, proved, without exception, to be linen; nor has he, amongst the numerous specimens we have both collected during many years, been able to detect a single fibre of cotton; a fact since recently confirmed by others, and proving incontestibly that the mummy cloth of Egypt was linen.

II.

The filaments of cotton, when viewed through a powerful instrument, such as the improved achromatic microscope of



Ploessl, of Vienna, which for magnifying power and clearness of vision Mr. Bauer has found superior to every other he has had an opportunity of using, appear to be transparent glassy tubes, flattened, and twisted round their own axis. A section of the filament resembles in some degree a figure of 8; the tube, originally cylindrical, having collapsed most in the middle, forming semi-tubes on each side, which give to the fibre, when viewed in certain lights, the appearance of a flat ribbon, with a hem or border at each edge. The uniform transparency of the filament is impaired by small irregular figures, in all probability wrinkles or creases arising from the desiccation of the tube. The twisted and corkscrew form of the filament of cotton distinguishes it from all other vegetable fibres, and is characteristic of the fully ripe and mature pod, Mr. Bauer having ascertained that the fibres of the unripe seed are simple untwisted cylindrical tubes, which never twist afterwards if separated from the plant; but when the seeds ripen, even before the capsule bursts, the cylindrical tubes collapse in the middle, and assume the form already described, and which is accurately delineated in the accompanying drawing.

This form and character the fibres retain ever after, and in that respect undergo no change through the operation of spinning, weaving, bleaching, printing, and dyeing, nor in all the subsequent domestic operations of washing, &c., till the stuff is worn to rags; and then even the violent process of reducing those rags to pulp for the purpose of making paper, effects no change in the structure of those fibres. "With Ploessl's microscope," says Mr. Bauer, "I can ascertain whether cotton rags have been mixed with linen in any manufactured paper whatever."

The elementary fibres of flax (*linum usitatissimum*) are also transparent tubes, cylindrical, and articulated or jointed like a cane. This latter structure is only observable by the aid of an excellent instrument. They are accurately delineated in the annexed engraving.

Explanation of Plate A.

First row of figures: A. Fibres of the unripe seed of cotton. In that state the fibres are perfect cylindrical tubes. At * is a fibre represented as seen under water, showing that the water

had gradually entered and enclosed several air-bubbles, proving the tube to be quite hollow, and without joints.

B. The first two fibres are from ripe cotton, and are already twisted, though the pod or capsule is not yet burst, and is still on the growing plant. The other three fibres are of raw cotton prepared for manufacture.

C. Various fibres of unravelled threads of manufactured cotton. The fibres of cotton in the annexed drawing are represented $\frac{1}{100}$ of an inch in length, and are magnified 400 times in diameter. In thickness these fibres vary from $\frac{1}{800}$ to $\frac{1}{300}$ part of an inch. The twists or turns in a fibre of cotton are from 300 to 800 in an inch.

Second row of figures. . Plate B.

Fig. 1. Fibres of raw flax before spinning.

Fig. 2. Fibres of unravelled threads of manufactured flax.

Fig. 3, 4, 5. Fibres of the unravelled threads of various mummy cloths.

Fig. 6. Fibres of unravelled threads of the cloth of Dr. Granville's mummy, supposed to be cotton. The specimens are all flax, and the fibres remarkably strong and large.

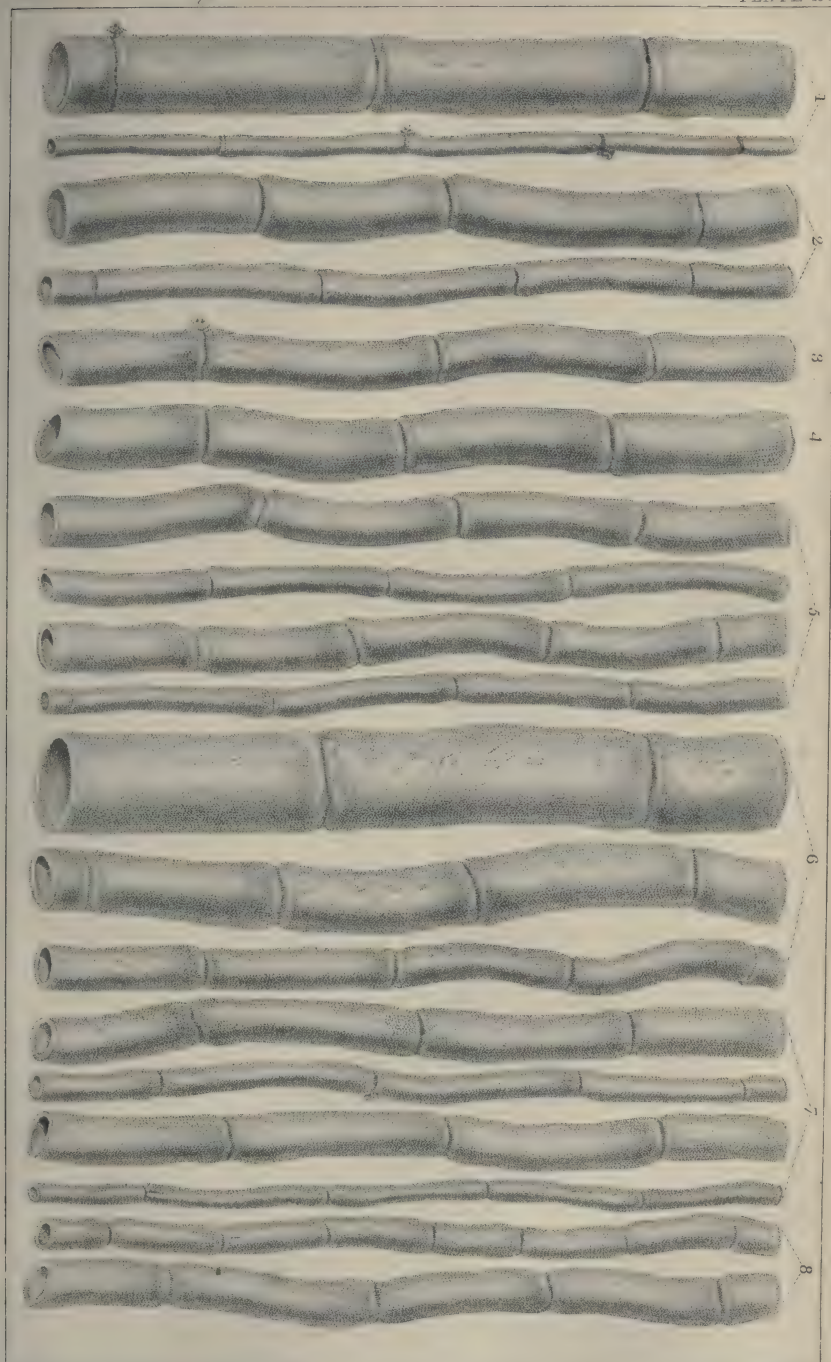
Fig. 7. Fibres of unravelled threads of several Ibis mummies.

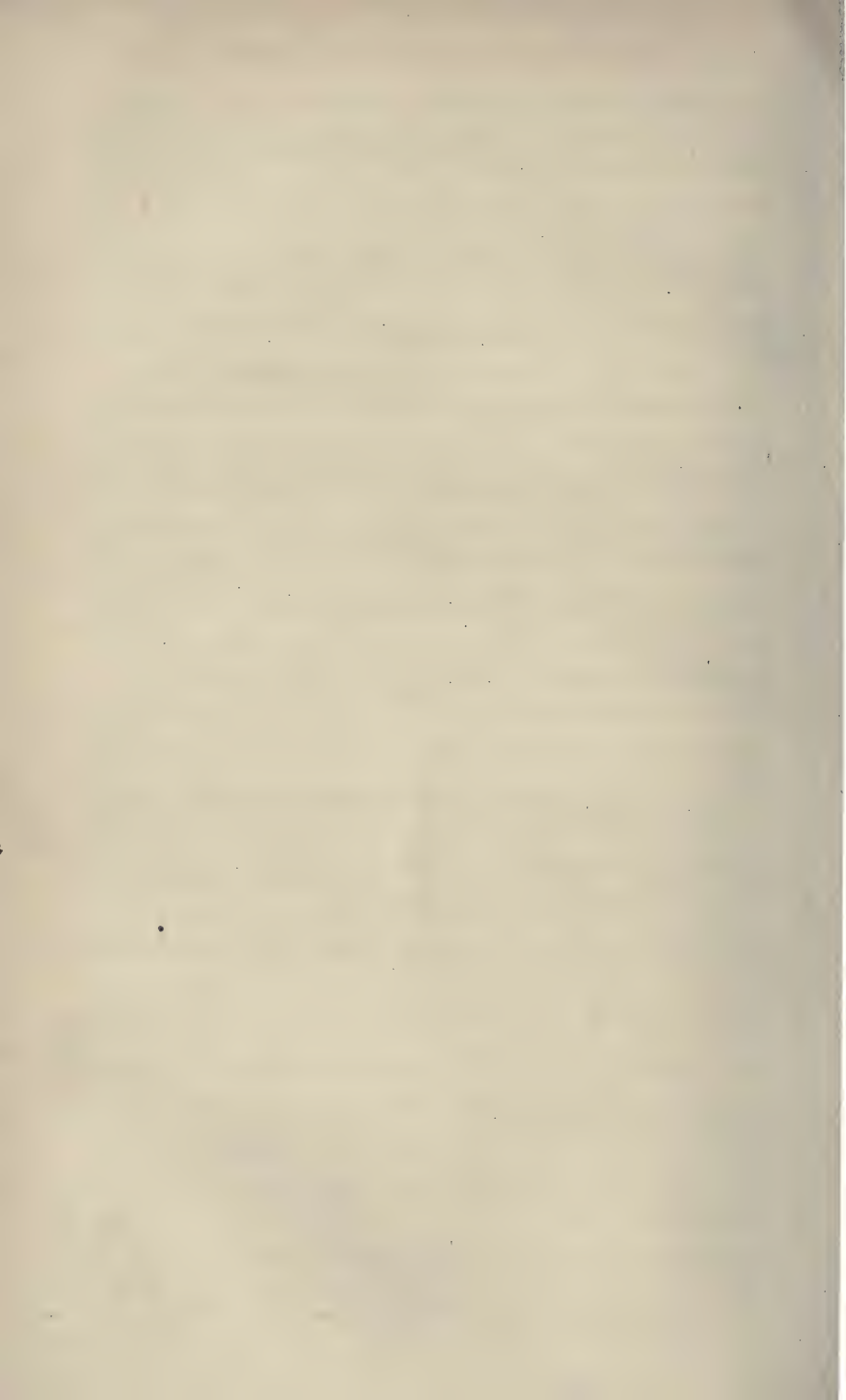
Fig. 8. Fibres of unravelled threads of the mummy of an ox's head.

All the annexed figures of fibres of flax represent each $\frac{1}{100}$ of an inch in length, and are magnified 400 times in diameter. They vary in thickness from $\frac{1}{100}$ to $\frac{1}{300}$ part of an inch.

III.

Of the productions of the loom amongst the nations of antiquity, with the exception of those which form the subject of this paper, we know only what is to be gathered from the few scattered notices in ancient writers. Even the great work of Pliny, the encyclopædia of that day, and with all its defects, an invaluable collection of facts, affords but scanty information. Of the manufactures of the Egyptians, and of their domestic arts, our knowledge is more ample, but we are more indebted to their monuments than to their historians; and the paintings which adorn their tombs, and which are fresh at the present





day as from the hand of the artist, have revealed to us more than all the writers of antiquity.

Of the products of the Egyptian loom, however, we know scarcely more than the mummy-pits have disclosed to us; and it would be as unreasonable to look through modern sepulchres for specimens and proofs of the state of manufacturing art amongst ourselves, as to deduce an opinion of the skill of the Egyptians from those fragments of cloth which envelope their dead, and have come down, almost unchanged, to our own time. The curious or costly fabrics which adorned the living, and were the pride of the industry and skill of Thebes, have perished ages ago. There are, however, amongst these remains some which are not unworthy of notice, which carry us back into the workshops of former times, and exhibit to us the actual labours of the weavers and dyers of Egypt more than two thousand years ago.

The great mass of the mummy cloth employed in bandages and coverings, whether of birds, animals, or of the human species, is of coarse texture, especially that more immediately in contact with the body, and which is generally impregnated with resinous or bituminous matter. The upper bandages, nearer the surface, are finer. Sometimes the whole is enveloped in a covering coarse and thick, and very like the sacking of the present day; sometimes in cloth coarse and open, like that used in our cheese-presses, for which it might easily be mistaken. In the College of Surgeons are various specimens of these cloths, some of which are very curious.

The beauty of the texture and peculiarity in the structure of a mummy cloth given to me by Mr. Belzoni was very striking. It was free from gum, or resin, or impregnation of any kind, and had evidently been originally white. It was close and firm, yet very elastic. The yarn or thread of both warp and woof was remarkably even and well spun. The thread of the warp was *double*, consisting of two finer threads twisted together. The woof was single. The warp contained 90 threads in an inch; the woof, or weft, only 44. The fineness of these materials, estimated after the manner of cotton yarn, was about 30 hanks² in the pound.

² A hank measures 840 yards, so that the degree of fineness is estimated by the length, or number of yards into which a pound of cotton is spun.

The subsequent examination of a great variety of mummy cloths showed that the disparity between the warp and woof belonged to the system of manufacture, and that the warp generally had twice or thrice, and not seldom four times, the number of threads in an inch that the woof had : thus, a cloth containing 80 threads of warp in the inch, of a fineness about 24 hanks in the pound, had 40 threads in the woof ; another with 120 threads of warp of 30 hanks, had 40 ; and a third specimen only 30 threads in the woof. These have each respectively, double, triple, and quadruple the number of threads in the warp that they have in the woof. This structure, so different from modern cloth, which has the proportions nearly equal, originated, probably, in the difficulty and tediousness of getting the woof in when the shuttle was thrown by hand, which is the practice in India at the present day, and which there are weavers still living, old enough to remember the universal practice in this country.

I have alluded to some specimens of mummy cloth sent to this country by the late Mr Salt. I am unacquainted with their history or origin, further than they were brought from Thebes, and were contained in the outer packing-case of a mummy now in the British Museum. They were evidently the spoils of some other mummy, but when and where opened I have in vain endeavoured to learn. There were various fragments of different degrees of fineness ; some fringed at the ends, and some striped at the edges. They merit a more particular description.

My first impression on seeing these cloths was, that the finest kinds were *muslin*, and of Indian manufacture, since we learn from the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, a work ascribed to Arrian, but more probably the production of some Greek merchant, himself engaged in the trade, that muslins from the Ganges were an article of export from India to the Arabian Gulf ; but this suspicion of their being cotton was soon removed by the microscope, which shewed that they were all, without exception, linen. Some were thin and transparent, and of very delicate texture. The finest appeared to be made of yarns of near 100 hanks in the pound, with 140 threads in the inch in the warp, and about 64 in the woof. A specimen of Dacca muslin in the Museum of the East India House, the finest production of the Indian loom, has only 100 threads in

an inch in the warp, and 84 in the woof, but the surprising fineness of the yarns, which, though spun by hand, is not less than 250 hanks in the pound, gives to this fabric its unrivalled tenuity and lightness.

Some of the cloths were fringed at the ends, and one, a sort of scarf about four feet long and twenty inches wide, was fringed at both ends. Three or four threads twisted together with the fingers to form a strong one, and two of these again twisted together and knotted at the middle and at the end to prevent unravelling, formed the fringe, precisely like the silk shawls of the present day.

The selvages of the Egyptian cloths generally are formed with the greatest care, and are well calculated by their strength to protect the cloth from accident. Fillets of strong cloth or tape also secure the ends of the pieces from injury, shewing a knowledge of all the little resources of modern manufacture. Several of the specimens, both of fine and coarse cloths, were bordered with blue stripes of various patterns, and in some alternating with narrow lines of another colour. The width of the patterns varied from half an inch to an inch and a quarter. In the latter were seven blue stripes, the broadest about half an inch wide nearest the selvedge, followed by five very narrow ones, and terminated by one an eighth of an inch broad. Had this pattern, instead of being confined to the edge of the cloth, been repeated across its whole breadth, it would have formed a modern gingham, which we can scarcely doubt was one of the articles of Egyptian industry. A small pattern about half an inch broad formed the edging of one of the finest of these cloths, and was composed of a stripe of blue, followed by three narrow lines of the same colour, alternating with three lines of a fawn colour, forming a simple and elegant border. These stripes were produced in the loom by coloured threads previously dyed in the yarn. The nature of the fawn colour I was unable to determine. It was too much degraded by age, and the quantity too small, to enable me to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. Though I had no doubt the colouring matter of the blue stripes was indigo, I subjected the cloth to the following examination:—Boiled in water for some time, the colour did not yield in the least; nor was it at all affected by soap, nor by strong alkalies. Sulphuric acid, diluted only so far as not to destroy the cloth, had no action on the colour. Chloride of lime gradually re-

duced, and at last destroyed it. Strong nitric acid dropped upon the blue turned it orange, and, in the same instant, destroyed it. These tests prove the colouring matter of these stripes to be indigo.

This dye was unknown to Herodotus, for he makes no mention of it. It was known to Pliny, who, though ignorant of its true nature and the history of its production, has correctly described the most characteristic of its properties, the emission of a beautiful purple vapour when exposed to heat. Had his commentators been acquainted with the sublimation of indigo, it would have saved many learned doubts. We learn from the *Periplus*, that it was an article of export from Barbariké on the Indus to Egypt, where its employment by the manufacturers of that country, probably from a remote period, is clearly established by the specimens here described.

Amongst the various cloths for which I am indebted to the curators of the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow, is one of a pale brick or red colour. My attention was lately recalled to this specimen by observing a similar colour in the outer coverings of two fine mummies presented to the University of London by Mr. Morrison, one of which has been recently unrolled. Having obtained specimens of both, I subjected them, with that from Glasgow, to the following experiments :—Treated with cold water, the colour was not affected. Boiling distilled water in a few minutes nearly removed the whole. Diluted sulphuric or muriatic acid had no action on it ; but a feeble alkali, whether carbonated or caustic, destroyed the colour immediately. Examined with a lens, the specimens from Glasgow exhibited small distinct grains or concretions, of a red colour, disseminated through the fibres of the cloth. Notwithstanding the fugitive nature of the colouring matter of safflower, the *carthamus tinctorius* of botanists, I am strongly disposed to consider the three specimens here examined as having been dyed with that plant. The small granular particles of a red colour observed in the Glasgow specimen are sometimes found in cloth dyed with *carthamus*. There is also in the covering of the mummy of the London University which is unstripped, a rosy hue peculiar to this dye. The resistance of the colour to acids, and its instant yielding to the weakest alkalies, is characteristic of Safflower. Lastly, *carthamus* has long been an article of cultivation in Egypt, and the first processes employed by the European dyers

were derived, with the dye itself, from that country, where in all probability it has been cultivated and used for ages, and is to this day an article of considerable export.

In the Glasgow mummy there was, moreover, a narrow slip of cloth about four inches broad, extending from the crown of the head to the feet, of a yellowish colour, of which portions were still fresh. On examination, no mordant appeared to have been used to fix this dye, and washing in cold water greatly impaired it. Comparative experiments made on this colour, and on that afforded by *carthamus* to simple water before the pink dye is extracted, left little doubt of their being identical. They were slightly and similarly affected by solutions of alumina and of iron, and appeared to have very feeble affinities for either vegetable fibre or any of the earthy or metallic bases.

Though the age of the mummies from which these specimens were derived has not been ascertained, yet we may fairly presume that it goes back to a period so far remote as to make the preservation so long of delicate and fugacious colouring matter like *carthamus*, or even the more permanent one of indigo, very surprising, and proves that substances which readily yield to the combined and destructive agency of heat or light and *moisture*, are almost unalterable when secured from the action of the latter. Portions of the blue cloth which had resisted in the dark and dry sepulchres of Thebes for ages, lost, by a few days' exposure on the grass, nearly all their colour.

Mummy cloth not stained or discoloured by resin or bitumen is generally of a pale-brown or fawn colour, which has been supposed to arise from some astringent preparation employed by the Egyptians for its preservation. All this cloth imparts to water a brown colour, in which I have sought in vain for any trace of tannin. In none of the specimens I have examined did either gelatine or albumen, or solutions of iron, afford any precipitate; but the sub-acetate of lead produced a cloud, indicating the presence of extractive matter. I am inclined to think that if astringent matter has been found, it is in those bandages which have received a preparation of gum or resin, and which are distinguished from the others by their stiffness. These I have not examined. All these cloths, whether fine or coarse, are more or less rotten. Of the numerous specimens which have fallen under my notice, the outer covering of the fine mummy in the London University has suffered least: it is comparatively sound.

Whether this be an argument against its high antiquity I know not; but the cloth is evidently ancient Egyptian; nor is it, I believe, pretended that in those factitious mummies manufactured by the Arabs, of which several were found by Blumenbach in the British Museum, the bandages and envelopes are not genuine. Of the ancient cloth there is such an accumulation in the mummy-pits and sepulchres of Egypt, as to have become an object of speculation in Europe, for the purpose of making paper. The inquiries, therefore, which form the subject of this communication, are not affected by any question of the integrity of those mummies from whence the specimens were derived, of which, however, no doubt is entertained.

The period during which the custom of embalming prevailed in Egypt, embraces a long succession of ages. From the first of the Pharaohs to the last of the Ptolemies, with whom this ancient rite is supposed to have become almost extinct, chronologists reckon more than twenty centuries during which the art was practised which has handed down to us these scanty remains of Egyptian industry, the only vestiges of the labours of the ancient loom now in existence. They prove the arts of spinning and weaving flax to have attained a high degree of perfection, many of the specimens of mummy cloth here described being of a quality to excite admiration even at the present day, and the finest of these fabrics approaching in excellence our delicate muslins. The coloured borders establish the fact of indigo having been known and used as a dye in Egypt, from a remote æra.

During this long period, industry and the arts of life connected with civilization must have made considerable progress, which we shall, however, remain unable satisfactorily to trace, till more accurate knowledge of the ancient language and characters of the Egyptians shall have interpreted the dates, and fixed the chronology of their monuments and paintings. In the tomb of Beni Hassan is a representation of a loom (figured in Count Minutoli's Travels) of such primæval simplicity as to resemble the first rude efforts of savage art to form a web, such as Don Ulloa in his voyages has described as used by the native Indians of South America. Between this loom, and that in which the corslet of Amasis was woven, mentioned by Herodotus, and more particularly described by Pliny as a wonderful specimen of manufacturing art the distance is immense.

It is not improbable that future researches directed to this

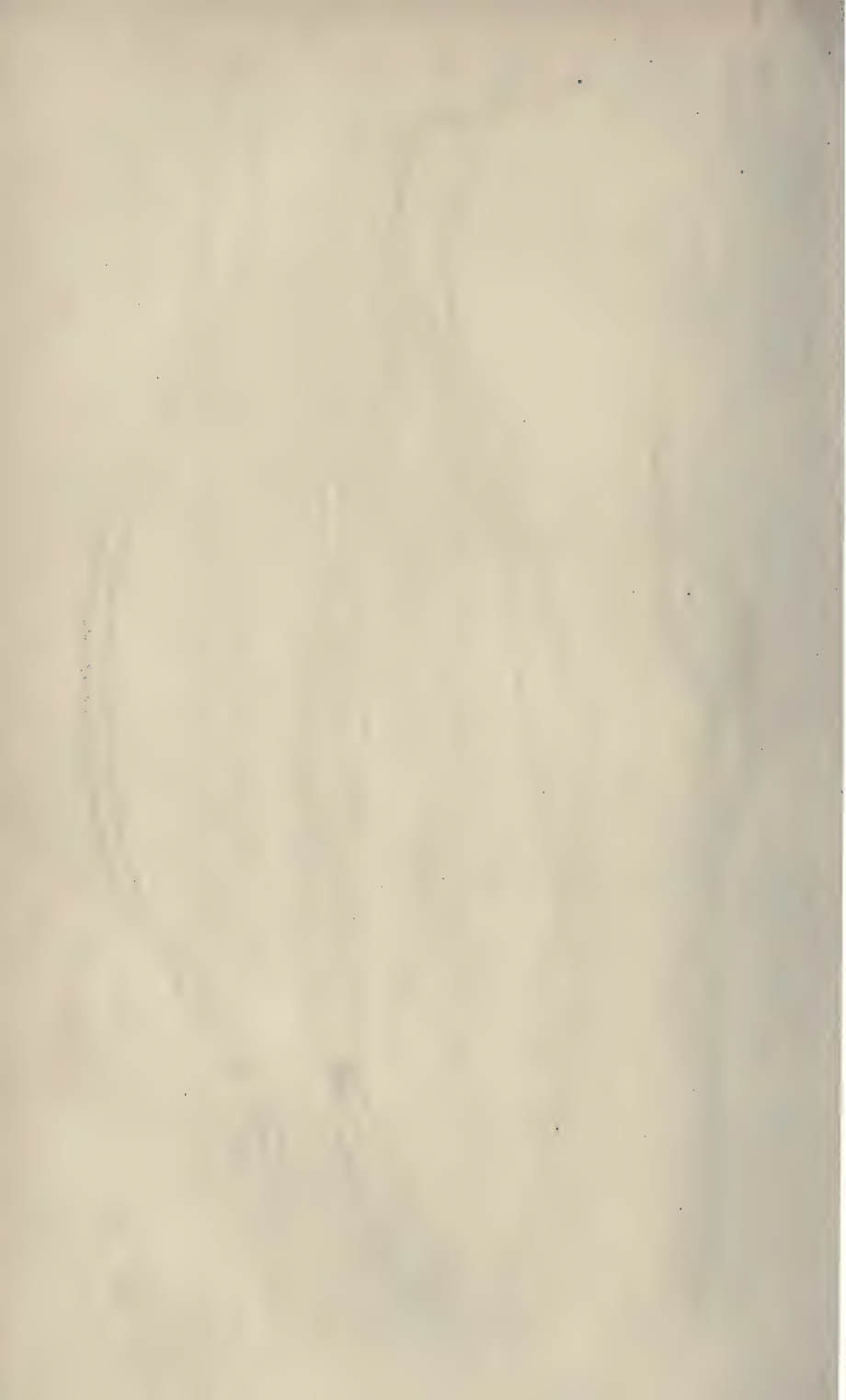
Fibres of old & new linen (modern) PLATE IV.



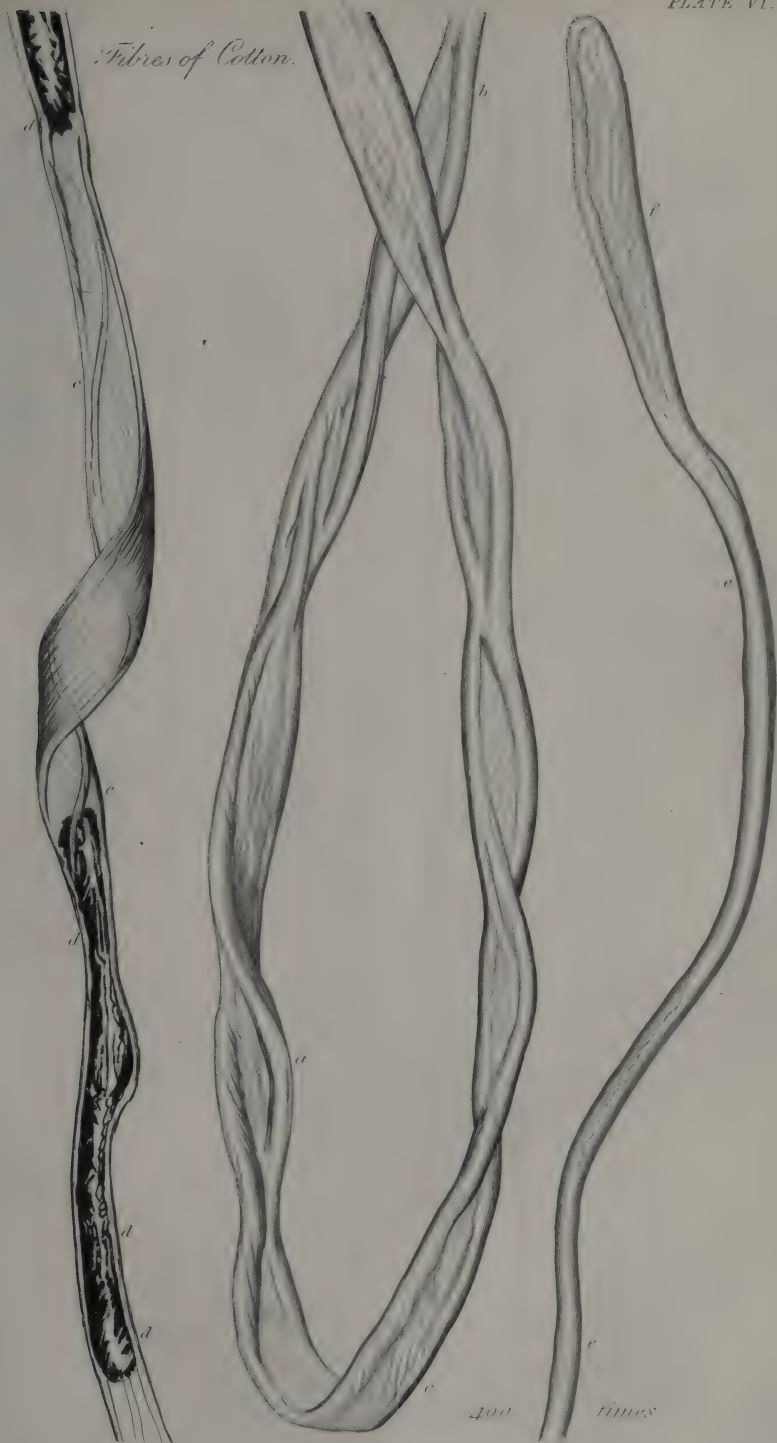
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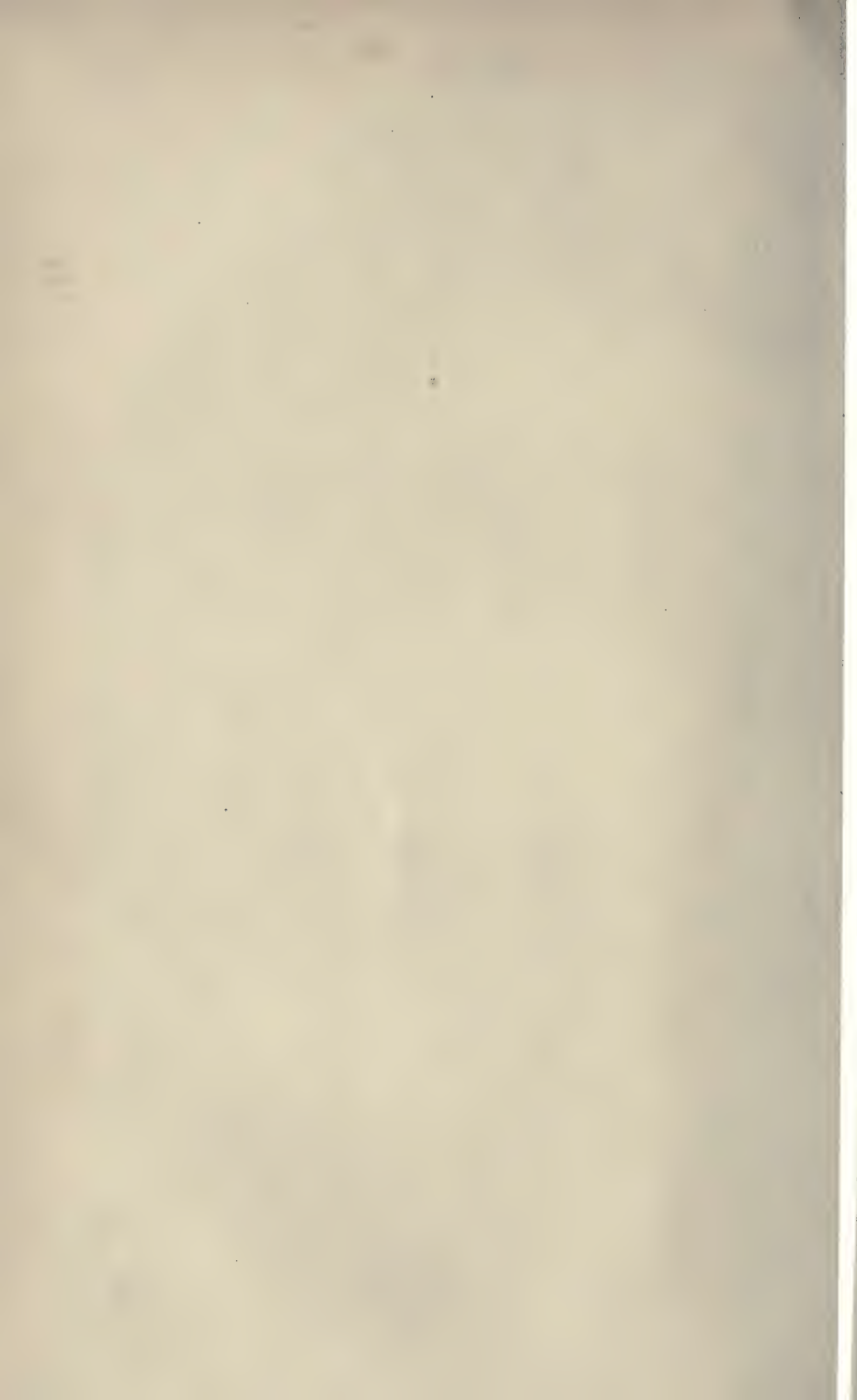
C. Varley.

W. Kelsall.



Fibres of Cotton.





object may discover, in the ancient sepulchres and mummy-pits, fragments of cloth, now trodden under foot and unheeded by the traveller, which would throw much light on the interesting subject of ancient manufactures.

The question debated amongst the learned, of the nature of the BYSSUS of the ancients, I may in conclusion be permitted to observe, appears to me to be finally settled by the present communication. Herodotus states that the Egyptians wrapped their dead in cloth of the *byssus*. It has been shown that without exception every specimen of mummy cloth yet examined has proved to be linen. We owe, therefore, the satisfactory establishment of the fact, that the *byssus* of the ancients was FLAX, to the microscope of Mr. Bauer.

JAMES THOMSON.

(To be completed in the following Number.)

XIII.

REMARKS ON SOPHOCLES' ANTIGONE.

Τοιαῦτά φασι τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κρέοντα σοὶ
καμοί, λέγω γὰρ καμέ, κηρύξαντ' ἔχειν.

Sophocles, *Antig.* 31, 32.

Before the remarks of Y. appeared in No. XIX. of the *Classical Museum*, the above passage had seemed to me to be generally misunderstood. But I cannot agree with Y. to “connect the pronouns σοὶ and ἐμοί (as Dativos Ethicos sive Relationis) with ἀγαθὸν, and paraphrase thus:—*this proclamation, they tell me, has been issued by that Creon whom you and I—for I own I too thought him so—called the GOOD: or, by your and my GOOD Creon—yes, mine, for I own I thought him so.*” To this construction, the objection which Y. thinks unimportant, seems to me decisive,—“the trajection of the datives to the place they occupy after the substantive Κρέοντα.” And if such could be the construction, would not the sense—a sense of course inadmissible here—more naturally be, *Creon whom you and I THINK*

good; than, "*whom you and I THOUGHT good*"? There is nothing in the sentence to denote an opinion *past*.

As regards the perhaps unsatisfactory explanation, received from the Scholiast, of τὸν ἀγαθόν, as spoken ἐν εἰρωνείᾳ, we may avoid it by understanding:—*Creon whom THEY think good; they say THEIR worthy Creon*, i. e. whose conduct in this matter they approve as patriotic. And this, I think, is the sense which best suits the context: Antigone meaning, that this was a bitter part of the consummation, for her and Ismene, τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπου κακῶν, (vv. 2, 3,)—that their fellow-citizens were uniting with Creon in his refusal of burial to their fallen brother. See vv. 44, 79, 894.

The datives σοὶ and ἐμοί, in connection with κηρύξαντ' ἔχειν, denote, not, certainly, that Creon had made mention of Antigone and Ismene in his edict; nor, perhaps, that he had issued it with a special view to them above all others: but, that the general order issued by him πανδήμῳ πόλει, v. 7, naturally and necessarily (so at least Antigone felt) concerned *them*, the two *sisters*, in particular.

Further, as regards λέγω γὰρ καμέ, I conceive that Y.'s sense, no less than the interpretations of other commentators, would demand καμοί here, instead of καμέ. Wex has, I think, given rightly the *general* meaning of the passage in the following part of the note which Y. quotes:—"Immo hoc dicit Antigona: Illud cum edixit Creon, ad te quoque pertinet hoc edictum et ad me, *ad me inquam*, quod cum repetit, significat, quam novum sibi quidem et inauditum videatur tale edictum, in quam talis obedientia cadere non possit." But that Wex did not discern the precise meaning and construction of this parenthetic clause, λέγω γὰρ καμέ, I infer from his remarking: "Ceterum expectaveris καμοί, at sæpe illud λέγω, ubi aliquid materialiter repetendum erat, aut ubi explicationi illud inservit, accusativum assumit." For I believe that καμέ, and not καμοί, was essential to the sense intended by Sophocles: nor is λέγω used here in either of the ways which Wex speaks of. That verb is here not *inquam*, nor *dico*; not *I say* (parathentic), or *I repeat*, or *I mean*, nor *I tell* (thee); but *mentionem facio de* —, *I name*, *I specify*,—as in *Æd. C.* 128, ἄς τρέμομεν λέγειν, a sense which of course requires the accusative. Any other sense of λέγω is excluded by γάρ, an important and expressive word in the clause.

But perhaps the surest indication of the meaning of the parenthesis, is the καὶ in καὶμέ; which particle, as seems clear to me, has here no conjunctive use, in the sense of *etiam*, *also*, or *even*, but is used in an intensive adverbial way,—frequent enough in the tragedians; but which has been so little recognized or understood, that, by learned editors and commentators, many passages in which it occurs have been misinterpreted, and several very needlessly and mischievously altered. This usage I have endeavoured to call attention to, and to illustrate by examples, in my edition of the *Prometheus Bound* of Æschylus, in the note (Appendix C.) on the 51st line,—ἐγνωνκα · τοῖσδε κοῦδὲν ἀντειπεῖν ἔχω,—where I cannot think that καὶ ought to be disturbed by transposition, or need be explained by *hyperbaton*. What I conceive to be the construction and sense of the present clause, I may shew by quoting a few words from what I have written there:—"The intensive adverbial use of καὶ, as distinguished from its common use as a copula, is very observable in *Antig.* 33,—σὺ καὶμοί, λέγω γὰρ καὶμέ—to thee and to me, for I say emphatically ME; I have special cause for mentioning myself." The especial reason which Antigone had for particularizing herself as affected by Creon's edict, was, that she, whatever her sister might do, was solemnly resolved to brave and break that edict. In λέγω γὰρ καὶμέ she *hinted* what she presently declared explicitly:—

κεῖνον δ' ἔγω

θάψω · καλὸν μοι τοῦτο ποιούσῃ θανεῖν ·

φίλη μετ' αὐτοῦ κείσσομαι, φίλου μέτα,

ὅσια πανουργήσασα —.

Other instances of καὶ so used are found in the *Antigone*. One is in the 280th line,—παῦσαι, πρὶν ὀργῆς καὶμέ μεστῶσαι λέγων, (where καὶ, I would maintain, is in its proper place, to give emphasis to the pronoun as well as to μεστῶσαι). Another is in v. 493, μῶν γε μέντοι χῶταν κ. τ. λ. (not, *also* when, or *as much* when; but, *especially*, *chiefly* when; καὶ giving to ὅταν an emphasis which reaches to the end of the sentence). Another instance occurs in that passage (vv. 681–3,) of which, in the same No. XIX. of the *Classical Museum*, the meaning is well explained by Dr. R. Maclure, as it is similarly by Mr. Donaldson in his recent edition of the *Antigone*:—"Ἐγὼ δ' . . . ὅτ' ἂν δυναίμην, μήτ' ἐπισταίμην λέγειν · Γένοιντο μεντὰν χᾶτέρω καλῶς

ἔχον : where καὶ gives a strong *exclusive* force to ἑτέρῳ, — IN ANOTHER, not in ME, *that might and would be proper* ; (as in v. 567, ἀρώσιμοι γὰρ χ' αὐτέρων εἰσὶν γόαι, we should perhaps understand *of others'* instead of *her's*, rather than, *of others' as well as her's*.) Compare also vv. 764–6. — X O. ἄμφω γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ (really, actually,) κατακτεῖναι νοεῖς ; K P. οὐ τήν γε μὴ θιγοῦσαν · εἴ γάρ οὐκ λέγεις. X O. μόρω δὲ ποῖω καὶ σφε βουλεύει κτανεῖν ; *By what death wilt thou her for certain (καὶ) kill?—her, at any rate* ; HER, *though not the other*. As other instances of καὶ united, only for emphasis, with the first personal pronoun, as in the present clause, I may add, *Eumen.* 790, Κἀγὼ πέποιθα Ζηνί. *Med.* 1129, ἔχω τι κἀγὼ τοῖσδε . . . εἰπεῖν. *Iphig. T.* 596, καὶ τὰς Μυκῆνας οἶσθα, χοῦς κἀγὼ θέλω.

Looking now into Ellendt, I am pleased to find—vol. II. p. 17—the following good interpretation (which Y. has not noticed) of λέγω γὰρ κἀμέ ; “ nam de industria meum non excludo nomen.”

I think, then, that the meaning wrapt up in the two lines may be unfolded by a paraphrase of this kind : *Such is the edict which they say Creon in his good zeal has proclaimed,—an edict which must needs affect you and ME above all the citizens ; in saying which, I make special mention of myself, because, whether you join with me or not, I mean to incur the penalty for burying our brother.* And I would translate thus :—

They say that Creon—and call him *good*—for thee
And *me* (for I with reason name myself,)
Has heralded an edict such as this.

I take the opportunity of adding some remarks on several other passages of the *Antigone*, which appear to me to have been imperfectly understood.

V. 3. νῶν ἔτι ζώσαν τελεῖ.—Here I understand, not *in our lifetime*, or *before we die* ; but *on or for us the two survivors*, the only living remains of the family of *Œdipus* after the death of both our brothers. I think the emphasis is on νῶν, more than on ζώσαν : and that the *sense requires* that those two words should not be genitives, as some of the chief commentators suppose them to be, but datives depending on τελεῖ. Mr. Donaldson considers them as datives ; but he translates, “ *for us while yet we live.*” I think, *for us who yet survive*, or *for us who live as yet*, would express the sense much better.

V. 323. ἡ δεινὸν, ᾧ δοκεῖ γὰρ καὶ ψευδῇ δοκεῖν.—I do not see how this line (δεινὸν being in the *neuter*) can admit of the sense given to it by Boeckh (as quoted by Wunder) and by Ellendt (I. p. 441, “*si quis apud sese constituit*,”) and by Donaldson, who translates, “‘*Tis sad when one thinks good to think a lie*.” The cunning sentinel would scarcely have spoken such dangerous impertinence to the angry king; for which he might have anticipated a fiercer retort than κομψευε νῦν τὴν δόξαν (*talk NOW as finely as you please about appearance and opinion: but unless you soon shew me the REALITY, &c.*) I think the construction which δεινὸν requires after it is, ᾧ δοκεῖ γὰρ, [τούτῳ] καὶ ψευδῇ δοκεῖν, *Sad, that to one to whom IT SEEMS, i. e. who judges only by appearances, things altogether (καὶ) false should seem!* This philosophic dictum about τὸ δοκοῦν, *seeming*, and not a punning use of δοκεῖν in different senses, was, as I conceive, the κομψεία which Creon in his reply alluded to. Compare, partly for construction and partly for sentiment, *Electr.* 1022, ἡ δεινὸν εὔλέγουσαν ἐξαμαρτάνειν.

V. 357. ἄπορος ἐπ’ οὐδὲν ἔρχεται τὸ μέλλον.—Hermann joins ἐπ’ οὐδὲν τὸ μέλλον, and interprets “*ad nihil quod est futurum*.” Mr. Donaldson, rejecting such a construction, and “taking τὸ μέλλον as a sort of adverb, analogous to τὸ πρὶν, τὸ νῦν, &c.,” explains the construction thus: “τὸ μέλλον, ἄπορος ἔρχεται ἐπ’ οὐδὲν, *in regard to the future, he comes to nothing without resources*.” This seems better: but is it not best to take the words simply in the order in which they stand, which seems to me to give both lawful construction and good sense: *without expedient for nothing*, i. e. with an expedient for every thing; *he goes to the future*, i. e. he meets whatever comes? Of ἄπορος taking after it (by reason of the *transitive* notion in πόρος,) ἐπὶ with the accusative, we have an instance in *Æd. R.* 665, ἄπορον ἐπὶ φρόνιμα. If, similarly, ἄπορος ἐπ’ οὐδὲν is the construction here, this negative periphrasis is a repetition of the preceding παντοπόρος in a stronger shape; and we may compare it with such phrases as οὐδενὸς μῆλον σθένει, *Prom.* v. 1015, *is stronger than no one*, i. e. as weak as *any one*; and *Suppl.* 590, Ζεὺς . . . οὗ τινος . . . τὸ μῆλον . . . κρατύνει. Οὗ τινος . . . σέβει κάτω, i. e. *is superior to every one*. The version which Mr. Donaldson gives in the *text* of his translation agrees (but I suppose from his *note* undesignedly,) with the construction I suggest:—

“Planless in nothing, meets he the future!”

V. 518. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ χρηστὸς τῷ κακῷ λαχεῖν ἴσος.—The commentators—Hermann, Wunder, &c.,—connecting τῷ κακῷ with ἴσος (“par malo,”) leave the infinitive λαχεῖν in an awkward, disconnected position, to which I see no resemblance in the passages referred to by Wunder; for in v. 437, ταῦθ' ἦσσω λαβεῖν ἐμοὶ πέφυκε—v. 632, γάμος μείζων φέρεσθαι,—*Elec.* 1016, οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις ἔφυ κέρδος λαβεῖν ἄμεινον, the infinitives are dependent in no unusual way on πέφυκε, μείζων, ἄμεινον; and in *Aj.* 1332, τοιούθ' ἐπαινεῖς δῆτα σὺ κτᾶσθαι φίλους; the construction and the sense are not such as Wunder gives, but κτᾶσθαι is dependent on ἐπαινεῖς, and governs φίλους; *do you recommend the acquiring such friends?* Is not the present passage an instance of the personal construction for the impersonal, οὐκ ἴσον ἐστὶ τὸν χρηστὸν λαχεῖν τῷ κακῷ, *It is not equal that the good man should have lot with the bad*, i. e. not equitable towards the good, that he should obtain no more than the bad (compare v. 514, ἐκείνῳ δυσσεβῇ τιμᾷς χάριν . . . εἴ τοί σφε τιμᾷς ἐξ ἴσου (*no more than*,) τῷ δυσσεβεῖ.) Is not that construction as suitable to ἴσος as to δίκαιος in v. 398, δίκαιός εἰμι τῶνδ' ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν? Since in *Philoct.* we have ἴσος ἀνὴρ in the sense of ἀνὴρ δίκαιος, is it not as lawful to say ἴσος ἐστὶ λαχεῖν, as it would be to say δίκαιός ἐστι λαχεῖν? For λαχεῖν τῷ κακῷ (= λαχεῖν ἐξ ἴσου — μετέχειν ἴσων—κοινωνεῖν—τῷ κακῷ,) compare v. 829, τοῖς ἰσοθέοις ἐγκληρα λαχεῖν.

V. 557, 8.—θάρσει. σὺ μὲν ζῆς ἡ δ' ἐμὴ ψυχὴ πάλαι
τέθνηκεν, ὥστε τοῖς θανοῦσιν ὠφελεῖν.

I do not see how this passage can bear Mr. Donaldson's translation :

— “Thou still livest; but my soul
Is dead the while, e'en since I served the dead.”

To me Wunder's interpretation of the latter clause seems to express the true and natural sense, “*ita ut vivis nihil jam utilis sim.*” I think that clause has a much more general meaning than a reference to the burying of Polynices, and may be explained by comparing vv. 74–6,—

— ἐπεὶ πλείων χρόνος
ὃν δεῖ μ' ἀρέσκειν τοῖς κάτω τῶν ἐνθάδε.
ἐκεῖ γὰρ αἰεὶ κείσομαι.

and also vv. 884–8,—ἐλθοῦσα μέντοι κάρτ' ἐν ἐλπίσιν τρέφω φίλη

μὲν ἦξειν πατρί, προσφυλῆς δὲ σοί μητερ, φίλη δὲ σοί, κασίγνητον
κάρα. κ. τ. λ.

I should paraphrase thus: "*Thou* livest; live on: But *I* have done with life and all who live; my soul is already with the dead, and to them alone can I henceforth do service." With ἡ δ' ἐμὴ ψυχὴ τέθνηκεν, (literally, *my life is dead*,) compare v. 1050, τῶν ἄνω . . . ψυχὴν τ' ἀτίμως ἐν τάφῳ κατώκισας: and 1144-6, τὰς γὰρ ἡδονὰς ὕταν προδῶσιν ἄνδρες, οὐ τίθημι' ἐγὼ ζῆν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἐμψυχον ἡγοῦμαι νεκρόν.

V. 730.—ἄλλω γὰρ ἢ μοι χρή γε τῆσδ' ὄρχειν χθονός;

Although Mr. Linwood gets rid of the peculiarity of construction in this line by adopting confidently the conjectural substitution of *με* in the place of *γε*, and Mr. Donaldson, without sanctioning such a change of construction and of sense, remarks, that "most scholars will agree with Wunder in rejecting the *γε* of the vulgate," and himself substitutes *τι*; I venture to repeat a suggestion which I have elsewhere supported by a comparison of passages, (Appendix A. to note on v. 3. *Æsch. Prom.*) that those few places in which *χρή* appears to govern a dative, may be "explained by a usage which seems to have been greatly overlooked, though of no uncommon occurrence, and which has been noticed by Professor Scholefield on Eurip. *Orest.* 606, and *Æsch. Agam.* 1296, Appendix, p. 20, viz. the construction of the dative, in place of the accusative, before the infinitive of an active, or middle, verb:" and that, in the present instance, "the dative appears to stand almost independently of *χρή*, which is perhaps made the more distinct by the intensive affix *γε*: The sentence thus constructed expressing the indignation of Creon with greater energy than the ordinary construction with the accusative would do. *What! For any one but me to rule this land, is that a proper thing, I ask (γε)?*"

Vv. 1051-4.—ἔχεις δὲ τῶν κάτωθεν ἐνθάδ' αὖ θεῶν
ἄμοιρον, ἀκέρειστον, ἀνόσιον νέκυν·
ὣν οὔτε σοὶ μέτεστιν οὔτε τοῖς ἄνω
θεοῖσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ σοῦ βιάζονται τάδε.

By Erfurdt and Hermann the words *βιάζονται τάδε* are made to refer to Polynices and Antigone. By the Scholiast, by Wunder, and other commentators, they are explained thus: *βιάζονται καὶ οἱ ἄνω θεοὶ ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἄνω ἄτακτον*, "*Coguntur (di superi)*

ut in ditione sua retineant corpus Polynicis." Each of these explanations appears to me to be far fetched and unnatural. I understand, from the context, οἱ κάτωθεν θεοὶ βιάζονται, *they* (the gods below) *have violence done to their rights by these proceedings of yours.*

V. 1058, 60.—καὶ ταῦτ' ἄθρησον εἰ κατηργυρωμένος
λέγω · φανεῖ γὰρ οὐ μακροῦ χρόνου τριβὴ
ἀνδρῶν, γυναικῶν σοῖς δόμοις κωκύματα.

Here Ellendt takes φανεῖ intransitively: Wunder takes it transitively as governing κωκύματα: Hermann makes κωκύματα the nominative, taking οὐ μακροῦ χρόνου τριβὴ parenthetically, and apparently, φανεῖ intransitively. To me it seems that there should be no full stop between λέγω and φανεῖ; that φανεῖ has its proper transitive signification, having κωκύματα for a nominative in opposition with τριβὴ, and being connected with the preceding sentence, thus: κωκύματα φανεῖ sc. εἰ κατηργυρωμένος λέγω: *And see whether I say this through bribes; for the space of a little time will shew* (whether such be the case, whether I have spoken truth or fiction,) *even the wailings of men, &c.* Such a case of apposition we have in Eurip. *Orest.* 802–5, ὅποτε χρυσείας ἔρις ἄρνός ἤλυθε Τανταλίδαις, οἰκτρότατα θοινάματα καὶ σφάγια γενναίων τεκέων. See Matth. *Gr. Gr.* 433, obs. 2. But if it be thought better to make οὐ μακροῦ χρόνου parenthetic, φανεῖ may equally well have the connection which it seems to me to require, in sense and construction, with the preceding clause.

Vv. 1137–9.—τύχη γὰρ ὀρθοὶ καὶ τύχη καταρρέπει
τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα τὸν τε δυστυχοῦντ' αἰεὶ ·
καὶ μάντις οὐδείς τῶν καθεστώτων βροτοῖς.

The meaning of the last line, misexplained by the Scholiast, has been overlooked by Brunck, whose version is, “nec ullus certus augur est fatorum mortalium;” by Ellendt, who interprets, “nemo ex præsentiis de futuris conjecturam fecerit;” and by Wunder and other commentators, who cite as parallel the concluding words of the *Ajax*:—

ἢ πολλὰ βροτοῖς ἔστιν ἰδοῦσιν
γινῶναι, πρὶν ἰδεῖν δ', οὐδείς μάντις
τῶν μελλόντων, ὅ τι πράξει.

The line, if such were its meaning, would be very much out of place just after Teiresias had been predicting the overthrow of all Creon's prosperity, and just before the chorus had reason to exclaim ὦ μάντι, τοῦτος ὡς ἄρ' ὀρθον ἤνυσας. The passage from the Ajax is quite different from this: for that has reference to mankind in general, as such,—“till he *sees* the end, no one (*i. e.* no ordinary person, no one who is not officially a prophet) can tell what is to be:” but here *prophets*, as such, are spoken of; and the meaning, in accordance with the context, is,—*Nor is there any prophet who does or can predict established things* (*i. e.* unchanging good or unchanging evil) *for mortals*. Mr. Donaldson, I see, translates rightly:

“And prophets ne'er predict stability.”

V. 1154-6.—ΑΓ. Αἴμων ὄλωλεν · αὐτόχειρ δ' αἰμάσσεται

ΧΟ. πότερα πατρῶας ἢ πρὸς οἰκίας χερός;

ΑΓ. αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ.

In the first line the ambiguity of αὐτόχειρ was owing, not to that word's having several meanings, as commentators have supposed it to have, but simply to its being joined with a *passive* verb. Αὐτόχειρ αἰμάσσει must have meant, “he with his own hand slays:” but αὐτόχειρ αἰμάσσεται expressed only, “he by *OWN* hand, by *private* hand, is slain,” and might have meant either Creon's own, or Hæmon's own, or the own hand of any other person who could have been supposed likely to have done the deed. Hence the enquiry of the chorus in the next line, “Do you mean his father's, or his own?” (since no third person was likely;) and the necessity for the more exact definition of the meaning of αὐτόχειρ by αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ in the next words of the messenger. In v. 1293, παῖσας ὕφ' ἑπαρ αὐτόχειρ αὐτήν, this adjective admits of no ambiguity, and could only be understood to mean, “with *her* own hand,” by reason of its connection with the active participle. In v. 172, ὥλοντο παῖσαντές τε καὶ πληγέντες αὐτόχειρι σὺν μιάσματι, (literally, “with *own-hand* bloodshed,”) the meaning is, “each brother with *his own* hand striking the other dead, and each stricken dead by his brother's *own hand*.” Compare Xen. *Hellen.* VI. 4, 35, αὐτὸς ἀποθνήσκει, αὐτοχειρίᾳ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῶν, βουλῇ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης.—See Constantine Matthiæ on αὐτόχειρ, *Lexicon Euripideum*.

Vv. 1217, 18.—καὶ φουσιῶν ὀξεῖαν ἐκβάλλει πνοὴν
λευκῇ παρειᾷ φοινίου σταλάγματος.

The Scholiast interprets, ἐκβάλλει τῇ λευκῇ αὐτῆς παρειᾷ, and is followed by, I believe, all the commentators and translators. But this seems to me very needless and offensive. Could the poet have intended to present to our minds such a disgusting picture—such a loathsome *particular* as this interpretation gives? I think the construction, as well as the meaning, signifies the cheek of Hæmon, and not Antigone's: To suit better the received interpretation, Mitchel proposed to substitute ἐμβάλλει for ἐκβάλλει. The cheek of the *dying* man, dying from a sword-wound and loss of blood, would be pale and bleached, almost as much as that of the *dead* maiden. I translate, therefore, *with pallid cheek*, (Circumstantial or Modal Dative, Jelf *Gr. Gr.* § 603,) *he emits a rushing* (ὀξεῖαν) *breath of* (i. e. fraught with) *blood-drops*: or, not quite so literally, *he breathes out with pallid cheek a rushing shower of blood*: or, if the construction of the Scholiast is to be preferred, *over*, crimsoning on, *his* (not her) *whited cheek*. With regard to πνοὴν . . . φοινίου σταλάγματος, I have noticed the use of the genitive, in this and other passages, to connect one noun with another so as to form one notion from the two, (and, in consequence of which, other words forming part of the same sentence, are made to govern, or to agree with *either* of them, and sometimes with that one to which, taken by itself, they are not appropriate,) in a note on Æsch. *Prom.* 902, Ἦρας ἀλατείαις πόνων. The line in the *Agamemnon* (1362) which has been compared with the present passage, for its likeness in other points, has a remarkable resemblance in such a use of the genitive:—κακφουσιῶν ὀξεῖαν αἵματος σφαγὴν, *the stab-drawn blood*.

V. 1225–8.————— ἐλπίσιν δὲ βόσχομαι
ἄχῃ τέκνου κλύουσιν ἐς πόλιν γόους
οὐκ ἀξιώσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ στέγης ἔσω
δμῳαῖς προθήσειν πένθος οἴκετον στένειν.

To make out a complete construction for ἐς πόλιν γόους οὐκ ἀξιώσιν, the commentators would go to the end of the next clause, and bring στένειν, or take προτιθέναι from προθήσειν: both of which I think are out of reach, and can be dispensed with. It seems to me that ἀξιόω is here used transitively in the same

way, though in not quite the same sense that we use *deign* and *vouchsafe* as active verbs; and that γόους οὐκ ἀξιώσειν is by itself a lawful and complete construction, equivalent to γόους γοᾶσθαι οὐκ ἀξιώσειν, *will not deign lamentations to the city*, i. e. *deems that public lamentations would be unfitting*. So, with a like verb, in Æsch. *Prom.* v. 785, μηδ' ἀτιμάσης λόγους, I think the implied construction is, μηδ' ἀτ. λόγους (λέγειν), “ne asperneris verba facere:” Nor is *Eumen.* 293. very different, οὐδ' ἀντιφωνεῖς ἀλλ' ἀποπτύεις λόγους, *loathe (to utter) words*.

Vv. 1257-9.—ᾧ δέσποθ', ὡς ἔχων τε καὶ κακτημένος,
τὰ μὲν πρὸ χειρῶν τάδε φέρων, τὰ δ' ἐν δόμοις
ἔοικας ἦκειν καὶ τάχ' ὕψεσθαι κακὰ.

The commentators oppose τὰ μὲν in the first clause to τὰ δὲ in the second, and join φέρων with πρὸ χειρῶν, leaving τάδε, I think, in an awkward situation, or explaining it amiss (“τάδε autem ὧδε valet,” Linwood.) I conceive that the words τὰ μὲν πρὸ χειρῶν τάδε form one expression, the *whole* of which is in opposition to τὰ δὲ in the next clause. I think it may be questioned whether πρὸ χειρῶν here is quite the same in meaning as διὰ χειρός in v. 1237, and ἐν χεῖρεσσιν in v. 1277; or is not rather used as in Eurip. *Troad.* 1196, (Matth.) in the more general sense of “close at hand,” “present before you:” comparing v. 1302, τὰν ποσὶν κακὰ, and v. 1317, λέχρια τὰν χερσῶν, τὰ δὲ —. But in either case, I would observe the disjunction which τάδε makes between χειρῶν and φέρων. The difficulty in stating clearly the precise construction, seems to arise chiefly from ἦκειν, which belongs most to the first clause, being interposed, in the second, between ἔοικας and ὕψεσθαι. But taking the construction thus, τὰ μὲν κακὰ πρὸ χειρῶν τάδε ἔοικας ἦκειν φέρων, τὰ δ' ἐν δόμοις κακὰ [ἦκων] ἔοικας καὶ τάχ' ὕψεσθαι: I understand, *as the true holder and possessor*, (the owner and claimant, as father and husband, of the two corpses,—as chief proprietor and mourner,) *you seem to have come bringing the sorrow which in your embrace is here (τάδε,) and only to witness full (καὶ) soon the sorrow which is within the house*.

HENRY S. RICHMOND.

XIV.

MISCELLANIES.

1. ON TWO GREEK VASES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

VASE OF EPIDROMOS.—Fine Nolan cylix, with red figures, lately purchased of Mrs. Baddam, by the British Museum. Sh. Durand Catalogue, No. 109. Interior, a naked youth, crowned with laurel, kneeling upon the right knee, his chlamys doubled, and held up as a defence on the left arm. In his right hand, he holds a short and knotted stick. On it are two names, ΕΠΙΔΡΟΜΟΣ, 'Επίδρομος, that of the figure represented; and another, ΙΧΙΑΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, "*Ichias is handsome*." No mythological personage is known of the name of Epidromos; but a similar name occurs on two other vases, *Archæologia*, 1831, vol. XXIII. p. 220, accompanied by καλός, and in an Athenian inscription, Boeckh, *Corpus Inscr. Græc.* vol. I. p. 298. col. I. 41. The absence of ἔγραψε or ἐποίησεν prevents our supposing that the name is intended for that of an artist; and it is still more difficult to connect it with any heroical or other personage. The attitude of the figure resembles that of Theseus attacking the Crommyan sow.

VASE WITH THE POTTER KERAMOS.—Cylix, purchased of S. Zitelli, with black figures on a red ground. On the exterior is Pallas-Athene, armed in the usual manner with helmet and ægis, and draped in a talaric tunic, piercing with her lance the giant Enkelados, who, armed as a Greek hoplite, has fallen mortally wounded on the ground; in the area are vine branches, and at each side is a large eye. In the interior is a potter, κεράμευς, draped in a short tunic, seated on a low stool, having before him his lathe or wheel, resembling a circular table placed horizontally,—this the potter works with his knee while he shapes the vase with his hands. In the present instance, the vase is a κρατῆρ to which the workman is adding handles. The vase is placed vertically in the centre of the wheel; above, on two rows of shelves, are vases already finished and awaiting their turn for the oven. This is undoubtedly the invention of the Ceramic art, which was claimed for the Athenians—by Kritias,

τὸν δὲ τροχοῦ γαίης τε καμίνου τ' ἔκγονον εὖρε
κλεινότατον κέραμον χρήσιμον οἰκόνομον
ἣ τὸ καλὸν Μαραθῶνι καταστήσασα τρόπαιον.

Athenæus, I. p. 28, B. this refers to the wheel; but according to Pliny, *H. N.* VIII. 57, figlinas Corœibum Atheniensem invenisse, which applies rather to figures, in the same manner as Prometheus presided over the corporation of potters, in remembrance of the mythic making of man out of clay. In the same sense the invention of the

potter's lathe was claimed for Hyperbos of Crete. When it is stated that the potter's art was derived from Keramos—"the Cask," the son of Dionysos and Ariadne, this is perhaps rather to be understood of a particular form of vessel, than of the whole art of the potter, for the Kerameikos probably derived its name from being the spot where the casks were made. Hence the glosses on the word ἀμφορεύς in Bekker's *Anecdota*, πᾶς κέραμος οὕτως λέγεται, for the word ἀμφορεύς could hardly be applied to the smaller class of vessels, while that of κέραμος undoubtedly was to the larger vessels, which were exported from Athens. Aristophanes, *Acharnæ*, 910,—hence the victors in the Panathenaic Games, who we knew received the Panathenaic amphoræ, were presented, according to the Scholiast in Aristoph. *Nephel.* v. 991 (1001,) Dindorf, 8vo, Leipsic, 1822, p. 280, with a κέραμος ἐλαίου, which same prize the Scholiast of Pindar, *Nem. Od.* x. v. 65, calls ὑδρία ἐλαίου, for the amphora was also used as a water cask, Cf. Apollon. Rhod. *Argon.* iv. 1770. But to return to the invention of pottery, one of the Attic demoi was called Kerameis, which was of the Akamantis tribe, and received its name, according to Philochoros, Φησὶ δὲ Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ, εἰληφέναι τούτους τοῦνομα ἀπὸ τῆς κεραμικῆς τέχνης, καὶ τοῦ θύειν Κεράμῳ τινὶ ἥρωι,—*Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, Müller, 8vo, Paris, 1841, p. 395, fr. 72. Harpocrat., voce κεραμεῖς, because that these took their name from the potters' art, and from offering sacrifices to a certain heroic personage [named] Keramos, viz. the son of Dionysos and Ariadne, already mentioned. The invention of the potters' wheel is, however, as early as Homer, who, describing the dancers on the shield of Achilles, mentions its use by the potter,—*Il.* Σ. 600, . . . ὥς δ' ὅτε τις τρόχον ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμῃσιν ἐξόμενος κεραμεύς. κ. τ. λ.—which would exactly agree with the mode of fabric, if we could suppose that the potter on the Museum vase turned the wheel by the lump of clay attached to it. As to the invention of the lathe by Anacharsis, as pretended by Ephorus in Strabo, viii. 463, and by Posidonius, *Senec. Ep.* xc. tom. i. v. 11, against Homer; this is almost as true as the legend of the druid Abaris and his arrow, and evidently of later origin. In the present vase, which bears more resemblance to the Athenian legend, we must recognise the potter Keramos; and it is remarkable that he is manufacturing the κυλίκες, or cups for drinking, which were made at Athens out of the clay found at the promontory of Kolias, and were famous for their beauty; Athenæus, xi. 480; Plutarch, ii. p. 42; Cf. Critiæ Carmina, a N. Bachio, 8vo, Lipsiæ, 1827; Fr. i. p. 34–38. This vase is alluded to by Ritschl, *Annali.* 1837, tom. ix. p. 184,—“ab eodemque reperiunt tertium quoddam novimus necdum editum exhibens ipsam vasorum Fictilium Fabricam.”

2. TRANSLATION OF VIRGIL'S *ENEID*, Book I.

I AM the same that whilom tuned my song
 On slender oat,
 And, issuing from the woods,
 Compelled (nor seemed amiss the deed
 To agriculturists,)
 The neighbouring fields t' obey the greedy farmer.

But now I sing the horrent arms of Mars;
 And that great man,
 Who first from Trojan clime,
 A fugitive by fate,
 Came to Italia and the shore Lavinian.

Much tossed about was he,
 Both upon land and sea;
 Supernal force the instrument;
 The motive, awful Juno's
 Unforgetting ire:
 Much too in war he suffered
 Whilst a city founding,
 And introducing
 Gods into Latium;
 Spring of the Latin race and Alban sires
 And high Rome's towers.

Say, Muse, for what offence,
 What breach of the divine prerogative,
 The queen of heaven, from toil to toil so drove,
 So with misfortune heaped
 A man conspicuous for piety.
 Hath so great wrath a place
 In the celestial breast?

Over against Italia
 And the far-distant mouths of the Tiber,
 Stood an ancient city,
 Hight Carthage:
 A Tyrian colony,
 Rich and resourceful,
 And most studious of the rough art of war.

More than all other lands,
 More, even, than Samos' self,

Juno, it is said,
This city cherished.
Here were her arms ;
Her chariot, it was here ;
And here, might but the fates at all permit,
Already wrought the fostering Goddess' care,
To found an empire that should rule the world.

For she had heard that from the stock of Troy
A scion was springing,
That should hereafter overturn
Her Tyrian citadels ;
And hence a people come,
Wide ruling, proud in war,
To the utter destruction of Libya.
Such she had heard were the revolutions
Ordained by the Parcæ.

In fear of this ;—
And recollecting
Th' inveterate war she erst had waged at Troy
For her dear Argos ;—
Nor yet forgot
The bitter smarts
That caused those ires :
Storehoused lies,
In the depths of her mind,
The judgment of Paris
And slight of her beauty,
And the lustre-rapt Ganymede's honours shed
On a race she detested :—

Kindled with these further fires, Saturnia,
Far off from Latium, warded,
And over the wide main
Hither tost and thither,
The remnant of the Trojans
Left by the Danaï
And ruthless Achilles ;
And many a year they wandered
All the seas about,
Impelled onward by the Fates,
So vast the work to found the Roman nation.

Scarce were they out of sight
 Of the Sicilian land ;
 Joyfully sailing
 Toward the high deep,
 And with brazen bows dashing
 The salt sea-foam,
 When thus Juno to herself,
 Th' eternal wound still nursing in her bosom :

“ Must I then, vanquished,
 Desist from my undertaking,
 Unable to avert from Italia
 The king of the Teucris ?
 Forbid by the Fates, forsooth !
 But could not Pallas burn the Argive fleet,
 And whelm the crews in the sea,
 For sole Oïlean Ajax' insane trespass ?

“ Herself shot from the clouds
 The rapid fire of Jove,
 Scattered their ships with storm,
 The sea-plains overturned,
 And him, expiring flames
 Out of his transfixed breast,
 Caught in a whirlwind and on sharp crag spiked :
 But I, who walk heaven's queen,
 Jove's sister both and consort,
 War with one race so many years am waging.
 Will any one henceforth
 Adore the deity of Juno ?
 Any suppliant lay
 Honours upon her altar ?”

Such thoughts revolving in her breast of flame,
 The Goddess comes to Eolia,
 Native home of storm-clouds,
 Teeming land of raging south-westerns.
 Here in vasty cave
 King Eolus rules over,
 And with barrier and chains
 Curbs and restrains,
 The struggling winds and hurricanes sonorous.
 Indignantly roaring
 About the closed vents,
 They make all the mountain round reverberate.

Holding his sceptre,
 Eolus sits
 Enthroned aloft,
 And soothes their spirit and their passion tempers :
 Else would their rapid flight
 Away with it bear,
 And sweep through the air,
 Lands, seas, and sky profound.

In fear of which,
 Th' omnipotent sire
 In dark caverns stowed them,
 Beneath a huge mass
 Of high mountains piled over them ;
 And a king gave them,
 Skilful to check, by rule prescribed,
 Or loose, as bid, the reins ;
 Whom Juno then thus, suppliant, addressed :—

“O Eolus, for to thee
 The sire of gods and king of men has given
 To soothe the waves, or raise them with the wind ;
 A race inimical to me
 Sails the Tyrrhene sea,
 Carrying into Italia
 Ilium and its conquered Penates.
 Dash at them with thy winds,
 Sink or disperse their ships,
 And strew the deep with their corpses.

“Of twice seven lovely nymphs that are mine,
 Deïopeïa the loveliest
 In wedlock form with thee I'll join,
 And dedicate her thine ;
 That all her years with thee she may pass,
 In reward of thy deservings,
 And of a beauteous offspring make thee sire.”

Eolus replied :—
 “Tis thine, O queen,
 T' explore thy will ;
 Mine, to perform thy bidding.
 To thee I owe this modicum of empire,
 To thee this sceptre and the favour of Jove ;

Thou givest me to recline
 At the feasts of the gods ;
 Over storm-cloud and tempest
 Thou makest me potent."

JAMES HENRY.

3. TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Classical Museum*.

(ON THUCYD. III. 12, 31.)

SIR,—In the XIXth No. of the *Classical Museum*, appear two paragraphs by Professor Dunbar of Edinburgh, with reference to passages in the 12th and 31st Chapters of Thucydides, Lib. III.—I do not doubt that they will be made the subject of remark to you from other and abler scholars than myself; but should you insert the following in your next Number, an answer may perhaps be elicited from the learned Professor, who will remove what at present seems to me a difficulty in his rendering of both the passages.

The difficulty in the rendering of the first of the passages, is more a historical one than a verbal,—for the use of *εὐνοία*, as exegetical of *ὁ*, is of course familiar to every Greek student. Indeed the principle on which Professor Dunbar seeks to explain the passage in question, might be employed with great advantage in explaining several of the Æschylean "cruces" in the *Agamemnon*. But looking at the historical occasion on which the words with which we are immediately concerned were used, I cannot see how we can allow that *τοῦτο* refers to *εὐνοία*. We may paraphrase the proposed translation thus:—"In all other cases, the strongest bond of union between allied states,—I mean good-will,—is based upon mutual good offices, and such respect as free men pay to one another. In the case of ourselves and the Athenians, this requisite good-will was rivetted by the strong chains of fear, (*τοῦτο ὁ φόβος ἐχυρὸν παρείχε*),"—to which I may be permitted to add, "a sorry substitute for the genuine bonds of affection;" so how can the *εὐνοία*, (which in the case in question did *not* exist,) be regarded as *τοῦτο ἐχυρόν*?

As to the second passage (III. 31,) the order of words in the original is *αὐτοῖς σφίσι δαπάνη*, κ.τ.λ.—In the 15th line from the bottom of p. 77, (of the XIXth No.) the learned Professor substitutes for *αὐτοῖς σφίσι*—*σφίσι αὐτοῖς*. This order of the words will suit the explanation given of the passage, which makes both these pronouns refer to the same persons. I submit to the consideration of scholars, whether it would be possible to construe in the same way, should the usual order of *αὐτοῖς σφίσι* be retained.

Should these suggestions seem worthy of a place in your pages, their insertion may obtain for myself, and others of your readers who have seen the difficulties to which they refer, a satisfactory answer, which would oblige your obedient servant,

Y. B.

OXFORD, April 14th 1848.

4. QUINTI HORATII FLACCI CARMINUM LIBER PRIMUS.

ODE I.

Mæcenas, sprung from royal race,
My patron, and mine own sweet grace !
Some, o'er the course, delight to fling
The dust of the Olympic ring,
And skilfully around the goal
Exult, with glowing wheels to roll,
Men, whom the palm's ennobling praise
To Gods, the Lords of Earth, can raise.
One man rejoices, if the crowd
Rival to grant him honours proud ;
Another, if within his stores
He hoards what's swept from Libyan floors.
Whoe'er would till his father's plains,
You'll ne'er persuade for princely gains,
That he, a slave to fear, should sweep,
In Cyprian barque, th' Egean deep.

While dreads the merchant winds that rave
In conflict with th' Icarian wave,
He praises each retired scene,
And near his town the meadows green ;
But—poverty untaught to bear—
His shatter'd barques he'll soon repair.

Another lives, who'll ne'er disdain
Bowls of old Massic wine to drain,
Nor hesitates to take away
A portion from the solid day ;
Reclining now in careless ease,
Beneath the shade of spreading trees ;
Or now beside the fountain still
Of some refreshing, hallow'd rill.

The camps to many pleasures yield,
 The clarion on the battle field,
 Join'd with the bugle braying clear,
 And wars that anxious mothers fear.

Forgetting tender wives at home,
 At night the eager hunters roam,
 If the staunch hounds have track'd the spoil,
 Or Marsian boar has burst the toil.

Ivy, the prize to learning given,
 Unites me with the Gods of Heaven.
 Me, the Nymph's choir, the shady grove,
 The satyrs—from the crowd remove,
 If the sweet Muse my strain inspire,
 Nor scorn to strike the Lesbian lyre ;
 But if—amid the minstrel throng—
You rank me as a child of song,
 My tow'ring head aloft shall rise,
 And scorning Earth, shall strike the Skies.

ODE V.

What graceful youth, in rosy wreaths,
 With rich perfumes, his passion breathes ?
 For whom, beneath the grotto's shade,
 Dost thou thine auburn tresses braid ?

Dear Pyrrha, "in thy neatness plain,"¹
 The gods unkind—thy vows all vain—
 How oft he'll mourn, and o'er the deep
 In wonder see the tempest sweep !

Who now an unsuspecting boy,
 Can all thy golden charms enjoy,
 Who trusts thee fond and never frail,—
 A stranger to the shifting gale.

To wretched youths untried you shine,—
 Witness my tablet in the shrine,
 That I my dripping garments gave
 To the great God who rules the wave.

¹ In thy neatness plain ;—I have taken this from Milton's translation, as nothing can equal or surpass it.

ODE XXI.

Ye tender maids—Diana sing ;
Ye boys—the youthful Cynthian king ;
Latona too, the darling love
Of peerless Jove enthron'd above.

Ye maidens sing—your Virgin Queen
That haunts the flood, the forest green
Of Erymanthus' woodland gloom,
Or Cragus' hills of verdant bloom.

By you, ye boys, be Tempe sung,
And Delos whence Apollo sprung ;
The gifts that his fair shoulders grace,
The lyre and weapons of the chase.

Fell famine, plague, and dismal war,
May he, benignant, banish far
To Britain or to Persia's plains,
While o'er the globe Augustus reigns.

ODE XXII.

The man that's upright, just, and pure,
Ne'er needs the bow nor barb of Moor,
Nor with the shafts defying cure,
Fuscus, a quiver fill'd—

Whether he stray o'er scorching sands,
Where Caucasus unfriendly stands,
Or where Hydaspes laves the lands,
A stream in story sung.

For whilst unarmed along the grove,
With cares dispell'd, too far I rove,
And sing of Lalage my love,
A wolf in terror fled—

Not Daunia in her martial pride,
Such portent rears in forest wide,
Nor such in Juba's land abide,
The lion's parched nurse.

Where in barren lands no tree,
 Fann'd by the balmy breeze can be,
 A clime of rude inclemency,—
 Oh, place me even there.

Place me—beneath Sol's car too near—
 In torrid zone—unpeopled sphere,—
 Still shall my Lalage be dear,
 Who sweetly speaks and smiles.

CARMINUM LIBER TERTIUS, ODE XIII.

As crystal clear, Bandusian spring—
 Worthy of wine—with flow'rets too,
 To-morrow shall a victim bring
 A frolic kid—an off'ring due.

Whose young expanding brow in vain
 Of Love's delight and battle dreams;
 For he, tho' sportive, soon shall stain
 With crimson blood thy crystal streams.

The scorching Sirius' burning ray,
 Knows not to reach a wave of thine;
 Thou dost refreshing cool display
 To roaming herd, to weary kine.

Thou shalt become a famous spring,
 While I, the scarlet oaks that grow
 Above thy hollow mountains, sing,
 Whence thy sweet waters prattling flow.

5. REMARKS ON SOPHOCLES, *Antig.* 593 and 676.

THE following passage in the *Antigone* of Sophocles (593), has been variously interpreted. Instead of the common reading *κόνις*, the more appropriate expression *κόπις* has been given by Brunck, Wunder, and Gaisford. The words of the Chorus are, *νῦν γὰρ ἐσχάτας ὑπὲρ ῥίζας ὁ τέτατο φάος ἐν Οἰδίπου δόμοις, κατ' αὖ νιν φοινία θεῶν τῶν νεπτέρων*

ἅμα κόνις, (κόπις) λόγου τ' ἀνοία, καὶ φρενῶν Ἑρινυς. Before understanding the propriety of changing κόνις into κόπις, it is necessary to ascertain the precise meaning of the verb καταμῆ. Donaldson, in his edition of the *Antigone*, translates the passage, "For now what light had beamed o'er the last root within the house of Œdipus, again the deathful dust of gods that reign below is levelled o'er it, by foolish speech and frantic indignation." This translation does not seem to convey the precise meaning of the words. With what propriety can it be said that the "deathful dust of gods κ. τ. λ. is levelled o'er the light;" and "foolish speech and frantic indignation levelled o'er it?" because, λόγου ἀνοία and φρενῶν Ἑρινυς are subjects of the same verb as κόνις or κόπις, and the nouns which form the subjects are not in the dative case, as might be inferred from the translation. The learned editor, in his new *Cratylus*, takes the root to be the same as that of ὁμαλός, and the original signification to be that of *levelling*, *laying low*. I have great doubts of the correctness of this affinity of the two words. It appears evident that the verb ἀμῶω is connected with the adverb ἅμα, *together*, *gathered together*; and hence the verb, in Homer and other authors, always signifies *to gather together*, generally, the ears of corn in reaping; and then, *to cut them down*: metaphorically, *to reap*.—Π. xviii. 531; Herodot. vi. 28; Æschyl. *Ag.* 1042; Aristoph. *Eq.* 392. καταμῆ will thus signify, *to cut down*, *cut off*, and hence, *to extinguish the light* in the house of Œdipus. Now, if καταμῆ should be taken in this latter sense, or even in the primary meaning, the noun κόνις is altogether inapplicable as the subject; but κόπις assuredly is applicable, as denoting the instrument by which the light in the house of Œdipus was *cut off*, *was extinguished*. The metaphorical expression is not more violent than similar ones in all the Attic poets, as ὀφθαλμὸν οἴκων πεσεῖν, Æschyl. *Choëph.* 913.

The next question is, who are the parties referred to by the Chorus in the above passage? There can be no doubt that Eteocles and Polynices are meant in the first place; the fatal duel, decided by the κόπις, is shadowed out by the words, κατ' αὐτὸν φοινῖα θεῶν τῶν νεπτέρων ἀμῆ κόπις. But to whom are we to apply the following line, λόγου τ' ἀνοία καὶ φρενῶν Ἑρινυς? Donaldson says, "It is clear that this is predicated of Antigone, whose inconsiderate language to Creon, coupled with the feeling of resentment at the violation of religious ordinances in the case of Polyneikes, had led to her condemnation." To me it is clear that both expressions cannot be predicated of Antigone. The Chorus might think that her language to Creon, in boldly avowing the pious act which she had accomplished, and defying his vengeance, was inconsiderate. But she gave no proofs, in that painful interview, of *frantic indignation*. Her language and demeanour were calm but determined. The φρενῶν Ἑρινυς unquestionably refers to Creon, who

had displayed a *temper and disposition* of the blackest kind, and of the most furious nature. The chorus durst not express openly the opinion of his tyrannical and violent conduct; as, according to the language of Antigone, *he* had gagged their mouths, ὀρώσι χούτοι, σοὶ δ' ἐπιίλουνσι στόμα, 507. Thus, by his cruel mandate, another of the scions of the house of Œdipus was to be *cut off*; another light *extinguished*. The lines may now be thus translated and paraphrased: *For now the light that was shed over the last roots in the house of Œdipus, that again the bloody sword of the infernal Gods has extinguished, by the mutual slaughter of his two sons, and the inconsiderate speech of Antigone, and the frantic rage of Creon, are working the same end.*

ἐγὼ δ' ὅπως σὺ μὴ λέγεις ὀρθῶς τάδε,
οὔτ' ἂν δυναίμην, μὴτ' ἐπισταίμην λέγειν.
γένοιτο μέντ' ἂν χατέρῳ καλῶς ἔχον.—*Antig.* 676.

In the two first lines there appear to me to be two errors, which have escaped the notice of the editors and commentators on this play. In the first, ὅπως is said to be used for ὅτι, and is construed with the present indicative. Matthiæ, in his Grammar, § 623, 3, quotes the above passage in confirmation of this construction. But he and the other editors appear to have considered the conditional negative μὴ as qualifying the adverb ὀρθῶς. Now, I know of no example where this conditional particle qualifies such an adverb. I believe, where a negative is used, it is always the absolute negative οὐ or οὐκ. μὴ ought to be taken with ὅπως, and then it requires the *subjunctive*. I have no doubt that the genuine reading ought to be, ἐγὼ δ' ὅπως σὺ μὴ λέγῃς ὀρθῶς τάδε, *But I, how you may not be saying these things correctly*, a more guarded expression on the part of Hæmon, and more in conformity with the conditional statement in the following line, than the common, *But I, that you are using this language not correctly, or justly.*

The other error is in the use of μὴτε in the second clause in the line following. The genuine construction requires οὔτε, not μὴτε, after οὔτε in the first clause. If, as the editors suppose, μὴτε is used denoting *a wish*, then it should not have been accompanied with the connecting particle τε. But the legitimate construction, when οὔτε is used in the first clause, requires the same negative in the next. Thus in the same Play, l. 185, οὔτ' ἂν σιωπήσαιμι τὴν ἄτην ὀρῶν στείχουσας ἀστοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, οὔτ' ἂν φίλον ποτ' ἄνδρα δυσμενῇ χθονὸς θείμην ἐμαντῶ.—But it is altogether inconsistent with the language afterwards used by Hæmon to his father, to make him say, as Donaldson has done in his translation, “and may I ne’er be skilled to tax with error these thy words.” He shews no want of skill in taxing his father, in the course of the dialogue, with injustice and oppression

towards Antigone, his betrothed bride. In the expression used, if we read οὐτ' (ὄν) ἐπισταίμην λέγειν, he speaks *conditionally*, not *absolutely*, as became a son to his father; and this is evident from what follows in the next line; "*I might neither be able, nor have the knowledge, to state how you may not be using language consistent with justice; but what, however, may be improper in me, may be proper in another.*" In the first part of his speech, Hæmon expresses a dutiful obedience to his father, while at the same time he glances obliquely at his tyrannical conduct, and that his will alone must be the law. He then more urgently beseeches him to suppress his anger and change his purpose:—ἀλλ' εἴκε θυμοῦ καὶ μετὰστασιν δίδου· γνώμη γὰρ εἴ τις κἀπ' ἐμοὶ νεωτέρου πρόσεστι, φήμ' ἔγωγε πρεσβεύειν πολὺ φῶναι τὸν ἄνδρα πάντ' ἐπιστήμης πλέων,—709. To the remark of the Chorus, counselling Creon to listen to the advice of his son, the tyrant replies:—

οἱ τηλικοῖδε καὶ διδαζόμεθα δὴ
φρονεῖν πρὸς ἄνδρὸς τηλικοῦδε τὴν φύσιν;

The whole of the ensuing dialogue between the father and the son shews the utter inconsistency of making Hæmon express a wish, *that he may never have the knowledge to tax his father with error.*

There is a similar false reading in the reply of Antigone to Creon, when he said that his every wish would be satisfied by her death,

τί δῆτα μέλλεις; ὥς ἐμοὶ τῶν σῶν λόγων
ἄρεστὸν οὐδέν, μηδ' ἄρεσθείη ποτέ.—498.

Donaldson's translation is:—

"Why loiter thou? the words which thou hast spoken
Displease me, all, and ne'er may such words please me!"

The construction is faulty, and the sentiment equally faulty. It was neither consistent with the character of Antigone nor with her situation to say, *and ne'er may such words please me!* The reading should be, οὐδ' ἄρεσθείη ποτέ, the particle ἄν being understood, *nor can they ever please me.*

It seems strange that so good a scholar as Mr. Donaldson should have perversely and pertinaciously substituted the Ionic adverb εἵνεκα instead of οὐνεκα, or ὀθοῦνεκα, as used by the Attic poets in tragic dialogues; εἵνεκα may be used in the choral odes, but never in dialogue. I do not know his reasons for introducing it instead of the legitimate adverb; but I should suppose he would be imitated by no scholar who has paid attention to the dialects used by the tragic poets. Ionisms, no doubt, are occasionally found, but these are never introduced in dialogues nor speeches, except where the versification requires them.

G. DUNBAR.

XV.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. MYTHOLOGÆ SEPTENTRIONALIS MONUMENTA EPIGRAPHICA LATINA.
Edidit varietate lectionis et annotatione instruxit Joannes de Wal.
Trajecti ad Rhenum. 8. 1847. Tom. I. (London, Williams & Norgate.)

THE author of this book defends himself against the accusation, which possibly might be made, that he has published a number of documents, which being printed in the well-known work of Orelli, *Inscriptiones Latinæ*, and in other works on Archæology, or in Transactions of different scientific Societies, are already in the hands of scholars. We think he need not be greatly afraid of such an objection, as he himself must be aware, that even by collecting the documents for his purpose from Orelli's Latin Inscriptions, and those other works whose aim is generally a very limited one both in respect of place and time, a certain merit must be conceded to his efforts; and those who are studying the *origines* of the nations of modern Europe, will undoubtedly hail this publication of a *corpus inscriptionum* of northern mythology during the latter centuries of the Roman empire.

The times of childhood of a people are always the obscurest to posterity; the documents of religion, or better mythology, which are for a long while mixed up with some true history, are scanty at such a period: so it was with the Greeks, the Romans, the Gauls, and the Germans. But the two latter have certainly an advantage in this respect; for some light was thrown upon the rude state of their first ages by the greatest and noblest Romans, Cæsar and Tacitus, who conquered the territories and studied the characters of their northern neighbours; and new sources for a better understanding of those dark periods are continually opened by digging up monuments, which the victorious Romans, or perhaps a military or civil office-bearer, had dedicated to a local deity on the banks of the Danube and the Rhine, in Gaul or Britain. In the book before us, the relics of this kind are for the first time systematically collected, and the first volume contains especially inscriptions from altar-tablets or monument-stones.

The collection comprehends altogether 346 inscriptions, some longer and some shorter, sometimes perfectly preserved, often very much worn out and destroyed by time and circumstances. Each piece is printed in the original capital letters, abbreviations and lines, fol-

lowed by a copy in italics, so far as it can be made out by the assistance of conjectural criticism. The editor then adds a short statement, where the stone or fragment has been found, and what has been its history from that time down to the last edition. After enumerating the different editions and works, in which the inscription has been treated of previously, the author generally gives some short annotations of a controversial and explanatory purport, where he displays a good deal of philological tact, chiefly in preferring an editor's *αὐτοψίαν* to the most learned treatises of other professors upon the same subject, and in bringing forward the best literary authority in support of his own particular views. The inscriptions are arranged after the letters of the alphabet, down to n. 290, from thence to n. 343 there follows a supplement of those which the editor either had omitted before by inadvertence, or which had not come into his hands till after he had composed his volume so far. The last three numbers are Latin inscriptions dedicated to Slavonic deities after the Roman fashion, and discovered in Slavonic territories. To the whole collection are added five very useful indices; the first, of the names of the different gods and goddesses; the second, of the persons who dedicated or erected the monuments; the third, of archæology and latinity; the fourth, of geographical and historical matter; and the last, of the places where the stones have been found. Every one, who is able to form a judgment of works of this kind, will at once agree with us as to the importance of the indices, even if one or the other defect occasionally should occur.

Critics will no doubt be found to object to M. de Wal having published his book in Latin, and not in his native language; but the author, who already some years ago had written a book upon a similar theme in Dutch, *De Moedergodinnen* (*Dææ Maternæ*,) felt altogether persuaded that his present subject was of a more universal character, and would be of equal interest to antiquarians in England, Italy, Germany, and France. All that we regret is, that to the last index of Latin names of places the modern names have not been added, which would render the use of the book even more convenient, without our being obliged to open Ducange, Spruner's Atlas, or other lexicographical folios.

An objection against the editor's arrangement is of a more serious nature, and affects the matter itself. His book comprehends such a multifarious collection of inscriptions, which were found, and certainly erected also in the most distant parts of Europe,—at Aquileja, in North Italy, at Iuvavia (the ancient Salzburg,) on the Pannonian frontiers, in the Agri Decumates (the south-west corner of Germany between the Rhine, the Danube, and the Neckar,) in the lower Rhine-country, in France, Spain, England, and on the Roman walls in Scotland. We may ask, why has M. de Wal published his inscriptions pell-mell, only

following the alphabetical order of the names of the deities? Why has he not arranged them according to the different countries to which they belong, or, better still, in two large portions, the one consisting of those appertaining to Celtic mythology, and the other of those which are unquestionably Germanic? He has collected only Roman inscriptions, which are inestimable relics of the brave legions and their settlements on that *limes* of many thousand miles, which extend from Trajan's Dacian conquest to the wall of Antoninus. There is no insurmountable gulph, as is still frequently supposed, between the last time of Roman glory and the first centuries of the middle ages; a great number of Roman institutions remained in full vigour, after those who conquered the world with their assistance were gone, and the victorious barbarians only very slowly began to understand and to use the whole inheritance, of which they had become the masters. A kind of assimilation, however, between the two contending parties very soon took place, even before the propagation of Christianity began to unite friend and foe. We believe, the assumption of foreign gods is one of the first transitions to that state of amalgamation on the part of the Romans. They took that step in conformity with their universal religious ideas, and made the gods of their subdued enemies their own; they also ordered all these monuments to be erected in their own language and characters, caring very little for the local origin of the deity itself. It is quite natural, therefore, that our author does not make his divisions according to the conquered nations. Besides, it is his task simply to accomplish as complete a collection as possible, and not to arrange the inscriptions in different classes; his labour is merely a preparatory one like that of a lexicographer, but he is not unconscious of the great merits which he has, in assisting the student of northern mythology; he has presented him with the materials for an interesting part of antiquarian research, just as the lexicographer affords the principal aid in learning a language and its literature.—After all this, we must fully acknowledge the merits of our author; he has afforded access to many a treasure, which is yet known only to the antiquaries of the different countries. We will subjoin a few short hints for doing so, making our readers at the same time acquainted with some details of the volume, and how far its editor has already prepared the way for further investigations.

The first and most necessary labour to be undertaken unquestionably will be, very carefully to separate the Celtic or Gallic inscriptions from the Germanic and Norse, which belong neither to the one nor to the other. The author himself states in the preface, p. v., his reasons why he was obliged to exclude from his book certain monuments which were discovered in the same districts with the others, but un-

doubtedly referred to some Asiatic or African deity. We are not able to decide, whether in the collection itself a few more inscriptions may not be met with, which likewise belong neither to Teutonic nor Celtic mythology. It is true, the same legions which were stationed on the northern frontiers of the vast empire, frequently had fought in former times against the Parthians and on the Arabian frontiers, or had been quartered in Egypt or in Asia Minor. Nobody will deny that many soldiers, natives of eastern countries, may have carried the worship of their foreign gods with them to the North. The goddess *Isis*, for instance, was worshipped in Noreia, (n. 207); but who can tell whether this is a confirmation of the words of Tacitus,¹ or whether a Roman officer of eastern origin had transplanted his domestic religion to the new quarters near the woods of Germany or the shores of the North Sea? There are other inscriptions where similar doubts may arise, but it is very difficult to come to a final decision, unless a fortunate or accidental discovery of a sedulous inquirer of Oriental and Occidental mythology should throw a new and unexpected light upon the particular case. Inscriptions of this kind, therefore, like many others in the book, still wait for a satisfactory explanation, or must remain unexplained for ever.

It is of more importance, and not less difficult, to draw the line of separation between the monuments, upon which the name of a Germanic or Gallic deity is recorded. The antiquaries of each nationality have studied their mythology for centuries, sometimes in vain, sometimes with more or less success. We do not think that a real system of Celtic mythology has as yet come forth like that of German mythology by the learned and ingenious Jacob Grimm,² where the lofty and almost metaphysical shapes of the gods of the Gothic tribes are traced back to their Indian birth-place, where the short accounts given by the penetrating mind of Tacitus are shown to be the clearest fountain for this branch of archæology, and where the most intimate connection between all Teutonic races in their wanderings from the Black Sea to Iceland is indisputably established. On the other hand, in France, Italy, or England, many learned men have written treatises upon one or more gods and goddesses; they have described the images, the worship, and the sacrifices, but the traces of connection, which certainly exist with the East, have not yet been successfully pursued. The spreading of the Roman power over all these countries has darkened the ancient history of the Celts; their territories very soon became Roman provinces; their gods and religious rites were carried into the sanctuaries of the conquerors. Christianity also, which was acknowledged very early

¹ *De Moribus Germ.* 9: pars Suevo-
rum et Isidi sacrificat.

² *Deutsche Mythologie*, von Jacob
Grimm, ed. 11. 1842.

among the Gallic nations, assisted at that period in removing from the memory of the people their old idolatry. But the Romans never subdued their German neighbours, and very soon they saw themselves compelled to acquiesce simply in fortifying the borders against the invading multitudes, till those measures also proved fallacious. It is well known that the principal Germanic races became Christians after having taken possession of the different Roman provinces, and that many of them continued most obstinately in keeping up their old heathen rites for even centuries after. We think the unsuccessful exertions of the Romans account for the circumstance, that only a very small number of Roman monuments in reference to Teutonic gods exist in comparison with that great multitude of inscriptions dedicated to Celtic deities. Another reason lies in the difference of the two religions; even if the Romans had conquered all Germany up to the Baltic, they would not have been able to enrich their temples with many more images. The high-minded Tacitus, struck with a sort of admiring awe, says of the Teutonic tribes: "Nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrabantur."³ Such gods were not fit for the Romans. But among the Gauls Cæsar found dreadful images and representations of the Roman Mercury, Apollo, Jupiter, and other gods!⁴ No doubt, Roman ideas were thus very naturally intermingled with Gallic superstitions.

There are certain names mentioned where the origin of the divinity is doubtful, and both parties claim it for themselves. Every thing here depends upon fixing as accurately as possible time and place, when and where the particular monument was erected, as the government of many border-countries, for several centuries, was subjected to continual changes. M. de Wal has done his utmost to obtain their philological and documental certainty, in fixing the place, the names of the dedicators, and often also of the consuls of the year. Thus he has smoothed the way, where combination and conjectural criticism may still do a good deal more. We will mention only a few examples. First, the goddess *Nehalennia* was worshipped in the Netherlands, of which the inscriptions, n. 176-199, are the proofs. Many ingenious men during the last two hundred years, down to the time of Grimm, have laboured to explain this worship, but nobody has been able to make any thing certain out of it. An example of another kind is the god *Cisonius*, (n. 88,) upon a monument found on the left side of the Upper Rhine; the form of the name certainly reminds one of the old German god *Fin*, a trace of whom we still find preserved in the name of our Tuesday; but other ob-

³ *De Moribus Germ.* 9.

⁴ *De Bello Gall.* vi. 16, 17.

stacles are not yet sufficiently removed, although Grimm and Dr. Lersch seem inclined to vindicate his Germanic birthright. Very doubtful is the spelling and explanation of the name *Bellancus*, (n. 53). Our author tries to get rid of the difficulty by making it the name of the dedicator instead of the deity; we here agree, however, more with his conjecture than with the German antiquaries, who endeavour to find the northern hero *Billunc* in this inscription. But this name only existed in the Scaldic poetry of Scandinavia, and as a family appellative among the Saxons in northern Germany and England, of which the name of Billingsgate is a proof even to this very day; besides, it is doubtful if it came so far south as the Rhine country and during the Roman period. A similar question will arise about the *Hercules Saxanus*, (n. 136-144, 317). It agrees very well with the warlike character of both the Gauls and the Germans, that the Romans so frequently met with a deity, which they without any scruple called Hercules. Tacitus⁵ heard that this hero had wandered so far north as Germany, and that the old Germans invoked his name, principally in their war-songs. But how far the appellative *Saxanus*, which is found, with a few exceptions, only upon native tablets on the Lower Rhine, dedicated especially by officers of the legions stationed there, is Germanic, we will not venture to determine; it seems that the resemblance of the name, with the obscure northern being called *Saxnót*, and with the root, from which the name of the Saxons itself appears to be derived, cannot be denied. The goddess *Illudana* (n. 149,) has already been recognized by Grimm and other German philologists as a pure Germanic deity, who is mentioned in conformity with this inscription in the songs of the Edda. The claims of both nationalities come together again in the god *Taranuenus*, (n. 262,) and nobody will deny, that the god of thunder, whose name most likely is meant here, was similar and nearly the same among both, especially on the frontiers. A true Germanic goddess is the *Diana Abnoba*, (n. 7-9,) for all the three stones have been found about the fountains of the Danube, that is, the black forest, called by Tacitus,⁶ "jugum montis *Abnobæ*;" and as the same historian says of the ancient Germans,⁷ "*lucos et nemora consecrant, deorumque numinibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident,*" there cannot remain any question of discussion. The imagination of the ancient Germans peopled mountains and forests with these divine beings, the offspring of reverence and awe; in a like manner the waters, rivers, and lakes, were holy, as many vestiges and tales relate, and the three dedications to the genius of the *Rhine* confirm, (n. 232-234.)

⁵ *De Moribus Germ.* 3.⁶ *Ibid.* 1.⁷ *Ibid.* 9.

The greater number in M. de Wal's collection allude in reality, as we have already stated, to Celtic deities, and many most interesting points will be established by them. Cæsar⁸ mentions one of the petty kings of the Senones, *Moritargus*; in the inscription, n. 173, we find exactly the same name belonging to a god, so that probably the human hero was deified as was done among the Greeks and the Romans. Cæsar⁹ also states, that the Gallic *Mercury* was the protector of commerce and travelling; the great number of dedications inscribed to him with the most different surnames, and discovered in all Roman provinces of the West, are the best proof of it. Cæsar adds, "*Jovem imperium cœlestium tenere.*" Our inscriptions mention different Joves optimos maximos; but a principal place of this worship the Romans must have found upon the summit of Mount St. Bernard, which, during the greater part of the middle ages,¹⁰ still passed under the name of Mons Jovis; and it was, as the inscriptions n. 211-230 certify, principally this *Jupiter Pœninus*, to whom travellers, who crossed this dangerous pass to or from Italy, made their vows. *Mars*, the god of war, occurs in Spain, Gaul, and Britain, with many indigenous and local surnames, which frequently have been treated by Celtic antiquarians. It is the same with *Apollo*, of whom Cæsar asserts that he was believed to cure diseases. All the monuments of *Apollo Belenus*, especially in Gallia Cisalpina, and to *Apollo Grannus* from the Helvetian frontiers as far as Scotland, mention vows taken by the dedicating parties. Perhaps the god *Mogon* or *Mounus Cadenorum*, (n. 168-172,) restitutor vitæ, (n. 171,) is only another Apollo. The goddess *Epona* (n. 106-315, 310-213,) whose name so frequently is read upon stones in Styria, on the Rhine and in Scotland, is generally considered to be a Gallic deity, and we think correctly, although our learned editor supports her Italian origin, and promises to prove his opinion on a future occasion, (cf. p. 77.)

We think these few observations will suffice to give an idea of this copious collection. To the scholar of British antiquity, it opens a wide field. He will find all the inscriptions of the mysterious *Mars Belatucader*, and of many other Celtic deities, especially worshipped by the ancient Britons as *Cocideus*, *Duicus*, *Hercules Magusanus*, *Hercules Segontiacorum*, *Numeria*, *Nimpa*, *Sulisma*, and many more. May his book therefore meet with that attention which it deserves; and may its learned author very soon find the leisure necessary to prepare a second volume of these important and interesting mythological documents for middle and northern Europe.

R. P.

⁸ *De Bello Gall.* v. 45.

⁹ *De Bello Gall.* vi. 17.

¹⁰ The mountain received its present name only in the eleventh century after a monk of Wallis.

2. THE ANABASIS OF XENOPHON; based upon the Text of Bornemann. With Notes, original and selected; and Three Maps, illustrative of the Expedition. By the Rev. J. F. Macmichael, B. A. London: G. Bell. 1847. 12mo.

The want of editions of the Greek and Latin classics, accompanied with notes really useful to a young student, which should help him in mastering difficulties and initiating him into the peculiar structure of the ancient languages, has long been seriously felt. Boys either had nothing but the texts,—and those very often not of the best quality,—or the few who could afford it, purchased bulky volumes with critical and philological notes, which they were unable to understand, and which only now and then afforded them any assistance where a passage happened to be translated in a note. Under these circumstances, it can hardly be matter of surprise that such editions as those of Dr. Anthon have met with general favour in this country, although they are notoriously bad, and calculated only to thwart all the objects which an educator can and ought to have in view, in as much as, by an indiscriminate and careless translation, all mental activity on the part of the student is rendered superfluous. Every teacher who has the good of his pupils at heart, ought to banish such editions from his class-room. Signs are appearing in various quarters, which show that we are resolved no longer to be behind hand in this branch of our school literature. The announcement of the Messrs. Chambers to publish a series of classics, with commentaries for the use of schools, has been followed by similar advertisements of other publishers; and we trust that ere long there will be no excuse for reprinting in this country the productions of one who is daily doing grievous injury to the cause of classical education, and whose literary character is more than equivocal.

The present edition of the *Anabasis* by Mr. Macmichael, is apparently the first of a series of Grammar School Classics, and a fine specimen of what can be done, if those who undertake a task set themselves resolutely about it. The *Anabasis* has undoubtedly been sent forth as a specimen, and we sincerely hope that the other volumes which are to follow, may be executed as ably as the present. The text, as the title-page indicates, is based upon that of Bornemann, though Mr. Macmichael has not neglected to exercise his own judgment, and occasionally differs from his predecessors. An account of the differences between his text and that of Bornemann and others, is given in an appendix. The notes are mostly of an explanatory nature, as might be expected in an edition avowedly prepared for the use of schools. They are neither too numerous nor too few, neither too long nor too brief, and give to the student just as much information as is desirable

to help him over difficulties, and urge him on to exercise his own faculties. Great use has also been made of Mr. Ainsworth's researches in the track of the Ten Thousand; and maps are added to illustrate that memorable expedition. In short, no source has been neglected or overlooked, from which light can be obtained; and the book will be found equally instructive to young teachers as to students. We have examined the notes in various parts of the book, and have throughout found them precise and accurate. The only thing which we would suggest as somewhat out of the way is, that the editor has not throughout given his notes in English; but has, now and then, quoted the explanations of others in Latin. This is indeed a small matter; but there does not appear any sufficient reason for introducing Latin notes in a commentary of this kind. We can confidently recommend Mr. Macmichael's edition of the *Anabasis* as the best school edition that exists in the English language; and we feel certain that it will satisfy every reasonable demand that can be made.

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3. NOTES ON HERODOTUS, Original, and Selected from the best Commentators. By Dawson W. Turner, M.A., late Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Head Master of the Royal Institution School, Liverpool.

THIS volume is one of the very poorest attempts at compilation that have ever come under our notice. It is nothing but a feeble dilution and abridgment of the notes of Bähr, Wesseling, and Schweighäuser, with a few passages quoted from Heeren, Thirlwall, and one or two other equally accessible authorities. One of Mr. Turner's principal sources of information appears to be Barker's edition of *Anthon's Lempriere*. We do not pretend to have examined the whole volume, but have gone over a large part of the notes on the second book of Herodotus, thinking that this would furnish a fair sample of Mr. Turner's merits as an annotator. The notes are all of an extremely meagre and unsatisfactory kind, indicating nothing but the most superficial reading. Even so accessible an author as Wilkinson is never once referred to. Of Bunsen's researches, Mr. Turner does not seem even to have heard.

The value of his chronological notices under such circumstances may be imagined. The reader will look in vain for a single remark which will throw any light upon the numerous difficult and interesting questions connected with the 2d book of Herodotus, or even place him in any tolerable degree in possession of the results of the most recent and valuable researches on the subject. As a specimen of the blunders of which Mr. Turner is capable, we may notice that, in his

remarks on c. 99, though he actually quotes Rennell's description of the ancient course of the Nile, he imagines it identical with the Bahr-helama, and quotes in illustration, Savary's fictitious or at least highly exaggerated account of the masts and wrecks of vessels still to be found there!

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4. Q. HORATII FLACCI OPERA OMNIA. Recognovit et commentariis in usum Scholarum instruxit Guil. Dillenburger. Editio altera. Bonnæ, 1848. 8vo.

THE first edition of this work appeared in 1843, and was intended as a school edition of Horace, which should make the student acquainted with the results of the exegetical, æsthetical, and critical labours of Peerlkamp, Obbarius, Orelli, Düntzer, Kirchner, Lübker, Franke, and others. The notes in that, as well as in the present edition, are written in Latin, and intended for students of the highest form of a Prussian Gymnasium; they contain no historical, geographical, mythological, or grammatical explanations of subjects with which the student at that stage may reasonably be supposed to be acquainted. The edition was found very acceptable, and introduced in many public schools. The second edition is greatly improved, for not only has the text been corrected in many parts, but the notes have been extended so as to make them more generally useful, though the original object has been steadily kept in view. The book is very cheap, and has all the qualities to recommend it to be put into the hands of students. There is only one point which, perhaps, may be considered as an obstacle, and that is the circumstance that the notes are written in Latin, which, to boys in our higher forms, is not as familiar as it is to those of the corresponding forms of a German Gymnasium. We therefore hope that some English publisher will soon undertake to furnish an edition with an English translation of the notes. The book is accompanied by an excellent life of Horace, chronological tables of the time at which the several poems of Horace were composed, and of the historical events which occurred during the life-time of the poet, from B. C. 65, to B. C. 8; and lastly, by an account of the Horatian metres. The work is also provided with two useful indexes,—one, of all the proper names that occur in Horace, and the other, of words and other matters that occur either in the poems, or are explained in the notes.

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5. PROCEEDINGS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON,
Vol. III., Nos. 51 to 62.

THIS Society continues with great vigour its investigations into the affinities of languages, the laws regulating the formation of words, the

various organic modifications which words undergo in the process of time, and in their transference from one country to another; and, in short, into every question that can be of interest to the philologist. The first two volumes are replete with instructive papers on philological topics; and the parts which we have received of the third, are in no way inferior to their predecessors. In regard to the ancient languages, the papers of Professors Key and Malden are, as usual, of the highest interest; and it is only to be lamented that the results of their learned labours are confined to the members of the Philological Society. We, in our place, can do no more than give a list of the papers read at the Society's meetings:—

1. On Orthographical Expedients, by Edwin Guest.
2. On the Formation of Words by the further modification of inflected cases, by the Rev. R. Garnett.
3. On the Construction of ὅπως μὴ, with a past indicative.
4. On the Elements of Language, their arrangement and their accidents, by E. Guest.
5. On the Misuse of the terms Epenthesis and Euphony, by Th. Hewitt Key.
6. On the Origin of the demonstrative pronouns, the definite article, the pronouns of the third person, the relative and the interrogative, by Th. Hewitt Key.
7. Attempts to suggest the Derivations and Affinities of some Greek and Latin Words, by the Rev. Dr. Davies.
8. On Greek and English Versification, by Professor Malden.
9. On certain Initial-letter-changes in the Indo-European Languages, by Rev. R. Garnett.
10. On the Names of the Parts of the Human Body as common to the several families of the Indo-European Languages, by Th. Hewitt Key.

6. THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. By R. G. Latham, M.D.
Ed. II. London. 1848. 8vo.

THE first edition of this valuable work has met with the greatest approbation of those scholars who are most able to pronounce judgment upon it. It is now republished, revised, and greatly enlarged. Few words will suffice again to recommend it most urgently to the study of every lover of his mother tongue.

Dr. Latham's work is the result of uninterrupted studies of many years; and an ingenious combination of two prominent departments

of the grammatical art, which are undoubtedly required, both that we may dispense with or reform those numberless grammars of the day, and that "an educated Englishman should become familiar with the results of modern criticism, as applied to his native tongue." It is stated in the preface, p. xv. "The method of the present work is mixed. It is partly historical and partly logical. The historical portions exhibit the way in which words and inflections *have been* used; the logical, the way in which they *ought to be* used." In both parts Dr. Latham proves himself to be a most accomplished scholar. His knowledge comprises the whole range of Indo-European languages, from the Sanscrit to the different Celtic languages, but especially those of the Gothic stock, which are so thoroughly examined in J. Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*, and to which chain the links for this country have been fastened already by the successful efforts of men like B. Sharpe and J. Kemble. On the other hand, our author is well known as a philosopher. He has published a little work entitled, *First Outlines of Logic*, applied to Grammar and Etymology; and notwithstanding the fact that philological criticism at the present moment "is of an essentially historical (or etymological) character," in perusing the book, we always find the author conversant with Metaphysics and Philology in general. His very style is a proof of it; the short sentences, looking frequently like so many scattered remarks, but always strictly connected with each other; at another time arranged in the form of syllogisms, the hypothesis adapted to etymological and syntactical questions; all this reminds us of such works as Spinoza's *Ethics*.

It is impossible for us here to go over the whole volume, or to scrutinize the particular views of the author, where he announces general principles, or introduces new terms, and to stop perhaps at an hypothesis, where we should feel inclined to dispute Dr. Latham's opinions. We shall confine ourselves to mentioning the contents of the different parts, occasionally taking up one or other particular point. In the first part, the author treats, in a short but lucid survey, the affinities of the English language to the languages of the Gothic stock, the Celtic branches, the Classic languages, and principally the Latin, and the position of the English to the Indo-European family. The second part contains the history and analysis of the English language in its different stages. The Anglo-Saxon is justly stated to be the mother-tongue. "Our English would have been much as it is at present, even if the Norman conquest never had taken place," p. 81. The Celtic elements are very scanty, and were repulsed even by the Romans. The influence of the Latin language is a primary, secondary, and tertiary one; that of the Scandinavian districts is direct and indirect, and any thing but predominant. Certain ap-

parent differences in grammar determine the stages of the old, the middle, and the new English. Dialects have been at all times, and continue to exist. The details of the phonetic and orthographic system are minutely discussed in the third part. Great critical acuteness is exhibited in the chapter on articulate sounds; here, more than elsewhere, the author required the assistance of new terms. What we generally call Aspirates are none; neither the Greek *φ* nor the Saxon *th*, are combinations of the Lene with the breathing *h*; the true Aspirates occur only very rarely, e. g. in *upholder*, *abhorrent*, etc., comp. pp. 123, 133. We confess, however, not to be able to appreciate fully this distinction. The difference between a verbal and a logical accent (p. 149) is undoubtedly right. The historical sketch of the English Alphabet gives a good deal of information on this subject in general, as well as in particular, and like many other chapters of this book, cannot be strongly enough recommended. Then follows the fourth part, containing the etymology in gender, number, case, pronoun, comparison, the inflections and classes of the verb, composition, &c. Throughout this division are to be found "numerous isolated words which exhibit the fragments of a fuller inflection and of a more highly developed etymology:" *it* and *that*, true neuters ending in *t*, *oxen*, &c., old plurals in *n*, besides many relics amongst the different pronouns, and the termination of the comparative degree *er*, where we especially refer to ch. x. and to the author's hypothesis in reference to the comparative antiquity of the superlative degree. The verb of course occupies the larger portion of Part IV.: every reader will feel interested in the learned discussion on the weak and strong tenses; the so-called irregularities are justly discarded; the verb substantive, for instance, is not irregular but defective, and supplies its tenses and moods from different roots in all stages of the English language, as well as in all languages belonging to the Gothic branch. The chapter on hybridism and the introduction of new words, cannot be studied attentively enough. Ch. XXXVIII. being devoted to the words *mine* and *thine*, develops the author's conviction, that these pronouns are real possessives, and not genitives of the personal pronouns. In the introduction to Part V. on the Syntax, the author is quite right in saying: "much that is considered by the generality of grammarians as syntax, can either be omitted altogether, or else be studied under another name." He makes the distinction between *mixed* and *pure* syntax, and does not collect everything under the one head of Concord and Government, but the same parts of speech that have undergone the etymological investigation, now pass under a syntactical review.—We cannot enter into the detail, but must say every thing is perfectly correct, and in harmony with sound reason. The book concludes

with Part VI., on the prosody of the English language, and a double appendix.

We hope to see the effects of this excellent and truly national work appear more and more in the improvement of our present school grammars; and also in enriching our dictionaries, for a word like *one* in *one says*, is not the numeral *one*, but the French *on*; and the verb *do* in *this will do*, is entirely different from *to do*, the first being the Anglo-Saxon *deáh*, the other the Anglo-Saxon *dó*.

XVI.

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XVII.

ON THE GROWTH OF THE TRIBUNE'S POWER BEFORE THE DECENVIRATE.

MUCH obscurity, it must be confessed, rests upon the early state and power of the Tribes, as well as of the Tribunes; nor does it appear that Niebuhr and his successors have here shown the right mode of investigation. As usual, the first and most fundamental question is, the weight to be assigned to different authorities. The effort of the old critics was, in some way or in any way, to reconcile them *all*; the moderns generally disown that proceeding: and it will perhaps be now admitted that Dionysius is by no means so trustworthy as Livy, though in many matters, (especially those which concern war and foreign affairs,) Niebuhr has most satisfactorily shewn that the latter has followed a wholly false narrative. Perhaps, indeed, it is not too strong to say, that the *testimony* of Dionysius has (as such) absolutely no weight with Niebuhr: nevertheless, a frequent unwillingness to depart from his positive assertions, appears to have forced Niebuhr into an admission of many incongruities. So also Becker, in his excellent discussion on the Tribunate, (*Antiq.* vol. II. part 2, p. 279,) while characterizing Dionysius's statements as "suspicious and full of contradictions," says that it is impossible to set aside the general account "without a system of hypotheses void of all guarantee." He elsewhere admits that Dionysius greatly exaggerates the early power of the tribunes, and here hints that (with Niebuhr) we may doubt whether the story of Coriolanus is right in chronology; but, he adds, "no one will dare to go beyond the *doubt*."

It does not appear to me that any one is chargeable with baseless hypothesis, for maintaining that Livy is to be followed, in regard to constitutional history, to the total neglect of Dionysius. The latter is an acute critic and a learned antiquarian ; but he was also a theorist, and his theories have demonstrably carried away and perverted his good sense. His diffusedness and his affectation of accuracy are quite enough to condemn him. In the affair of Coriolanus he is so infatuated as to believe that he has preserved the very arguments by which the patricians were *persuaded* to yield up their dearest rights ; VII. 66, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ὅπλοις ἀλλήλους βιασάμενοι καὶ προσαναγκάσαντες, ἀλλὰ λόγοις πείσαντες μετήρμισαν, παντὸς μάλιστα ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμεν εἶναι, τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν διεξελθεῖν. He proceeds to moralize on the error of historians who describe deeds, but do not report speeches :—and this, as his conclusion to a series of events quite incredible, and concerning which it is morally certain that he had no authentic details, though he fills thirty tedious chapters with his account. When indeed he mistook the Assembly of the Curies for a plebeian meeting, why should we any longer rest at all on his statements (however positive) concerning early Comitia ?

When we consider that, by universal consent of historians, the original tribune was only a helper of oppressed individual plebeians, and that in the few instances in which the social rank of tribunes of the plebs is alluded to they do not rise above the grade of centurions, it is incredible that in the course of a few years, without any new insurrection, they should possess a veto against consular elections, as Dionysius represents, VIII. 90. [οἱ δῆμαρχοι, τοῦ κωλύειν ὄντες κύριοι, &c.] How much more, that the plebs, of whom a majority was confessedly very poor, to say nothing of their debts, should win of the patricians by persuasion (λόγοις πείσαντες) the constitutional right of voting by the head concerning any patrician's life ! I know not how, emphatically enough, to express my inability to believe this ; and it surprises me that Niebuhr should seek to prop it up by appealing to Italian international customs. Not quite so absurd, and yet as undeserving of credit, does the statement of Dionysius appear, that one of the Publilian laws formally guaranteed to the plebs, πάντα τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἐν τῷ δήμῳ πράττεσθαι τε καὶ ἐπικυροῦσθαι δεήσει, ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι κατὰ ταυτό, IX. 43. This would have anticipated the Valerian Horatian laws,

which, (as expounded by Dionysius,) made the assembly of the tribes equivalent to that of the centuries.

Again, during the struggle for Volero's law, the same writer represents the tribunes as having a seat in the senate, and as there replying to Appius, (IX. 49,) πολλὰ μὲν Ἀππίου κατηγορήσαντος, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀντιλεξάντων,—which is undoubtedly anachronistic.

Dionysius, moreover, would have us believe that the dreadful penalties against *interfatio* were passed (at least by a plebiscitum) in the very first year of the tribunate, (VII. 17.) The tribune, it seems, if interrupted while addressing the people, might demand of the offender bail *to any amount that he pleased*; and if the bail was not found, the offender was sentenced to death, and his property consecrated! Niebuhr indeed observes that this is certainly put too early by Dionysius; but is it not intrinsically incredible at any time? for it would be equivalent to putting full power over property and life into the tribune's hand. If, however, it be *only* an anticipation, we still bring out the same conclusion that Dionysius is no authority in these matters.

Now, in fact, while we confine ourselves to Livy's modest account, although we find a great deficiency of information, we meet none of these startling incongruities; and the growth of the tribune's power in his narrative is the more convincing, because he evidently is not aiming to systematize. Let us here try to sketch the view of things, which any intelligent reader would gather without Dionysius.

That Servius divided the nation into 30 local tribes, is not indeed stated by Livy, who only adverts to the 4 city tribes, (I. 43.) Yet when the 21 tribes of the early republic are named, it sufficiently appears that they were local divisions, not unlike our parishes. Whether the officers, who were created on the Sacred Mount, were at once entitled *tribunes*, may be judged uncertain, when it is remembered that *consuls* and *dictators* are called by their own names in the historians from the beginning, although it comes out accidentally that *praetor* and *master of the people* were the original titles. As the five tribunes were chosen "*singuli ex singulis classibus*," (Ascon. in *Ciceronis Cornelianam*,) the original relation of the tribunes may seem to have been rather to the classes than to the tribes. When, fourteen years after the law of Volero, their numbers are made ten, Livy calls them *binì*.

ex singulis classibus, still preserving the primitive idea: and this agrees to their being originally chosen in the *Comitia Centuriata*, as Livy must mean to say. The duty of the tribunes was, to arrest any unequitable judgment or act of the consuls against a plebeian; and (although it is not expressly named by Livy,) we must add,—to carry before the people any appeal, which, in accordance with the Valerian law, an individual plebeian might wish to make. This (I apprehend,) must be Livy's view; for he evidently believes that the Valerian law was intended for the nation at large (*grata in vulgus*, II. 8.) The *populus* to whom an appeal was allowed for the *vulgus*, can have been no other (in Livy's mind, or in fact,) than the *Comitia Centuriata*; and it is evident that as long as only a patrician magistrate had power to bring forward the appeal, or indeed to call the assembly, the Valerian law was liable to be a dead letter to the plebeians. Niebuhr therefore seems rightly to point out this as a primary duty of the tribune; whose interposition certainly was not intended as a shield for the guilty, nor as the verdict of a supreme tribunal, but only to secure for the plebeian an access to the legitimate court.

Now if this be conceded, it is clear that the primitive relation of the tribune was not to the Tribes, (with whom we cannot ascertain that he had any thing at all to do,) but to the classes or centuries; moreover, that until the *tribes* gained the right of receiving an appeal from a magistrate, (as I suspect, by the Valerian Horatian law *de provocazione*,) the tribune must of necessity have had authority to summon the *comitia centuriata* in order to lay appeals before it. And this seems to give us a real clue to the development of the tribune's power.

After, indeed, the law of Volero was carried, the tribune was brought at once into a direct relation with the tribes, as such; nevertheless, a general survey of the narrative appears to me to prove, that until the tribes received legislative power by the revolution which overthrew the Decemvirate, the tribune preserved his right of convoking the centuries for appeals, and struggled for that of originating legislation in them. Beside the function of *auxilium* towards individual plebeians, (which was a sort of *social* administrative duty,) the early tribunes attempted three modes of purely *political* action, which in the eyes of the aristocracy were usurpation and abuse. The first was by impeachment of patricians for offences against the commons

collectively ; the second was by efforts at legislation ; the third was by forbidding the levy of troops. The third involves no difficulty. It was first attempted by Sp. Licinius (Liv. II. 43) ; but so new was the idea of thus perverting the sacrosanct power of auxilium, that his own colleagues stopt his proceedings of themselves ; and the next year, the patricians learned the policy of winning over some of the tribunician college by blandishment, or of influencing the elections.

The first impeachment which is noticed, is that of Coriolanus, by the second college of tribunes : but his whole story is too much wrapt in mystery for criticism. That the military part of it is undeserving of credit, appears to have been irrefragably established by Niebuhr. Are we then to disbelieve the whole, or, stripping off this part, still to hold that a noble patrician did at this time go into exile, when threatened with impeachment by the tribunes ? Unless we knew on unexceptionable evidence *some one* fact, we have, it appears to me, no solid ground to rest on. Before the sacrosanct power had yet been abused, while the memory of the secession was still fresh and alarming, if C. Marcius performed any overt act against the newly established concord of the orders, an impeachment and a voluntary exile are not incredible. But the story imputes to him *words*, not *acts* ; and when so much of it is false, we are not at liberty to mend up the rest. Nor can we mend it at all, except in dependence upon the analogies of the general constitutional history ; hence it will give us no new light on that history, and may here be dropt as otiose. On the whole, it seems far more likely that the idea of his impeachment was borrowed from later events ; and that the tribunes did not gain boldness for such a proceeding, until the strength of their office had been hardened by practice and custom.

After the vain attempt of Sp. Licinius and of his successor Tib. Pontificius to stop the levies, the popular cause did not rally, until Kæso Fabius in his third consulship declared for an agrarian law. The speedy destruction of the Fabii which followed, with the other disasters of the Etrurian invasion, at length aroused public indignation, and united the entire plebs in one opinion and one effort. The consul Menenius was believed to have neglected to succour the Fabii : he was impeached : none of the tribunes could be won over to thwart their col-

leagues. Though he was popular for his father's sake, judgment could not be arrested, at least when the tribunes, who had at first impeached him capitally, commuted the penalty into a moderate fine. Perhaps even the patricians struggled only to save his life; for this, with the fact that he was conscientiously believed guilty, not indeed of treachery but of military misconduct, best explains the mortification of mind which led to his death. But now arises the question: before what tribunal was he impeached?

Niebuhr (vol. II. p. 207,) finds it "incomprehensible that the tribunes should have been able to accuse him before the tribunal of their order for a matter *not* affecting its rights;" and suggests, that he was condemned by the curies. Yet Livy states the patres to have striven for him as zealously as for Coriolanus: the curies therefore would have acquitted him; and to ascribe the judgment to them, is gratuitous opposition to all the authorities. As to the comitia tributa, the thing to me incomprehensible would be, if it could have claimed to try him at all for any thing: and strangest of all, in a case in which it would be at once plaintiff and judge. But, as a fact, his offence *did* affect the rights of the commons; at least on no other ground could the patrons of the commons claim to prosecute it. We admit that antiquity did not look on state-trials as purely judicial; else they could not have allowed the sovereign and legislative assembly to give the verdict. But the comitia tributa seems on every ground here quite out of the question. That body was neither supreme nor legislative, nor recognised at all in the political constitution as yet, if it even existed. Neither by natural equity, nor by statute law, nor by custom, had it any jurisdiction over a patrician consul; and the patres would have shrunk from no extremity of civil war, rather than concede so monstrous an injustice. Moreover, it seems impossible to doubt that *all* the impeachments mentioned in Livy prior to the Decemvirate,—of Coriolanus, of Menenius, of Servilius, of Furius and Manlius, of Appius, of Kæso Quinctius, of Romilius and Veturius,—were supposed by him to be before the same tribunal; and this he calls the *populus*, (II. 54 and 61,) while yet in every narrative he implies or distinctly states the great power of the *plebs* over the verdict. It cannot be proved, and is highly improbable, that he ever uses the word *populus* of the comitia

tributa before¹ it was made a national assembly: so the whole presumption is that Livy meant the centuries, when he spoke of a trial before the “populus” in this part of the history. And equally does this agree with the historical probability. The centuriate assembly, as having elected the consul, had a natural claim to scrutinize his use of the authority with which it had invested him: moreover, its right of entertaining an appeal concerning the life or death of a Roman citizen seemed to lodge in it full power for deciding cases of treason. It judged, as the ἐκκλησία or γερουσία of a Greek state: not with a simple forensic eye, but with a royal prerogative conjoined, so that state-reasons might undoubtedly influence the acquittal of a criminal, or sometimes lead to a severity beyond the law. If it be conceded that the tribune had from the beginning been allowed to convoke the centuries with a view to give auxilium against the consul to *an individual*, in pursuance of the Lex Valeria, it is very intelligible how, in his character of patron of the plebs, the tribune might claim and establish a right to appeal to the centuries when the consul had injured the plebs *collectively*. The postulatio against Menenius might run thus: “Whereas many of the Roman commons have lost their lives, and many more have lost fathers, sons, brothers, husbands, and property lying in the fields, through the wilful neglect of the consul T. Menenius;—we, as patrons of the commonalty, claim that the assembly of the centuries will investigate the proceedings of its officer, will grant to the injured their just vengeance, and hereby protect them from like perfidy in future.” Coriolanus, indeed, and Kæso Quinctius, did not misconduct themselves *as consuls*, and a slight change of the formula would be essential. But the case of the former we must decline to scrutinize: as for Kæso, he had violently endeavoured to disperse the comitia when assembled by the tribune; which was a sufficient plea for his impeachment.

Menenius was sentenced, probably by a conscientious verdict: but however single-minded his judges, the tribunes who assailed him had had a political purpose beneath that of social justice. The two chief prosecutors, Q. Considius and T. Genu-

¹ After the Decemvirate, in III. 63, he manifestly identifies the words: Icelius tulit ad populum de triumpho.—

Omnes tribus eam rogationem acceperunt.

cius, were *auctores agrariæ legis*; and to give weight to their agitation, it was important to terrify the Patres. Having discovered the sharpness of their new weapon in the case of Menenius, they tried it again on Sp. Servilius, the consul under whom the Janiculum had been lost; but his innocence and boldness, with his colleague's testimony, easily gained his acquittal.

This second trial must have produced an intense indignation in the Patres, who now looked on the Tribunes as no longer defenders of the commons, but as men who on opportunity would become legal murderers of the consuls; and this, under the screen of a sacrosanct office. Such a union of the sacred and the criminal was unendurable; terms, they felt, must not be kept with it. Thus the patrician mind began to steel itself for a deed of violence, which alone would teach the tribune to observe his own limits. Accordingly, when, about two years later, the consuls Furius and Manlius, upon quitting office, were impeached by Cn. Genucius on some pretence of an agrarian law, the tribune was secretly assassinated, and the Patres gave out that it was their own deed. They distinctly wished to have it understood that they had no conscience against violating sacrosanct power when so applied.

Zonaras, after Dion Cassius, (*Vat. Frag.* 22,) without giving any detail, merges this transaction in the vague and exaggerated phrase, *λάβρα δὲ συγχοῦς τῶν θρασυτάτων ἐφόνευσαν*. This, however, is only consistent with Dion's tendency to blacken all characters and parties, and represent public virtue as a non-existing thing. It is extraordinary that Niebuhr and Arnold give unhesitating belief to this statement, to say nothing of that concerning the burning of nine tribunes, which Arnold seems disposed to reject. If there had been *numerous* assassinations, Livy must have heard of it; and his comments upon this affair show that he would not have spared the patricians.

The tribunes certainly took warning by the fate of Cn. Genucius, and no longer tried to prostitute criminal trials to purely political purposes. It is true, they afterwards prosecuted Appius Claudius; but his infamously cruel conduct, in decimating his troops after a battle lost perhaps by his own incapacity, must have made every conscience secretly approve of his impeachment. Romilius and Veturius were fined for defrauding the soldiers of their booty, (III. 31.) Kæso Quinctius had made

active assaults on the assembly ; nor could his prosecution be called the immolating of a single patrician victim from hatred of the whole order.—But before proceeding to the laws of Vo-lero, to which the death of Genucius led, we must turn to the first attempts at tribunician legislation.

These follow upon the execution of Sp. Cassius, whom Livy conceives to have promulgated, but not to have carried, his agrarian law. What was the truth concerning this great man, we perhaps shall never know, farther than his becoming a martyr to the cause of the plebs. It cannot be doubted that the patricians were so ashamed of their own deed, as to garble the story ; and if we do not follow Livy closely, we still can only form conjectures as to what is more true. Livy, I say, clearly describes the agrarian law as left imperfect by him ; (II. 41, *Dimidium [captivi agri] plebi divisurus erat. Adiciebat huic muneri, &c. ;*) for before it could be passed, “*popularis jam esse dissuasor et intercessor legis agrariæ cœperat ;*” nor does he know any thing of a *senatusconsultum*, which Dionysius believes to have been used to cheat the people, and for the non-execution of which Furius and Manlius were impeached. In Livy’s view, Sp. Cassius did but bequeath to the commons the *idea* of an agrarian law, which the tribunes presently tried to realize. “*Tribuni plebis*” (says he, II. 42,) “*popularem potestatem lege populari celebrabant ;*” i. e. *tried to* signalize their authority by an agrarian law ; but they were defeated by the opposition of the consuls. It is not said that there was any voting ; and as we shall see that attempts at voting were presently resisted by violence, the probability is, that the tribunes did not venture beyond harangues in favour of an agrarian law. The same remark will apply to the next year, in which Livy says they became ridiculous by boasting of the boon they were going to give ; “*jaetando irritum munus.*” That they were not yet bold enough to attempt legislation themselves, farther appears from Sp. Licinius’s effort, two years later, *to force the consul* to bring in an agrarian bill, by stopping the levies. This method also fails, and as we have noticed, the popular cause languishes till the destruction of the Fabii causes the impeachment of Menenius.

That the harangues in favour of an agrarian law were held by the tribunes in the Centuriate assembly, (perhaps by digressing illegitimately from other business,) may be probably inferred,

first, because Livy has not yet named the assembly of the tribes; next, because the consul would not have been permitted by the tribune to address it in opposition. The consuls Furius and Manlius indeed, (II. 54,) whom Cn. Genucius impeached, appear to have tried to silence the tribune and disperse the people by military force, ("Consules *summa vi* resistunt,) which is not at all likely to have been done, if the tribune had been merely exerting an acknowledged constitutional right of haranguing the tribes. The same remark will in part apply to the patrician resistance against what were no longer harangues, but *rogationes*; viz. those of Volero and of Terentillus Arsa.—In short, in all these instances it is likely to have been the same assembly: now, in the case of Volero, Livy calls it *rogatio ad populum*,² (II. 56,) and speaks of the *populus* as disturbed by Kæso Quinctius, (III. 11;) which, as before observed, must have meant the centuries, and not the tribes, at this period of the history.

Niebuhr indeed, (vol. II. p. 211,) takes for granted that Volero carried his law in the *comitia tributa*. "On this matter," says he, "the commonalty *beyond doubt* were *exclusively* entitled to decide:" but the only reasons given are (*obscurum per obscurius*),—"more especially now that the confirmation of the *Curies* had been done away: to dispute the point was quite scandalous in men who had usurped the power of bestowing the consulship," &c.—But there is no trustworthy evidence that the meeting of the tribes had any constitutional or any *de facto* existence as yet. Livy does not acknowledge it: Zonaras (or Dion? whom Niebuhr makes so much of,) VII. 17, distinctly denies it. To Volero he is understood to ascribe the privilege gained by the plebs to hold political meetings of its own,—καθ' ἑαυτὸ συνιέναι καὶ ἄνευ ἐκείνων βουλευέσθαι καὶ χρηματίζειν πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν ἐθελήσῃ,³ which he calls a law *passed by certain tribunes*. But even if the assembly of the tribes was already accustomed to meet, certainly it had no legislative voice; and how can it be said to be "exclusively entitled" to annul and remake the solemn compacts between the two orders, made at the Sacred Mount?

² At the end of the same chapter, "Patres in *populi* fore potestate," means, the patricians will yield to the wishes of the *Centuriate Assembly*.

³ We have here perhaps a clue to

Dionysius's exaggerated statement of the Publilian laws, noticed above, which he himself calls, τῆς μὲν βουλῆς κατὰ λυσιν φανερὰ, τοῦ δὲ δήμου δυναστεία.

Since it is *primâ facie* certain that all legislation must have come before the centuries, we have to ask how far this presumption fulfils the phenomena of the history.

An objection, I believe, is taken from Livy's words in the same chapter, "Submoveri Lætorius jubet, præterquam qui suffragium ineunt;"⁴ words, which are cited as meaning, "Lætorius bids the patricians to be put out of the assembly, because they were not entitled to vote." But this is not in the Latin. I believe the words to mean, "Lætorius bids his viatores to force the classes or centuries which are not voting to stand out of the way for that which wants to vote." So afterwards, (III. 11,) when the tribunes order the *populus* to divide, the young patricians "se submoveri haud sinebant," and violently impeded the proceedings.

It is evident that Livy was embarrassed as to the ground of the importance of the law of Volero. He first calls it *haud parva res*, as lessening the power of the patricians to influence the election of the tribunes through their clients; but afterwards states that it was *major victoria suscepti certaminis quam usu*. This appears a confession that it made no perceptible difference in the elections, as indeed the course of the history testifies. Was it not an imagination only, that the clients were more powerful in the centuries than in the tribes? an effort, probably, on Livy's part to account for Volero's policy, which was, I suspect, deeper than the historian discerned. Indeed, the "victory" of which he speaks was great, and the precedent of first-rate importance; for it was *the first example of a Tribunician law*. That this was the point which the patricians so intensely resisted, appears more distinctly afterwards in the struggle for the Lex Terentilla, when the tribunes propose a compromise, III. 31. "*Si plebeia leges displicerent, at illi communiter legum latores, et ex Plebe et ex Patribus, sinnerent creari.—Rem non adspernabantur Patres: daturum leges neminem, nisi ex Patribus, aiebant. Quum de legibus conveniret, de latore tantum discreparet, &c.*" This shows that Dionysius is correct in representing that the great enmity of the consul Appius against Volero's law, turned on its being introduced by the tribune, and therefore without a *προ-*

⁴ Becker quotes the passage in proof that the patricians might not vote with the tribes; but this is (over and above)

to assume the very point that we dispute, viz. that this *populus* meant the tribes.

βούλευμα of the senate. Perhaps then we may farther believe his account, that the other consul Quinctius, in dread of popular violence, finally persuaded the senate to remove Appius's difficulty by passing a *senatusconsultum*. But surely the senate would not have allowed such a precedent as legislation by the tribes. The law must, at any rate, have been voted in the centuries; and to invent the notion that it was dealt with in *both* assemblies, is a very gratuitous reconstruction of the narrative.

But what are we to suppose Volero's policy to have been?—It will be remembered that after the murder of Cn. Genucius, the tribunes were for the time panic-struck; but Volero's sagacity taught them new tactics. He saw that to impeach individual consuls, for merely executing the decrees of their whole order, was too cruel and revolting a procedure to succeed, since it only drew out the worst passions of the aristocracy. He saw farther, that the tribune could not expect to be allowed to harangue the centuriate assembly at pleasure, when no business was pending; for the consul would claim a right to break up the meeting, as probably Furius and Manlius had done. Volero, therefore, conceived the design of assembling the plebs by itself, that the tribune might be free from any patrician magistrate's attempts to silence him. In order to carry out his object, he did not directly demand it in its fulness; but he proposed that the plebs should assemble according to tribes, in order to elect its own officers. He foresaw, (it would seem,) that when once the principle had been established that the tribune had a right to summon the plebs for elections, and, of course, to harangue them at such times, it would prove impossible for the patricians to resist the claim of the tribune to address his constituents as often as he pleased. But whether, as Zonaras may be thought to say, in the second year of the struggle, this right of holding public meetings was added to the Publilian laws, and enacted formally, or whether the right was merely won by use, must here be left undecided. It may seem that the assembly of centuries became less interesting to the plebs from the time that they earned leave to meet in tribes; and the consular elections were more neglected by them than ever since the death of Sp. Cassius. Nevertheless, consuls arose who saw that an agrarian law was needful, and the colony to Antium was given as an instalment.

When the *Lex Terentilla* was next resisted by violence, on the same ground (as we have seen) that a tribune had no right to originate legislation, a singular episode took place in the seizure of the Capitol, which united the more reasonable of both parties against the common foe, and a moderate *senatusconsultum*, "*ne tribuni legem eo anno ferrent*," (III. 21,) virtually acknowledged that in other years it would not be inadmissible. The year after, when the tribunes renew their proposals of the law, the prefect of the city prevails on them to delay it "till the consuls' return," (III. 24); which is a new indication that the proceedings went on in the *centuriata*, since the consuls could not have interfered with mere resolutions passed in the *tributa*.⁵ But in fact, who would call the proposal of such invalid resolutions, *legem ferre*? Surely, unless we imagine the *comitia tributa* to have been already a legislative body equivalent to the *centuriata*, every notice of these matters refutes Niebuhr's idea. It avails nothing to say with Arnold, that the resolution of the tribes was at present a mere "petition," (called *Legis Latio*!) and that the *curies* and senate gave the *true* legislative authority to the bill; for this is to do away with the centuries entirely. The *curies* and the senate united, from the time of *Servius*, had no legislative power without the centuries; in fact, if the centuries had not had it before the *Decemvirate*, they would never have gained it at all, but the tribes would entirely have superseded them.

Dionysius has the merit of preserving for us the procedure used in the struggle for the *Lex Icilia*, (concerning which *Livy* has only the dry words, *De Aventino publicando lata lex est*); and although his details seem to be exaggerated, it is impossible to doubt the outline of his account, which admirably combines with the series of events, as told in *Livy*. The tribunes had always been foiled in their attempts to originate legislation in the centuries, except in the case of the *Publilian laws*, which were carried by terrifying the senate. *Sp. Licinius* and others, by stopping the levies, had not succeeded in forcing the consuls to legislate, except in the compact to increase the number of

⁵ Perhaps this is still more pointedly brought out in ch. 9, *quum timerent Patres, ne, absentibus consulibus, jugum acciperent*, &c., &c. How plain also, that a refusal of the sanction of the *Curie* was not dreamed of as possible!

tribunes. Icilius now originated the idea of claiming that the consuls should present his petition to the senate in the name of the commons, and demand of it a preliminary approval. He was successful: the bill was brought in, and passed: and thenceforth, it seems, the tribunes began to get access to the senate, though by sufferance only, like our reporters for the press.—This is instructive, as showing how little the rights of the tribunes were provided for at first by definite enactment. If they bring in a bill before the centuries, it would be as vain to infer that that power must have been formally guaranteed to them by statute, as in the very similar case of forcing their bill on the senate's attention.

Perhaps the most startling prerogative of the tribune is, that of applying to public business of every kind the Veto, which was intended to operate only against the execution of a consular sentence. Two sources of this strange power may be discerned: the one, is their ability to thwart the consular right of levying troops; (by help of which, Liv. iv. 30, the tribunes vindicate for the centuries, against the senate, the authority to make war;) the other, which does not appear to be observed, but may have been the more important engine, was that of *pre-occupying the assembly*. The first instance of this, I believe, is in Liv. iii. 10; where the consul L. Lucretius is unable to carry the bill for his triumph, (of course in the centuriata, as the tribes as yet had no national authority,) because the tribune was pleading for the Lex Terentilla; and at last gave way only in courtesy. Equally might the tribunes introduce sham business in order to obstruct, as soon as it was conceded that they, as representatives of the commons, had a prior claim on the assembly. We have here, in passing, one more confirmation of our belief, that the tribune, before the Decemvirate, brought in his laws to the centuries: for if Livy had meant that the consul could not hold the *centuries* because the tribune had occupied the *plebs* in the *comitia tributa*, we might expect him to express this more distinctly.

One and only one circumstance may withhold us from saying that Livy consciously and consistently regarded the early tribunes as concerned (in legislation and in impeachments,) with the centuries; which is, that he occasionally names the *forum* as the scene of action. Thus, ii. 56, in the Publilian struggle,

“concursum hominum in forum”—“collegam de foro abducerent.” If we must call this carelessness, it will a little weaken our argument drawn from his use of the word *populus*. Still, the entire stress of testimony and of reasoning is on the side here advocated; nor ought we perhaps to be very certain that in early times the centuries necessarily met in the Campus Martius, for laws as well as for elections.⁶

If it be correct, that the tribune was originally an officer of the classes, it is improbable that he can primitively have been called *Tribunus*; and this becomes impossible, if there was no assembly of the tribes until after the law of Volero. But what may have been his earlier title? We may conjecture that it was *Patronus Plebis*; which is shadowed out in the words of the dictator Valerius, (Liv. II. 31,) where the historian is prophesying of the tribunes: “Optabitis, me *Dius Fidius*, prope diem, ut mei similes Romana plebes Patronos habeat.” That no notice is on record that the tribune was not so named from the beginning, may be thought adverse to the theory here maintained; yet it must be remembered that, without Varro and Festus, no one could have guessed from Livy’s obscure phrase, (II. 18, *moderatorem ac magistrum consulibus appositum*,) that the dictator was originally called *Magister Populi*; which we now see is probably alluded to.

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⁶ In Cicero’s first letter to Atticus, (of the common edit.) it appears that the tribunician elections were held in the Campus: which, however, may perhaps be accounted for.

XVIII.

COMMENTARIES ON, AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF, THE
ENEIS OF VIRGIL.—(*Continued.*)

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PART III.—COMPREHENDING THE FIRST 250 LINES OF BOOK II.

V. 3. *Infandum regina jubes renovare dolorem*, &c.—Dante's charming lines,—

“Nessun maggior dolore,
 Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
 Nella miseria, e cio sa 'l tuo dottore.
 Ma s' a conoscer la prima radice
 Del nostro amor tu hai cotanto affetto,
 Farò come colui che piange e dice.”

Inferno, v. 121.—

are a translation of, and, if I may venture so to say, an improvement on, the introductory verses of the Second Book of the Eneis. The poet, who imagines himself visiting the infernal regions in the company, and under the guidance, of the shade of Virgil, meets Francesca di Rimini, and inquires of her in terms parallel to Dido's inquiry of Eneas, (i. 753),—

“Ma dimmi; al tempo de' dolci sospiri,
 A che e come concedette amore,
 Che conosceste i dubbiosi desiri?”

To which she replies in the above-quoted lines, “Nessun maggior dolore, E cio sa 'l tuo dottore;” 'l tuo dottore, viz. Virgil, who was standing by at the very moment in the capacity of Dante's guide and instructor, and who knew well how great a pain it is to remember in affliction times of past prosperity, having himself so pathetically expressed that sentiment in his famous commencement of the Second Book of the Eneis, “*Infandum regina jubes*,” &c. Francesca then proceeds, almost in the identical terms of Eneas's reply to Dido,—

“ Ma s' a conoscer la prima radice
 Del nostro amor tu hai cotanto affetto,
 (Sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros, &c.)
 Faro come colui che piange e dice.”

I will do as Eneas did, and weeping tell you the whole story :

(Quis talia fando
 Temperet a lacrymis
 Incipiam.)

It seems unaccountable that the plain reference to Virgil's shade in the words “ e cio sa 'l tuo dottore,” (see no less than two applications of the term *dottore* to Virgil in the 21st Canto of the Purgatory ; and compare the exactly corresponding reference to Cato in the exactly corresponding words, “ Come sa chi per lei vita rifiuta,”—*Il Purgat.* l. 72), and to the Virgilian “ Infandum regina jubes,” &c., in “ Nessun maggior dolore,” should not have been perceived by Dante's commentators ; two of the best of whom (Venturi and Biagioli) understand “ 'l tuo dottore” to mean Boëtius, and “ Nessun maggior dolore,” &c., to be a versification of a sentiment which they have found in that philosopher's treatise, *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* ; whilst a third, (Lombardi,) although correctly referring “ 'l suo dottore” to Virgil's shade, spoils the whole passage by assigning as the reason of Francesca's special appeal to Virgil's shade, to confirm the truth of the sentiment, “ Nessun maggior dolore,” &c., that Virgil's shade being, as well as herself, an inhabitant of the infernal regions, had had like experience with herself of the truth of that sentiment ; “ Trovandosi anch' egli (viz. Virgilio) nella miseria dell' infernale carcere.” Beautiful indeed must those lines be, which, even thus distorted and shorn of half their fine sense and excellence, have yet always been, and still are, quoted as the most beautiful of all the lines of that most beautiful of all the stories in the wonderful work of Virgil's greatest imitator and admirer.

V. 3.**Infandum dolorem.*—The translators (with the exception of Dryden and Sir J. Denham, who never even so much as attempt the true meaning of any of Virgil's words), agree in rendering *infandus*, *ineffable*, *that cannot be told* : “ untellible” (Douglas) ; “ cannot be told” (Surrey) ; “ past utterance severe” (Beresford) ; “ unausprechlichen” (Voss). So also Forbiger, in his note on the passage ; “ *Qui tantus est ut verbis exprimi non possit.*” A very slight observation, however, of

Virgil's use of the word in other places, as for instance, *En.* i. 251; ii. 132; iv. 85 and 613, is sufficient to show that its meaning is not *ineffable* or *that cannot be told*, but primarily (and according to the proper force of the participle in *du*), that *should not, must not be told*, and therefore, secondarily, *horrible*. So Richardson, in his excellent dictionary, "*Infandous* [Lat. *Infandus*], That ought not to be spoken; too dreadful to be spoken." And such is Howell's use of the word (quoted by Richardson). "This *infandous* custom of swearing, I observe, reigns in England lately, more than any where else." The wide difference between *infandous* and *ineffable* will be manifest on the substitution of *ineffable* for *infandous* in this sentence.

The Spanish and Italian translators have not fallen into this error:

"La horrible historia y el dolor infando."

Velasco.

"Dogliosa istoria,

E d'amara e d'orribil rimembranza."

Caro.

V. 5. *Quæque ipse miserrima vidi*, &c.—*Quæque* is epexegetic and limitative; the meaning of Eneas being, not that he will describe the taking of Troy, *and* the miseries he had himself witnessed, but that he will describe *so much* of the taking of Troy, and its miseries, *as* he had himself witnessed.

The view thus suggested by the grammatical structure of the introductory sentence, is confirmed by the narrative itself; for Eneas, having briefly mentioned the building of the wooden horse, and the concealment of the Grecian navy at Tenedos, immediately proceeds to say, that he was one of those who issued out of the gates rejoicing, as soon as the news of the departure of the Greeks was bruited abroad; that he saw the horse, and was present at the argument respecting what should be done with it; that he saw Laocoon fling his spear against it, and heard it sound hollow; that his attention was drawn off by the sudden appearance of Sinon, of the whole of whose story he was an ear-witness; that he was one of those who agreed to spare Sinon's life; that he saw the two serpents come across the sea, and destroy Laocoon and his two sons; that he assisted to break down the wall in order to admit the horse into the city; that Hector appeared to him in a dream, and informed him that the city was on fire and could not be saved,—advised

him to fly, and committed the Penates to his charge ; that on awaking he saw, from the roof of the house, the city in flames ; that, flying to arms, he met Pantheus, the priest of Apollo, escaping from the citadel, with his gods' images and the other sacred objects of his religion ; that Pantheus informed him that armed men were pouring out of the horse, that Sinon was a traitor and had fired the city, and that the whole Grecian army was entering at the gates ; that he united himself with a few friends whom he happened to meet, and falling in with Androgeos, and a party of Greeks, they slew them every one, and clothed themselves with their spoils ; that, thus disguised, they for a while carried terror and death every where, but at length, in attempting to rescue Cassandra from a party who were dragging her from the temple, were discovered to be Trojans, and attacked by the Greeks, while the Trojans, taking them for Greeks, overwhelmed them with missiles from the top of the temple ; that, the greater number of his party having thus perished, he, with the small remainder, was attracted by the tumult to Priam's palace, from the roof of which he beheld the door forced, the building set on fire, the women and the aged king driven for shelter to an altar in an interior court, and the king himself slain at the altar in the blood of his son ; that, his companions having leaped in despair to the ground, or given themselves up to the flames, he was left alone ; that, descending and happening to see Helen where she was hiding, he was about to sacrifice her to the Manes of his country, when his arm was stayed by Venus, who commanded him to seek out his aged parent and his wife and child, and with them fly instantly from Troy ; and who, at the same time taking off the veil which clouded his mortal vision, showed him the gods actively and personally engaged in the destruction of the city ; that, having returned to his father's house, he saw the encouraging omens of an apex of fire on the head of Iulus, and a star shooting in the direction of Ida ; that he escaped out of the city bearing his father on his shoulders, and leading Iulus by the hand ; that Creusa, following behind, was lost on the road ; that, returning to seek her, he found his father's house filled with Greeks, and on fire ; that, extending his search every where, he returned to the citadel, and saw Phenix and Ulysses guarding captives and booty in the temple of Juno ; that, as he called aloud upon Creusa through the streets and houses, her

shade presented itself, and informing him that she was provided for by the mother of the gods, enjoined him to abandon all search for her, and proceed upon his divine mission to found a new empire in Hesperia, where another, and a royal, spouse awaited him; that accordingly he returned to the place where he had concealed his father and son and domestics, and found there a great number of fugitives from the burning city, collected, and prepared to share his fortunes; and that with them and his father and son, he bade adieu for ever to Troy, and made good his retreat to the mountains.

Nothing can be plainer than that this is a mere *personal* narrative of one of the principal sufferers; every circumstance related, with the single exception of the concealment of the Grecian fleet at Tenedos, having been witnessed by the relator, or heard by him on the spot from Pantheus or Sinon. This is, I think, a sufficient answer to those critics who have objected to Virgil's account of the taking of Troy, that it is by no means a full, complete, and strategical account of the taking of a great city; that many circumstances which may be supposed to have happened, and which indeed must have happened on such an occasion, have been either wholly omitted or left unexplained; and that, in short, Virgil, in his second book of the *Æneis*, has evinced his infinite inferiority in strategical science to his great prototype and master, Homer. Many such objections have been urged from time to time by various critics; and, amongst others, by a celebrated personage, whose opinion on any matter connected with military tactics must be received with the greatest deference, I mean the Emperor Napoleon, whose observations on this subject are to be found in a volume published after his death under the following title: *Précis des Guerres de César, par Napoléon; écrit par M. Marchand, à l'île Sainte Hélène, sous la dictée de l'Empereur; suivi de plusieurs fragmens inédits.* Paris, 1836. 1 vol. 8vo.

It is not my intention to enter into a detailed examination or refutation of all Napoleon's objections, (although I shall probably in the course of these notes have occasion to refer specially to more than one of them,) but simply to state that the whole of his critique is founded on the assumption that Virgil intended to give, or ought to have given, such a full and complete account of the taking of Troy as was given by Homer of the operations before its walls; such an account as might have

been given by an historian, or laid before a directory by a commander-in-chief. On the contrary, it is to be borne carefully in mind, that, Homer's subject being the misfortunes brought by the wrath of Achilles upon the army besieging Troy, that poet could scarcely have given too particular or strategical an account of all that happened before the Trojan walls; while, Virgil's subject being the adventures and fortunes of one man, (as sufficiently evidenced by the very title and exordium of his work,) the taking of Troy was to be treated of, only so far as connected with the personal history of that hero. Virgil, therefore, with his usual judgment, introduces the taking of Troy, not as a part of the action of his poem, but as an episode; and, still more effectually to prevent the attention from being too much drawn away from his hero, and too much fixed upon that great and spirit-stirring event, puts the account of it into the mouth of the hero himself, whom, with the most wonderful art, he represents either as a spectator or actor in so many of the incidents of that memorable night, that on the one hand the account of those incidents is the history of the adventures of his hero, and on the other, the adventures of his hero form a rapid précis of the taking of Troy.

Even if it had been otherwise consistent with the plan of the *Eneis* to have given a full and complete account of the taking of Troy, and to have described, for instance, (as required by Napoleon,) how the other Trojan chiefs, signalised in the *Iliad*, were occupied during that fatal night, and how each defended his own quarter of the city with the troops under his command, such a full account must necessarily, either have rendered Eneas's narrative too long to have been delivered *inter mensas laticemque Lyæum*; or, to make room for that additional matter, some part of the present story should have been left out; and then, I ask, which of the incidents would the reader be satisfied should have been omitted?—that of Laocoon, the unceasing theme and admiration of all ages, that shuddering picture of a religious prodigy?—that of Sinon, on which the whole plot hangs?—that of the vision, of the inimitable *Tempus erat, the mæstissimus Hector*?—that of the Priameian priestess, *Ad cælum tendens ardentia lumina frustra, Lumina nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas*?—that of Neoptolemus blazing in burnished brass, *Qualis ubi in lucem coluber*?—or Hecuba and her daughters flying to the sheltering altar, *Præcipites atrâ ceu*

tempestate columbæ?—or the good old king, cased in the long-unused armour, and slipping and slain in his Polites' blood?—or Venus staying her son's hand, lifted in vengeance against the fatal spring of all these sorrows?—or the innoxious flame which, playing about the temples of Iulus, foreshowed him the father of a line of kings?—or the *ter frustra comprehensa imago* of the for ever lost Creusa? Which of all these passages should have been omitted, to make room for the additional matter required by the imperial critic? What reader will consent to give up one, even one, of these most precious pearls, these conspicuous stars in, perhaps, the most brilliant coronet that ever graced a poet's brow? And even if the reader's assent were gained; if he were content with less of Eneas, and more of the other Homeric Trojans; with less of the romance, and more of the art, of war; would such an account have been equally interesting to the assembled guests and the love-caught queen? How coldly would a story in which Eneas played a subordinate part have fallen upon Dido's ear? How would not her thought have wandered from the thing told, to the teller? There was but one way to guard against the double danger, that Dido would forget the story in thinking of Eneas, and that the reader would forget Eneas in thinking of the story; and Virgil adopted that way—he made Eneas speak of himself—*quæque ipse miserrima vidi, Et quorum pars magna fui*. With what effect he spoke, we learn in the beginning of the fourth book—*hærent infixi pectore vultus Verbaque*, and Dido herself testifies; *Heu, quibus ille Jactatus fatis! quæ bella exhausta canebat!* Or, in the words of another great master of the human heart,—

“ His story being done,
 She gave him for his pains, a world of sighs :
 She swore—in faith 'twas strange, 'twas passing strange ;
 'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful ;
 She wished she had not heard it ; yet she wished
 That heaven had made her such a man ; she thanked him,
 And bade him, if he had a friend that loved her,
 He should but teach him how to tell his story,
 And that would woo her.”

But let us suppose that the modern commander is right, and the great ancient poet and philosopher wrong: that the error lies not in Napoleon's total misconception, not only of Virgil's

general scope and design, but of his meaning in the plainest passages, (as, for instance, in the account of the situation of Anchises' house, and of the number of men contained in the horse); let us suppose, I say, that the error lies not in Napoleon's misconception of the poet, but in the poet's ignorance of heroic warfare; and that the episode does, indeed, sin against military tactique; (but see note, v. 604); yet where, in the whole compass of poetry, is there such another episode? so many heart-stirring incidents grouped together, representing in one vivid picture the fall of the most celebrated city in the world, and at the same time, and *pari passu*, the fortunes of one of the most famous heroes of all antiquity, the son of Venus, the ancestor of Augustus, the first founder of Imperial Rome? spoken, too, by the hero himself, at a magnificent banquet, and in presence not only of the princes of his own nation, (the partners of his sufferings, and the witnesses of the truth of all he related,) but of the whole Carthaginian court, and at the request of the young and artless queen, who, already admiring his god-like person and beauty, lost her heart more and more at every word he uttered; at every turn of griefs, which,

“ — so lively shown,
Made her think upon her own.”

Alas, alas, for the cold-blooded criticism which could detect, or, having detected, could dwell upon, errors of military tactique in this flood of living poetry; which would chain the poet with the fetters of the historian; which, frigid and unmoved, could occupy itself with the observation of cracks and flaws in the scenic plaster, while the most magnificent drama ever presented to enraptured audience was being enacted!

V. 13. *Incipiam*.—I may perhaps be accused of drawing too nice a distinction, yet I am inclined to think that *incipiam* here means not to *begin*, but to *undertake* or *take in hand*;—

1st, Because although it might, strictly speaking, be quite correct for Virgil, having just stated (v. 2) that Eneas *began* to speak (*orsus*) with the words *Infandum, regina, jubes*, &c., to cause Eneas almost instantly afterwards to say that he *began* his story with the words *Fracti bello*, &c.; yet it would be highly unpoetical, and evince a barrenness of thought and expression, quite foreign to Virgil.

2dly, Because it is evidently the intention of Eneas not merely to *begin*, but briefly to tell the *whole* story.

3dly, Because the very word *begin* involves the idea of a long story, and thus, however true in point of fact, contradicts the intention expressed by *breviter* (v. 11).

I, therefore, understand *incipiam* to be here used (as in En. x. 876,) in its primary and etymological meaning of undertaking, taking in hand, [*in capio*]; so understood, it harmonises with *orsus*, with Eneas's intention of telling the whole story, with *breviter*, and with the immediately preceding words, *Quanquam animus meminisse horret*, &c. Compare *Disserere incipiam*, Lucr. l. 50; not *begin* or *commence*, but *undertake*, *take in hand*, to discuss.—That our own English *begin* had originally and primarily a similar signification, and meant not to *commence*, but to *undertake*, appears both from its German origin (viz. *Beginnen*, to undertake—

“Er würde Freiheit mir und Leben kosten,
Und sein verwegenes *Beginnen* nur
Beschleunigen.”—Schiller, *Die Piccolom.* l. 3.);

and from the use made of the term, not only by the earliest English writers,

(“That Eneas *bigan* hys ofspring to Lumbardie first bring.”

Robert of Gloucester),

but by Milton, no mean part of the excellence of whose poetry consists in the frequent employment of ordinary and current terms in primitive and obsolete, and therefore extraordinary meanings:

“If he aught *begin*,
How frequent to desert him, and at last
To heap ingratitude on worthiest deeds.”

Sams. Agon. 274.

V. 14. *Tot jam labentibus annis*.—The translators refer *labentibus* to the dim and faded past, instead of the vivid and continuing present; for instance, Surrey:

“All irked with the war,
Wherein they wasted had so many years.”

And Phaer:

“Whan all in vaine so many yeeres had past.”

Yet the present and continuing force of *labentibus* is doubly evident; because the verb *labor* expresses a continuing action, and the present participle a continuing time. It is this continuing sense (observed, with his usual acumen, by Wagner, *Quest.*

Virg. XXIX. 1,) which constitutes the poetical beauty of the passage before us, as well as of Horace's exquisite

"Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,

Labuntur anni."

Dryden, according to his custom, blinks the meaning altogether.

V. 15. *Divinâ Palladis arte*.—Of the deities favourable to the Greeks, Pallas is, with peculiar propriety, selected to instruct or assist them in building the horse; because, in the heathen mythology, every work of remarkable ingenuity (*e. g.* the building of the ship *Argo*, *Valer. Flacc. Argon.* L. 1.; the construction of the first flute, *Mart. viii.* 51,) was ascribed to Pallas, as the inventress of the arts.

V. 15. *Instar montis equum*.—Even in more modern times, cities have been sometimes taken by a similar artifice; for instance, Breda in Holland, in the year 1590, by means of soldiers concealed under turf in a turf-boat, and so introduced into the city; and Luna in Italy, by means of soldiers performing the part of mourners, priests, &c. at the pretended funeral of Hasting.

"Le maitre cler cante l'office,

.

Le eveque canta la messe,

Des Paenz fu la turbe epesse," &c.—

Roman de Rou, 687.

V. 18. *Huc delecta virum*, &c.—Let not the too prosaic reader, interpreting this sentence according to its literal structure, suppose it to mean that, besides the *delecta virum corpora*, which were inclosed in the hollow sides of the horse, the vast caverns of its womb were filled with armed soldiers; or, in other words, that a considerable vacancy, remaining after the selected chiefs were inclosed, was filled up with a large body of common soldiers. On the contrary, the latter clause of the sentence is only explanatory of the former; *armato milite* informing us that the *delecta virum corpora* were armed warriors; *cavernas Ingentes uterumque*, that by *cæco lateri* was meant the whole interior cavity, or chamber, of the statue; and *complant*, that the cavity was completely filled by the persons who were inclosed.

The correctness of this explanation cannot be doubted; 1st, Because it renders a passage, which, as commonly understood, is sufficiently prosaic and mediocre, highly poetical. 2dly, Because it is according to Virgil's usual habit (see comment. *En.*

I. 496; II. 51,) of presenting in the first clause of his sentence no more than the sketch, or skeleton, of his idea, and then, in the subsequent clause, filling it up and clothing it with flesh and life; and 3dly, Because it afterwards appears (v. 260 *et seq.*) that the horse contained only nine persons.

I may add, that I understand the words *delecta virum sortiti corpora* to be equivalent to *delecta ipsorum sortiti corpora*, because *sortiti* is predicated of *ductores Danaum*, and we find at v. 260 *et seq.* that the *delecta corpora* were of the number of those who were properly comprehended under the term *ductores Danaum*.

Error being fruitful of error, the received erroneous interpretation of this passage has produced the Emperor Napoleon's erroneous criticism (see his essay quoted in comment. v. 5,) that the wooden horse, containing so great a number of men, could not have been brought up to the walls of Troy in so short a space of time as is implied in the account given by Virgil. "En supposant," says the Emperor, "que ce cheval contient seulement cent guerriers, il devait être d'un poids énorme, et il n'est pas probable qu'il ait pu être mené du bord de la mer sous les murs d'Ilion en un jour, ayant surtout deux rivières à traverser." The objection falls to the ground with the erroneous interpretation on which it is founded. See comment. *En.* II. 299.

V. 30. *Classibus hic locus*.—In this passage Virgil, according to his custom, (see comment. *En.* I. 496; II. 18 and 51,) presents us first (v. 27, 28,) with the general idea, the deserted appearance of the places lately occupied by the Greeks; and then (v. 29, 30,) supplies the particulars, in the words of the Trojans pointing out to each other the various localities.

The reader, however, must not be misled by the words *Classibus hic locus* to suppose that there was a place set apart for the ships. Innumerable passages in the *Iliad*, and especially the account of the battle at the ships, (*Iliad*, XIII.) render it perfectly clear that, the ships being drawn up on the shore, the tents were erected beside and amongst them; the ships and tents of one nation forming one group, those of another nation another group, and those of a third nation a third group; and so on, along the entire line of shore occupied by the encampment. *Classibus* means therefore, not *the ships*, as *contra-distinguished from the tents*, but *the ships taken together with their dependencies, the tents*; or in other words, it means *the Grecian encampment*,

called *classes* by Virgil, and *ἀνὰ νηῆς* by Homer, from its most important, and, especially from a distance, most conspicuous part, *the ships*.

Not only Dryden, but many of the other translators, render *Classibus hic locus*, "here the navy rode," with what understanding of the *Iliad*, or of ancient naval expeditions, (see *En.* III. 71; IX. 69, 70,) or of the Grecian encampment, and mode of warfare, at Troy, and especially of the battle at the ships, let the reader judge.

V. 34. *Seu jam Trojæ sic fata ferebant.*—*Jam*; now at last, after so many years of obstinate defence.

V. 37. *Subjectisque urere flammis.*—The advice of Capys consists of two alternatives; either to destroy the horse, (by fire or water as they might prefer,) or to explore its contents. The copulative *que* is used to connect together the two parts of which the first alternative consists. The English language does not admit of a similar structure.

V. 43. *Aut ulla putatis Dona carere dolis Danaum?*—Admirably translated by Schiller:—

"Ein griechisches Geschenk und kein Betrug verborgen?"

Such masterly touches, promissory of the future splendour of Schiller's genius, occur every now and then in his *Freie Uebersetzung* of the 2d and 4th books of the *Eneis*; which is, however, on the whole, an inferior production, evincing not merely immaturity of poetical power, but a considerable want of perception of the delicacies of Virgil's expressions, and even some ignorance of the Latin language.

V. 49. *Timeo Danaos etiam dona ferentes.*—In this so oft-quoted sentiment there is nothing new except its application to the Danai; *Ἐχθρὸν ἀδωρὰ δῶρα καὶ οὐκ ἀντίστυμα* was a proverb even in the days of Sophocles. See *Ajax Flagellif.* 673.

V. 50. *Validis ingentem viribus*, &c.—The great size of the spear, and the force with which it is hurled, are not matters of indifference, but absolutely necessary to the production, on the huge mass of which the horse consisted, of the considerable effect described by the words

"Uteroque recusso,

Insonuere cavæ gemitumque dedere cavernæ."

Of the five terms most frequently used by Virgil to express the casting of a spear, viz. *jacio*, *conjicio*, *torqueo*, *intorqueo*, and

contorqueo, the two first are the weakest, and signify ;—*jacio*, simply to throw ; *conjicio*, to throw with the collected force of the individual, which, however, needs not be great, for the term is applied, v. 545, to Priam throwing his *imbelle telum sine ictu*. The three latter signify to hurl ; *torqueo*, simply to hurl ; *intorqueo*, to hurl forcibly : *contorqueo*, with all the collected strength of a powerfully strong man ; *con*, when applied in composition to the act of *one*, being no less intensive than when applied to that of a number of individuals ; in the former case, indicating that the act is the result of the whole collected power of the one, in the latter that it is the result of the collected power of the several individuals concerned.

Impello, although interpreted by Heyne in his gloss on *En.* i. v. 82, *intorqueo*, *immitto*, is neither there, nor anywhere else, used in that sense, but always in the sense of pushing ; either physically pushing, as in the passage just quoted (see comment. *En.* i. 81 ; see also *En.* vii. 621 ; viii. 239, &c.) ; or metaphorically pushing, as *En.* i. 11 ; ii. 55, 520, &c.

V. 51. *In latus, inque feri curvam compagibus alvum*.—*In alvum* is not, as maintained by Thiel, and after him by Forbiger, into the *alvus* ; 1st, Because there is much harshness in interpreting the *in* before *alvum*, so very differently from the *in* before *latus*, of which it is the mere repetition. 2dly, Because the word *recusso*, v. 52, plainly implies that the interior of the horse was only *concussed*, not *perforated*. 3dly, Because the expression *ferro fœdare*, v. 55, almost expresses that the interior had not been previously *fœdata ferro*. 4thly, Because the words *tergo intorserit*, v. 231, limit the lesion made by the *cuspis*, v. 230, to the *tergum*, a term never applied except to the exterior of the body. For all these reasons I reject Thiel's interpretation, and understanding (with Wagner,) *que* to be taken epexegetically (see comment. *En.* i. 496 ; ii. 18,) render the passage, *against that part of the side, which was the alvus or belly*. Thus the precise position of the wound is determined to have been in the hinder part of the side, corresponding to the cavity of the belly, not of the chest ; and in the lateral part of the belly, not the under part. Virgil chooses this position for the wound, with great propriety, because the portion of the horse's side corresponding to the belly, being much larger than that corresponding to the chest, not only afforded a better mark to

Laocoon, but was precisely the part where the enclosed persons were principally situated.

V. 53. *Insonuere cavæ, gemitumque dedere cavernæ.*—Not *cavæ cavernæ insonuere*, but *cavernæ insonuere cavæ*: *que* is epexegetic, and the meaning is, not that *the hollow caverns both sounded and groaned*, but that *the caverns sounded hollow, and their hollow sound was like a groan*. See comment. II. 552. The editors, not understanding the structure, have omitted to place a comma at *cavæ*.

V. 60. *Hoc ipsum ut strueret, Trojamque aperiret Achivis.*—*Que* is here epexegetic (see comment. *En.* I. 496; II. 18); and the meaning is, *that he might effect this very thing, and so open a way for the Greeks into Troy*; *aperiret* being taken not in the sense of opening a door (“and open Troy’s gates unto the Greeks.” Surrey,) but in its equally usual sense, of opening a way or means, or clearing a passage, as *En.* x. 13 and 864. Accordingly Sinon *aperit Trojam Achivis*, 1st, *Struendo hoc ipsum*, viz., by telling so plausible a story as to induce the Trojans to take both himself and the horse into the city; and, 2dly, By letting his confederates out of the horse during the night. Virgil has not informed us whether it was Sinon himself, or some of those confederates, who actually opened the city gates; and from this circumstance alone (independently of the argument derivable from the more elegant structure and the more poetic meaning,) we might safely infer that Virgil did not use the word *aperiret* in the sense ascribed to it by Surrey.

V. 65. *Danaum insidias.*—These words are plainly repeated from Dido’s request to Eneas, *En.* I. 754.

V. 67. *Inermis.*—As *arma* means not merely *weapons*, whether *offensive or defensive*, but *all kinds and means of offence or defence*, so its compound *inermis* means not merely *without weapons*, but *without any means of offence or defence*; *helpless, defenceless*. The latter is the sense in which I think it is used in the passage before us; because, 1st, It is not to be supposed that Virgil, having told us that Sinon was a prisoner, with his hands bound behind his back, would think it necessary to inform us almost instantly afterwards that he was *unarmed or without weapons*. And, 2dly, Because, even if Sinon had not been bound, weapons could have been of no avail to him against the *agmina* by whom he was surrounded, and therefore the want of them made no real difference in his condition, and could not have been as-

signed, even by poetical implication, as a reason for his emotion or conduct. It is in this strong sense of *utterly without means of offence or defence*, and not in its literal sense of *weaponless*, that *inermes* is to be understood also in *Tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermes*, *En.* i. 487; because, although it might have contributed to the pathos of the picture, to have represented a *young* warrior's hands as stretched out *weaponless*, it could have had no such effect to have so represented the hands of Priam, who was so old as to be unable to wield weapons, and was equally *inermis*, (*helpless and defenceless*,) whether he had arms in his hands or not. See *En.* ii. 509, 510, *et seq.*

The same meaning follows *inermis* into the Italian:

"I semplici fanciulli, e i vecchi *inermi*,
E'l volgo delle donne sbiggottite."

Gerus. Liber. iii. 2.

V. 76. *Depositâ tandem formidine*.—I cannot agree with Heinsius and Brunck that this verse is objectionable, much less that it should be expunged, on the ground that it attributes *fear* to Sinon, whom Virgil but a few lines previously has represented as *fidens animi, atque paratus*, &c. Neither do I plead in its defence, with Heyne and some other commentators, that Sinon first *pretends* to be agitated with fear (*turbatus*), and then *pretends* to lay his fear aside, "fingit Sinon et hoc, quasi deposuerit formidinem." Heyne. On the contrary, I think that Virgil, having represented Sinon as entering upon the execution of his plot with boldness and confidence, represents him as really *turbatus*, (*agitated and frightened*,) when he comes to be actually confronted with the danger, and then as really recovering from his agitation when he finds that the immediate danger is over, and that the Trojans, instead of putting him to death instantly on the spot, are willing to hear what he has to say.

Turbatus means *really* agitated, and *depositâ formidine*, *really* recovering self-possession, because, 1st, If Virgil had intended to express by these words only simulated emotion, it cannot be doubted that he would have afforded some clue by which his intention might have been discovered; but he has not only not afforded any such clue, but has actually assigned sufficient cause for real emotion; Sinon is *turbatus*, because he stands *inermis* in the midst of the *Phrygia agmina*; and, *depositâ formidine fatur*, because *conversi animi, compressus et omnis Im-*

petus. 2dly, If the words mean only simulated emotion, then Virgil represents Sinon as of such heroic constancy and resolution as to look upon instant violent death without blenching; which is to hold him up, for so far at least, as an object of respect, and even of admiration, to Eneas's hearers as well as to Virgil's readers, and thus to contradict the intention (evidenced by the terms *dolis, arte, insidiis, crimine, scelerum tantorum, perjuri*,) of representing him as a mean-minded man entering upon a dishonourable and dangerous enterprise, with an audacious confidence (*fidens animi, atque paratus, &c.*,) in his own cunning and duplicity. 3dly, It is altogether unlikely that Virgil should here employ to express *simulated*, the very same words which he employs, *En. III. 612*, in a similar context and similar circumstances, to express *real* emotion. 4thly, There is a perfect harmony between *fidens animi, atque paratus, &c.*, and *turbatus* understood to mean *real* agitation, because a man may enter upon a dangerous undertaking with confidence, and even with courage, (which latter quality, however, it will be observed, is not expressed either by *fidens animi*, or *paratus, &c.*) and yet quail before the instant, imminent danger, as exquisitely shown by Homer in his most natural and touching account of Hector's flight before Achilles: how much more, then, the wretch Sinon! 5thly, *Turbatus* means *real*, not *simulated* agitation, because *real* agitation was more likely to move the Trojans to pity than any *simulation* of it. Virgil, therefore, taking the most effectual method of moving the hearts of the Trojans, and recollecting perhaps the advice of his friend Horace, *Si vis me flere, primum flendum est ipsi tibi*, presents Sinon to them in a state of real agitation, pleading for his life with all the eloquence of unaffected fear. So Davos, (*Ter. And. 4, 5*,) instead of acquainting Mysis with his plot, and instructing her what answers she should give to Chremes, prefers to place her in such a situation, that, speaking the truth, and in entire ignorance of his design, her answers must yet of necessity be the very answers which he desired; and when Mysis afterwards inquires why he had not schooled her as to his intentions, replies, *Paullum interesse censes ex animo omnia ut fert natura facias, an de industriâ?* It was inconsistent with Virgil's plot, to make Sinon speak the truth, but he could with perfect consistency, and therefore did, represent him as actuated by real emotion; which *real* emotion is in express terms con-

trasted with his *false* words at v. 107, *Prosequitur pavitans, et ficto pectore fatur.*

The reader will, however, observe that Virgil, always judicious, carefully avoids ascribing extreme fear or agitation to Sinon; he is *turbatus* (*agitated*,) *pavitans* (*trembling*,) but he does not, like Dolon, his undoubted original, become *Χλωρος ὕπαι δειους*, nor do his teeth chatter, *αραβος δε δια στομα γινετ' οδοντων*. Such extreme degree of terror, although beautifully consistent with the simple undisguised confession of Dolon, would have been wholly incompatible with the cunning and intricate web, which Sinon, almost from the first moment he opens his mouth, begins to wrap round the Trojans. It is therefore with the strictest propriety and observance of nature that Virgil represents Sinon, at first bold and confident; then disconcerted and agitated at the prospect of immediate death; then re-assured by the encouragement he received; then again, losing confidence when the Trojans manifest the vehement impatience expressed by the words *Tum vero ardemus scitari*, &c. and, with renewed fear and trembling (*pavitans*,) pursuing his feigned narrative; and then, finally, when he had received an absolute promise of personal safety, going on, without further fear or hesitation, to reveal the pretended secret of his compatriots.

Throughout the whole story, the reader must never forget that, although it was Virgil's ultimate object to deceive the Trojans, by means of Sinon, with respect to the horse, yet he had another object also to effect, (prior in point of time, and not less important than his ultimate object, because absolutely indispensable to the attainment of that ultimate object,) viz. to save Sinon's life, or, in other words, to assign to his reader sufficiently probable and natural reasons why the Trojans did actually spare his life, and did not, as might have been expected, execute such summary judgment upon him as Diomede and Ulysses executed upon Dolon under similar circumstances. Accordingly, the first words which he puts into the mouth of Sinon are a thrilling exclamation of despair, a piteous cry for mercy, *Heu! quæ nunc tellus*, &c. This has the effect of staying the uplifted sword, of averting the first and instant danger, *compressus et omnis Impetus*; they encourage him to speak, to tell who he is, and why he should not meet the captive's doom; Sinon respires, recovers his self-possession, and endeavouring

to make good his ground, and strengthen the favourable impression produced by his first words, says, that he was the friend of that Palamedes, of whose unjust condemnation and death they might have heard, and the principal cause of which was the opposition given by him to the undertaking of the war against Troy; and that he had not, like the other Greeks, come to the war out of hostility to the Trojans, or even voluntarily, but had, when a mere boy, (and, therefore, irresponsible,) been sent by his father, who was so poor as not otherwise to be able to provide for his son. He then enters upon an account of his quarrel with, and persecution by, Ulysses, their most dreaded and implacable enemy; but, perceiving that they begin to take an interest in what he is saying, suddenly stops short, and artfully begs of them to put him out of pain at once, as he knew that, no matter how great or undeserved his sufferings had been, they could have no pity or forgiveness for one, who was guilty of the crime of being a Greek. The Trojan curiosity is inflamed, and they insist to know the sequel. He proceeds *pavittans*, (whether because he had not yet entirely recovered from his first alarm, or whether alarmed afresh by the vehemence and impatience of the Trojans, or whether from both these causes conjointly,) and relates how, by the villanous concert of the priest Calchas with Ulysses, he was selected to be offered up as a victim to appease the offended Gods; how he escaped from the altar, and lay hid during the night (the preceding night,) in a morass; and then lamenting that his escape from death by the hands of the Greeks had only led him to death by the hands of the Trojans, and that he was never more to see his country, home, or relatives, concludes with a pathetic adjuration, in the name of the Gods above, and of inviolable faith, that they would yet pity such unexampled, such undeserved misery, and spare his life. His tears, his agony of fear, the plausibility of his story, their sympathy with the object of the hatred and persecution of the Greeks and of Ulysses, prevail; they grant him his life; and so closes the first act of the interlude of Sinon.

In nothing is the admirable judgment of Virgil more remarkable, than in the skill with which he has all this while kept the wooden horse, as it were, in abeyance. No act has been done, no word uttered, which could excite in the Trojan mind, or in the mind of the reader, ignorant of the sequel, the slightest

suspicion that Sinon has any thing whatsoever to do with the horse, or the horse with Sinon. So careful is the poet to avoid every, even the slightest, ground for a suspicion, which would have been fatal to the entire plot, that it is from a distance, and by the agency of the Trojans themselves, he brings Sinon into the vicinage of the horse; and that, in the whole course of the long history which Sinon gives of himself, and which the reader will observe is now concluded, the horse is never so much as mentioned, or even alluded to, except once, and then so artfully, (as it were only for the purpose of fixing a date,) that the mention which is made, while it stimulates the Trojans to question him on the subject, seems less remarkable than absolute silence would have been, inasmuch as it proves that Sinon does not *de industria* eschew all notice of an object, which must have attracted his attention, and of the purport of which he could not but be supposed to have some knowledge.

In the second act of the interlude, or that part which commences with v. 152, we find Sinon totally changed; "now more bold, The tempter New part puts on;" his life secure, guaranteed by the King himself, he is no longer the abject, cringing, hesitating, trembling wretch, but the successful and exulting villain. He loudly and boldly invokes the Gods to witness his abjuration of the Greeks and acceptance of the Trojan covenant; and makes his revelation of the important secret which is to be the rich reward of the Trojan clemency, not, as he had pleaded for his life, in broken passages, leaving off at one place and commencing at another, but *uno tenore*, explaining in uninterrupted sequence, the absence of the Greeks; their intended return; the object for which they built the horse; and why they built it of so large dimensions; the evil consequences to the Trojans if they offered it any injury, and to the Greeks if it were received into the city, &c.; the impostor is fully credited, the generous, unwary, and fate-devoted Trojans are caught in the toils so delicately woven and so noiselessly drawn around them, and the curtain falls.

If the reader happen to be one of those critics, who think the story of the wooden horse deficient in verisimilitude, he will receive with the greater favour an interpretation which tends to increase the verisimilitude, by representing the falsehood and cunning of Sinon as united, not with that quality with which falsehood and cunning are so inconsistent, and so rarely united,

heroic fortitude, but with their very compatible and nearly allied quality, audacity.

It is impossible to leave this subject without remarking how favourably to Trojan faith and generosity, (as might be expected, Virgil being the *poeta* and Eneas the narrator,) the conduct of the Trojans towards Sinon contrasts with that of the Greeks towards Dolon. Ulysses and Diomedes encourage Dolon, and tell him not to think of death, on which ambiguous pledge he tells the whole truth; they reward him by coolly cutting off his head, as the last word of his revelation passes his lips; Sinon tells the Trojans a tissue of lies, and not only has his life spared, but is treated with kindness and hospitality.

That most rigid and terrific of all the dispensers of the so-called divine retributive justice, Dante, (see *Inferno*, xxx. 46, et seq.) punishes Sinon in hell with an eternal sweating fever, in company (according to the great poet's usual eccentric manner of grouping his characters,) on the one side with Potiphar's wife, whom he punishes with a similar fever, and on the other with a famous coiner of base money at Brescia, whom he torments with a never-dying thirst and dropsy, and between whom and Sinon ensues a contention in none of the gentlest billingsgate, which of the two is the greater sinner.

V. 79. *Fortuna . . . finxit . . . improba fingit*.—See Comment. *En.* II. 552.

V. 83. *Falsâ sub proditiōe Pelasgi*.—" *Falsâ sub proditiōe*; h. e. *sub falso crimine proditiōis*." Servius; followed by Heyne, and all the other commentators and translators. To this interpretation I object,—

1st, That no authority has been adduced, to show that *proditio* may be used for *crimen proditiōis*; the *act* committed, for the *charge* founded upon the commission of the act.

2dly, That if Virgil had intended to say that the Pelasgi had condemned Palamedes, *on* or *by means of* a false charge of treason, he would more probably have used the words *falsâ proditiōe*, in the same manner as *infando indicio*, without a preposition; or if he had used a preposition, it would have been *per*, not *sub*.

3dly, That Virgil could scarcely have been guilty of the fade tautology, *falsâ, insontem*.

4thly, That this interpretation represents the whole Greek nation at Troy ("Pelasgi") as conspiring against Palamedes; which is (a) contrary to all verisimilitude; (b) deprives *infando indicio* of its force, because, if all were conspiring against Pala-

medes, it was of small consequence how “infandous” the information or informer was ; or, indeed, whether there were any information or informer at all ; and (c) contradicts the statement (v. 90,) that it was through the machinations of Ulysses, that Palamedes’ condemnation was accomplished.

Rejecting, for all these reasons, the received interpretation, I render *falsâ sub proditione, during, or at the time of, a false or feigned treason ; i. e.* when there was an alarm (whether of accidental or concerted origin it matters not,) of treason in the Grecian camp. The words being so interpreted, the meaning of the passage is, not that the Pelasgi brought a *false* charge of treason against Palamedes, and condemned him, although *innocent* ; but that the Pelasgi condemned Palamedes on an infandous information, which, being brought against him *at a time when there was an alarm of treason in the camp*, was on that account the more readily credited. In support of this interpretation, I beg to observe,

1st, That it restores to *proditio* its simple, grammatical signification.

2dly, That the use of *sub* in the sense of *during, or at the time of*, is familiar to every scholar ; thus *sub nocte ; sub somno ; sub profectioe ; sub adventu, &c.* Livy (xxvi. 16,) has even joined *sub* to the close cognate of *proditio, deditio*, only putting *deditio* in the accusative, because he wishes to express, not the *precise time*, but *about the time* of the *deditio*.

3dly, That this interpretation being adopted, *insons* is no longer a tautology of *falsâ* ; the latter expressing only the falsehood of the general rumour of treason, not of the particular charge brought against Palamedes.

4thly, That this interpretation represents the Pelasgi, not, unnaturally, in the triple character of conspirators, accusers, and judges, but naturally, in the single character of judges, prevailed upon partly by the prevalent alarm of treason, and partly by the offence they had taken against Palamedes, *quia bella vetabat*, to give credit to an infandous information against him.

5thly, That a greater degree of verisimilitude is thus conferred on the words *nunc cassum lumine lugent*, because it is more probable that the Pelasgi would lament Palamedes, (as soon as experience had taught them the groundlessness of their dislike to him on account of his opposition to the war,) if they

had themselves been deluded into convicting him, on an *infandum indicium*, than that they would, under any circumstances, lament him, if their hatred to him had been so great as to induce them to convict him on a charge, which they not only knew to be false, but of which they were themselves the co-actors. And,

6thly, That Ovid draws an express and strong distinction between the party who *accused*, and the party who *condemned*, Palamedes,—

“ An falso Palameden crimine turpe
Accusasse mihi (viz. Ulyssi,) *vobis*,” (viz. Pelasgis,) *damnasse*
decorum est?”—*Metam.* XIII. 308.

V. 83. *Quem falsâ*, &c.—The word used here (*quem*, not *illum*) sufficiently shows that Sinon has not yet begun to give any new information to the Trojans, but is employed, as far as the word *neci*, in recalling to their recollection facts, with which he knew they were perfectly well acquainted, (“incipit a veris.” Servius.) The words *nunc cassum lumine lugent* (see next note,) are thrown in parenthetically between the exordium in which he thus reminds them of known facts, and the new information which he begins to convey at v. 86, *Illi me comitem*, &c.

Hence a plain reason why Sinon does not specify the precise charge made against Palamedes, his object being not to give a history of that individual, but merely to recall to the mind of the Trojans what they already knew respecting him.

V. 85. *Nunc cassum lumine lugent*.—*They now* (viz. convinced by experience that it was unwise to have undertaken the war, see v. 108,) *lament the loss of the prudent counsellor* who “*bella vetabat*.” But this is not the sole force of these words; they serve also to excite the Trojan sympathy, 1st and directly, for Palamedes, (not only innocent, but lamented even by his executioners;) and, 2dly and indirectly, for his friend and companion, Sinon, *afflictus* (see v. 92, and comment.) by his fall; like him, persecuted to the death by the same Ulysses; and (by implication,) like him innocent.

V. 87. *In arma*.—“*In arma*: h. e. *ad bellum*.”—Heyne. I think the meaning is rather *to the profession of arms; to seek a military fortune*.

V. 87. *Primis . . . ab annis*.—See Comment. *En.* II. 138.

V. 92. *Afflictus*.—*Afflictus*; not sorrowful, for that meaning

is contained in *luctu*, in the same line ; but *dashed to the ground ; beaten down from his prosperity* ; viz. by the death of his friend and patron. It is used in this, its primitive sense, on the only other occasion on which Virgil has used the word, *En.* I. 452 ; also by Milton, *Par. Lost*, I. 186, *afflicted powers* ; and II. 166, *afflicting thunder*.

V. 96. *Et verbis odia aspera movi*.—*Et* is epexegetic, and *verbis* the words in which *promisit se ultorem* ; as if Virgil had written *et movi odia aspera verbis, quibus me promisi ultorem ; or me promittens ultorem*.

V. 99. *Et quærere conscius arma*.—Wagner's interpretation of these words, viz. that they are a poetical equivalent for "*quærere conscius*," seems to me to be particularly unfortunate,

1st, Because Virgil was too good a painter of character to represent the cautious, cunning Ulysses, as going about in search of a number of persons, to whom to communicate his designs against Sinon.

2dly, Because the immediately preceding words, "*Criminibus terrere novis*," and "*spargere voces*," describe Ulysses as proceeding against Sinon by methods, which not only did not require the privity of a number of persons, but were likely to be successful in proportion as their secret object was kept confined to Ulysses' own bosom.

3dly, Because the extraordinary violence which this interpretation puts upon the words, is not so much as attempted to be supported even by a single authority.

I therefore understand *et quærere arma* to be epexegetic of the preceding sentence ; and the *arms* (of offence and defence,) which Ulysses sought (*quærebat*) against Sinon, to be the *crimina nova*, and the *voces ambiguas*. This explanation accords both with Virgil's usual manner, (see Comment. *En.* I. 496 ; II. 18 and 51 ;) and with the ordinary meaning of the terms *quærere arma*. See *En.* XI. 229.

*Consci*us, therefore, is not *conspiring with others*, but simply, as *En.* II. 267, *conscious* ; viz. of his own secret design, uncommunicated as yet even to Calchas.

V. 105.—*Tum vero ardemus scitari et quærere causas*.—That this is the common hyperbaton ; *ardemus scitari et quærere causas*, for *ardentes scitamur et quærimus causas*, is proved by the necessity which exists for some expression, not merely that they *desired* to question him, but that they actually *did* ques-

tion him. The received interpretation leaves the sense incomplete.

Ardeamus. The force of the verb *ardere* is infinitely more intense than that of its English derivatives; which, having first lost their literal, have at last, as a consequence, almost wholly lost even their metaphorical sense. The Latin word, on the contrary, where it is not literal, is fully metaphorical. “*Tantum est flumen verborum, tam integræ sententiæ, ut mihi non solum tu incendere judicem, sed ipse ardere videaris.*”—Cicer. De Orat. lib. III. c. 45. “*Tantâ iracundiâ incitatus est ut arderet.*” Argum. ad Terent. Adelph.

V. 107. *Prosequitur pavitans, &c.*—See Comment. *En.* II. 76.

V. 110. *Sæpe illos aspera ponti Interclusit hiems, et terruit Auster euntes.*—*Interclusit* operates only on *illos*; *terrui* both on *illos* and *euntes*. *Interclusit illos*, shut them in, rendered it impossible for them even to attempt to go; *terrui euntes*, terrified (deterred) them when actually beginning to go. See Comment. *En.* II. 552.

V. 121. *Cui fata parent.*—The meaning is not *cui illi parent fata*, because no suspicion of foul play had yet arisen; but (as rightly interpreted by Heyne,) “*cui fata parent id, ut, ejus animâ, litetur.*”

V. 126. *Tectus.*—That *tectus* is here used, not in its derived sense of *secret*, but in its literal and primitive sense of *covered*, i. e. *shut up*, or *closed up*, viz. *in his dwelling*, is sufficiently proved by Statius’s imitation, (*Theb.* III. 570,)

“*Ille nec aspectum vulgi, nec fida tyranni
Colloquia, aut cœtus procerum perferre, sed atrâ
Sede tegi, et superum clausus negat acta fateri.*”

Compare also Stat. *Ibid.* 621.

V. 138. *Nec dulces gnatos exoptatumque parentem.*—The commentators have always found an insuperable difficulty in this passage. “How,” say they, “is it possible to reconcile what Sinon here says, of having children at home, with what he formerly told us, (v. 87,) of his having been sent to the war by his father, when a mere boy?” In order to get rid of the difficulty, Heyne (who is followed by Wagner, Wunderlich, Forbiger, and Thiel,) understands *primis ab annis* (v. 87,) to mean *ab initio belli*; but this interpretation is inadmissible,

1st, Because no authority whatever has been adduced in its support; while, on the contrary, there is the authority not only

of Ovid, (*tu comes antiquus, tu primis junctus ab annis*, Ex Ponto, II. 5, 43,) and Valer. Flaccus, I. 22, (*Hæmoniam primis Pelias frenabat ab annis*), but of Virgil himself against it, (*primis et te miretur ab annis*. En. VIII. 517.)

2dly, Because it deprives Sinon's story of its chief pathos; a pathos so necessary to the attainment of his primary object, that of exciting such pity in the breasts of the Trojans as would induce them to spare his life, and, therefore, so necessary to the success of his plot.

3dly, Because it takes away from Sinon his best excuse to the Trojans for having taken up arms against them, viz., that he had done so in pursuance of a child's duty of obedience to his parent.

4thly, Because Sinon's informing the Trojans that he had been at the war from the beginning, could serve no other purpose than that of exasperating them the more against him.

How then is the difficulty to be got rid of? I answer, simply by referring *gnatos*, not to Sinon, but to *parentem*, and by translating the passage, not *my* children and *my* parent, but *the* children and *the* parent, meaning *Sinon's brothers and sisters, and his and their parent*. All difficulty is thus removed, and Virgil's consistency vindicated.

There is a precisely similar use of *gnatum*, En. IV. 605, where *gnatumque patremque* does not mean *my* son and *my* father, but *the* son and *the* father, h. e. *the son and his father*. So also, En. VI. 116, *gnatique patrisque*; *the son and the father*, the son being the speaker himself. Also, En. VIII. 308, *rex Eneam gnatumque tenebat*—The King kept Eneas and the son, meaning, not his own son, but Eneas's son. See also, En. II. 663. Numerous other instances also might be adduced, in which *gnatus* is thus referred, not to the speaker, but to its correlative *parens*, or *pater*, or *mater*, expressed. I am aware that it has, on a similar occasion, been suggested by Forbiger, (note to v. 178,) “Virgilium hanc fictam Sinonis narrationem consulto ita composuisse, ut homo iste sibi ipse contradiceret, aut ambigua et obscura proferret;” but this is a suggestion from which I must wholly dissent, because it is evident that, in proportion as Virgil made the story obscure, or inconsistent with itself, it was the less likely to obtain credence with the Trojans; to which if it be replied, that Virgil, as *Poeta*, had it in his power to represent the Trojans as crediting whatever

story he thought proper,—I answer, that to represent the Trojans so void of acumen as to credit an unlikely, ambiguous, and, above all, a contradictory story, is to diminish our respect for, and sympathy with, not only the Trojans, but Eneas himself, and thus to contradict the whole scope and design of the poem. And further, I think that the more carefully the story is examined, the more evident does it appear, that Virgil has taken the greatest and most successful pains to fabricate a story for Sinon, which is so consistent with itself, and so extremely like the truth, that it was hardly possible for the Trojans not to be deceived by it.

With the strictest observance of the well-known fact, that a scene (whether of things or persons,) from which we have been long absent, presents itself to our minds exactly as we were accustomed to see it, and not as it exists now, changed by the time which has since elapsed, Virgil represents the picture present in Sinon's mind, to be that of the children, children as he left them so many years ago, and not that of the children now grown up to be adults.

As a further argument in favour of the above interpretation, I may observe, that it relieves the passage from the manifest awkwardness of the non-mention of Sinon's wife, or of his ever having been married. In the parallel passage, quoted by Ursini (Virg. collat. cum Græcis scriptoribus,) from Lucretius, in which *gnati* has the meaning attempted to be fixed on it in the passage before us, there is no such awkwardness, mention being made of the wife along with the children—

“Nam jam non domus accipiet te læta, neque uxor
Optima, nec dulces occurrent oscula gnati
Præripere, et tacitâ pectus dulcedine tangent.”

Lucr. III. 907.

V. 149. *Mihique hæc edissere*.—*Que* connects *edissere*, not to its unlike, *eris*; but to its like, *obliviscere*. The semicolon, therefore, which the editors have placed at *Graios*, should have been placed at *eris*; and the comma which they have placed at *eris*, should have been at *Graios*.

V. 155. *Vos arcæ ensesque nefandi*.—“Neque ullis adpetitus insidiis est, neque devotus hostiæ; denique sic de omnibus jurat, ut, per ea quæ non fuerunt dans sacramentum, careat objurgatore.”—*Antiq. Interpr.* See the similarly equivocating oath of Andromache; Seneca, *Troad.* 604.

V. 157. *Fas mihi*.—The subsequent *teneor* points out the

structure; *fas est*, not *fas sit*; i. e. *Testor fas mihi esse et me teneri.*

V. 169. *Fluere ac retro sublapsa referri.*—"Fluere; *diffluere*, *dilabi*; *retro sublapsa referri*; pro prosaico, *retro ferri*, *labi*; *de mole quæ in altum erat invecta.*"—Heyne. Both explanations wrong, because no example has been, nor I think can be, produced of *fluere* used in the sense of *diffluere*, *dilabi*; or otherwise than as signifying *to flow like the water in a river*; and because *retro sublapsa referri*, where it occurs before, (*Georg.* i. 200,) is thus explained by Heyne himself: "Non aliter quam is retro sublapsus refertur qui navigium agit atque illum in præceps pro-no rapit alveus amni;" an explanation which, even although it had not been, almost totidem verbis, Virgil's own, would have been established beyond the possibility of doubt by the nearly parallel passage of Lucretius, iv. 422.

"Denique ubi in medio nobis equus acer obhæsit
Flumine, et in rapidas amnis despeximus undas,
Stantis equi corpus transvorsum ferre videtur
Vis, et in advorsum flumen contrudere raptim;
Et quocunque oculos trajecimus omnia ferri
Et fluere adsimili nobis ratione videntur."

V. 199. *Hic aliud*, &c.—This prodigy is not merely *ominous*, but *typical*, of the destruction about to come upon Troy. The twin serpents prefigure the Grecian armament; which, like them, comes from Tenedos, (where, as must not be forgotten, it is lying concealed at the very moment of the prodigy); like them, crosses the tranquil deep; like them, lands; and, going up straight (probably over the very same ground,) to the city, slaughters the surprised and unresisting Trojans, (prefigured by Laocoon's sons,) and overturns the religion and drives out the Gods (prefigured by the priest Laocoon.) Even in the most minute particulars the type is perfect: the serpents come abreast towards the shore, like ships sailing together; (*Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat Littora petens*;) with flaming eyes raised above the waves, by the whole length of the neck and breast, (*flammas quum regia puppis Extulerat*;) and with the hinder part floating and curling along on the surface of the water (*the hinder vessels of the fleet following the lead of the foremost*;) and, when their work is done, (*the Trojans slaughtered, or, with their Gods, driven out of the city,*) take

possession of the citadel, under the protection of Pallas (*Jam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas Insedit, &c.*)

V. 204. *Horresco referens*.—This interjection is not placed indifferently any where in the middle of the sentence, but in its most natural and effective position, after the words *gemi a Tenedo tranquilla per alta*, excitatory of expectation; and immediately before *immensis orbibus angues*, expressive of the actual horrid object. The weaker effect which it would have had, if placed at a greater distance before *immensis orbibus angues*, is shown by Dryden's translation—

“When, dreadful to behold, from sea we spied
Two serpents, ranked abreast, the seas divide.”

And the still weaker, which it would have had, if placed after, by Surrey's—

“From Tenedon behold in circles great
By the calm seas come fleeting, adders twain;
Which plied towards the shore (I loathe to tell)
With reared breast lift up above the seas.”

V. 206. *Pectora quorum, &c.*

“Thus Satan, talking to his nearest mate,
With head uplift above the wave, and eyes
That sparkling blazed; his other parts besides
Prone on the flood, extended long and large,
Lay floating many a rood,” &c.—*Par. Lost*, I. 192.

V. 209. *Fit sonitus spumante salo*.—The translators, who represent the sound made by the foaming of the brine to have been *loud*, err doubly; 1st, in not understanding that *sonitus*, without an adjunct expressive of *loudness*, is not a *loud sound*, but simply a *sound*, (see II. 732; *Georg.* IV. 79; &c.); and 2dly, in not perceiving that propriety of description requires that the *sound* of *foam* should not be represented as *loud*. Dryden, as usual, errs most—

“Their speckled tails advance to steer their course,
And on the sounding shore the flying billows force.”

I know but one translated passage, (not Dryden's own,) which can at all vie with this in incorrectness; it is where Pope, instead of describing Jupiter as *seizing Ate by the shining-curved head*, in order to fling her from heaven, describes him as *snatching her from the top of his own head*—

"From his ambrosial head, where perched she sate,
He snatched the Fury-Goddess of debate."

POPE'S *Iliad*, XIX. 125.

V. 209.* *Arva*.—There is no occasion to suppose, with Heyne, that *arva* is used "*pro littore*," because, interpreted literally, it affords a better meaning, viz., *the fields*, or *cultivated plain inside the beach*, where it is probable the *solennis ara* stood, at such a distance from the actual shore as to be in no danger from the violence of the sea during stormy weather. Compare Pelago premit arva sonanti, *En.* i. 246, and comment.

V. 213--216. *Primum . . . Post*.—There is a most material discrepancy between the account given by Virgil, and the view presented by the sculptor, of the death of Laocoon and his two sons. According to the former, the serpents *first (primum)* kill the two sons, and *afterwards (post)* seize (*corripiunt*) the father, *subeuntem ac tela ferentem*, and kill him also; while, according to the latter, the serpents are twined about and kill the father and the two sons *simultaneously*. Virgil's is the more natural and probable account, because it was more easy for the serpents to conquer Laocoon's powerful strength, (see II. 50,) with the whole of their united force and folds, than with such part only of their force and folds as was not employed upon the sons. There is even some difficulty in understanding (nor does an examination of the sculpture tend much to diminish the difficulty,) how two serpents, already twined about, and encumbered with the bodies of two persons, even although those bodies were small (*parva*), could seize, and squeeze to death, a third person, possessed of more than ordinary strength, and armed.

The sculptor, if he had had the choice, would doubtless, no less than the poet, have represented the killing of Laocoon to have been subsequent to the killing of the sons; but his art failed him; sculpture could not represent *successive acts*; the chisel could fix no more than a single instant of fleeting time: driven, therefore, by necessity, he places the three persons simultaneously in the folds of the serpents, and his (so much admired) group becomes, in consequence, complicated and almost incomprehensible, and appears in the most disadvantageous contrast with the simple and natural narrative of Virgil.

Such is the infinite inferiority of sculpture (and of painting) to poetry. The sculptor (or painter) labours day and night,

and for years together, on one object; and, in the end, his work, representing but an instant of time, fails to present to the mind as many ideas as the poet supplies in half a dozen lines, the work perhaps of half an hour.

V. 217. *Spiris*.—*Spiræ* are not merely *coils*, but *spiral coils*; tending upwards, like those of a corkscrew held point-upward. See *Georg.* II. 153, 154; where Virgil informs us, almost in express terms, that a snake is in *orbs* (*orbes*,) while coiled upon the ground, but in *spires* (*spiræ*,) when he raises himself with a motion twisting upwards. The same distinction is observable in the passage before us, where the serpents are said to be in *orbs* while on the water, and in *spires* when folded round Laocoon. A right understanding of this word is the more necessary, because it is the only word in the description, except *superant capite et cervicibus altis*, which shows that the poet so far agrees with the sculptor, as to represent Laocoon and the serpents twined about him as forming an *erect* group. With a similar correct precision, our own Milton applies the term *spires* to the coils of the serpent when *erect*, or *raised upright*.

“Not with indented wave

Prone on the ground, as since, but on his rear.

.
With burnished neck of verdant gold, erect
Amidst his circling *spires*.”—*Par. Lost*, IX. 496.

V. 223. *Quales mugitus, &c.*

“Qual’ è quel toro che si slaccia in quella
Ch’ ha ricevuto già ’l colpo mortale,
Che gir non sa, ma qua e là saltella,
Vid’ io lo Minotauro far cotale;”

Dante Inferno, XII. 22.

“Non altrimenti il toro va saltando
Qualora il mortal colpo ha ricevuto,
E dentro la foresta alto mugghiando
Ricerca il cacciator che l’ ha feruto.”

Boccaccio, in Filostrato.

V. 230. *Sacrum qui cuspide robur Læserit et tergo sceleratum intorserit hastam.*

“Is it he? quoth one. Is this the man?
By him who died on cross,
With his cruel bow he laid full low
The harmless albatross.”

COLERIDGE, Ancient Mariner.

V. 236. *Vincula collo Intendunt*.—Heyne, Forbiger, and Thiel, inform us, without doubt or hesitation, that *intendunt* is here elegantly used (“*exquisitius*,”) in place of *illigant*, *innectunt*; and this is the meaning which has been adopted by all the translators, as well as by Forcellini in his Dictionary. I dissent, however, on two grounds; 1st, Because there is not only no instance of *intendere* being used in this sense, but no instance of its being used in any sense bordering on, or at all related to, this sense. And, 2dly, Because the strict interpretation of *intendunt* (*viz. stretch or extend*,) affords an unobjectionable meaning of the passage; *they stretch ropes to the neck*; prosaically, *throw ropes over the neck*. This meaning is not only unobjectionable in itself, but preferable to the former, inasmuch as it was easier to throw a rope over the neck, than to tie or fasten it at so great a height.

The idea of *stretching*, or *extension*, will, I think, be found to enter into all the significations, whether literal or metaphorical, of *intendere*.

V. 236.* *Collo*.—“*In collo noli argutare; cum fune ex eo nexo trahi equus vix commode posset, intellige simpl. funem ex anteriore parte aptum*.” Heyne; who seems not to have perceived how useful the rope round the neck would be, not alone for steadying and preventing the horse from toppling over to one side, but for drawing it *up* into the city, *viz. over the broken down fortifications*; *Scandit muros*, v. 237.

V. 240. *Minatur*.—By an error of which none but a French critic could be guilty, Boileau understands this extremely common metaphor literally. “*Il (viz. Virgil) ne se contente pas de prêter de la colere a cet arbre, (probably referring to and similarly misunderstanding v. 53,) mais il lui fait faire des menaces a ces laboureurs*.”—*Reflex. Critiques*, XI.

V. 242. *Ipsa in limine portæ*.—Our author having expressly informed us, (v. 234,) that the walls were *divided* for the admission of the horse, *porta* must be, not the *gate of the city*, but *the opening or entrance made by the division of the walls*. For a similar application of the word *porta*, see *Qua data porta*, *En. i. 83*. Those commentators who understand *porta* to mean *the gate of the city*, are reduced to the forlorn extremity of construing *dividimus muros*, not *divide the walls*, but *enlarge the opening of the gate*; and of understanding *Scandit muros* to be no more than a poetical form of expression for *entering the enlarged gate*. “*Scandit muros*, h. e. transcendit; major imago,

quam si portam *intrat*, quæ, murorum impositorum et attingentium parte dejectâ, erat latior facta.”—Heyne.

V. 247. *Ora, dei jussu non unquam credita Teucris*.—That *credita* is predicated, not of Cassandra, but, as in Ovid. *Metam.* xv. 74, (Primus quoque talibus *ora* Docta quidem solvit, sed non et *credita*, verbis,) of *ora*, is proved, not only by the stronger poetical sense of the passage so interpreted, but by the emphatic position of *ora*, closing the sentence to which it belongs, and at the same time beginning a new line.

I do not know whether it has been observed by any commentator, but I think that a very slight examination of Virgil's style is sufficient to show, that his emphatic words are almost invariably placed at, or as near to as possible, the beginning of the line; that where an increase of emphasis is required, the emphatic word is separated from the immediately succeeding context by a pause in the sense, which allows the mind of the reader, or voice of the reciter, to dwell on the word with a longer emphasis; that, where the word is required to be still more emphatic, it is not only placed at the beginning of the line, and separated from the succeeding context by a pause, but is made to stand at the end of its own sentence, and at the greatest possible distance from the words in that sentence to which it is most immediately related, as *ora* in the passage before us; *Julius*, I. 288; *Phænissa*, I. 714; *Crudelis*, IV. 311; and that when a maximum of emphasis is required, the word thus placed emphatically at the beginning of the line, and with a pause immediately following, is a repetition or reduplication of a word which has already been used in the preceding sentence, as *Lumina*, II. 406: and I believe it will still farther be found, that, whenever it is possible, not only the reduplicated word, but its original also, is placed in the emphatic position at the beginning of the line; thus, *Nate, nate*, En. I. 664, 665; *Me, me*, IV. 351, 354; *Nos, nos*, Bucol. I. 3 and 4.

In confirmation of the above opinion, that the beginning of the line is, in Virgil's writings, the seat of the emphasis, I may observe that the nominative pronouns (which it is well known are, in Latin, never expressed unless they are emphatic,) are, with few or no exceptions, found at the beginning of lines.

From these principles may be derived a double argument in favour of the authenticity of the four disputed lines at the commencement of the *Eneis*; 1st, That the emphatic pronouns *ille*

ego are, according to Virgil's custom, placed in the emphatic position at the commencement of the line; and, 2dly, That the words *arma virumque* are considerably more emphatic towards the close of the sentence, and in connection with *at nunc horrentia Martis*, (and, I may add, contrasted, *cano* with *modulatus*, *arma* with *silvis* and *arva*, and *virum* with *colono*,) than without connection and contrast, and contrary to Virgil's habitual *molle atque facetum*, abruptly at the commencement of the sentence and poem.

Having been thus led to speak incidentally of the four introductory lines of the *Eneis*, I shall perhaps be excused if I add, that I entirely dissent from the judgment pronounced on those lines by some of Virgil's most *unpoetical* poetical commentators, and especially by Dryden; and that I regard those lines, (to write which Virgil seems to have taken up the very pen, which he had laid down after writing the last eight lines of the last *Georgic*,) as not only worthy of Virgil, but as affording, (especially in the fine poetical figure, *coegi arva ut parerent*,) the most abundant evidence that they were written by no other hand. See comment. *En.* i. 1.

V. 249. *Festâ velamus fronde*.—*Velamus* (very imperfectly rendered by Thiel, *ornamus*; by Surrey, *deck*;) means to *veil*, i. e. *to cover in such a manner, or to such an extent, as to hide from view*, and thus denotes the profusion of green boughs used. Compare *Ramis tegerem ut frondentibus aras*.—*En.* III. 25.

V. 250. *Ruit oceano Nox*.—Inasmuch as the ancients always represented Night as following the course of the sun; i. e. as rising in the east, traversing the sky, and descending or setting in the west, (see *Stat. Theb.* II. 61; *Virg. En.* II. 8; III. 512;) the words, *ruit oceano Nox*, applied to the commencement of night, are to be understood, not as presenting us with the ordinary English image of night *falling on the ocean*, but as presenting us with the directly reverse image of personified night *rising* (rushing) *from the ocean*. So Dante, philosophically and following the ancient model—

“Gia era 'l sole all' orizzonte giunto,
Lo cui meridian cerchio coverchia
Jerusalem col suo più alto punto:
E la notte ch' opposta a lui cerchia,
Uscia di Gange fuor.”—*Il Purgat.* II. 1.

(*To be continued.*)

XIX.

THE PORTLAND VASE.

Νῦν δὲ θεῶων φῦλον αἰσάσσετ' ἠδυπέπαι
 Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδεις, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
 Ὅσσαι δὴ θνητοῖσι παρ' ἀνδράσιν εὐνηθεῖσαι
 Ἀθάναταί γε γέναντο θεοῖς ἐπισκέλα τέκνα.

Hes. Theog. 965.

THE Portland Vase may be described as an amphora about ten inches high, formed of glass of a rich dark blue tint, and decorated with figures in relief of the same material, but white and opaque. With respect to the mode of manufacture, it does not admit of a doubt that the blue glass was covered with a thin coating or layer of white, as in the ornamental glass manufactures of the present day, productions familiar to all. On the white coating thus attached, the ornamental design was engraved by the ordinary process employed in engraving gems and cameos; the unengraved spaces of white glass were then ground away, leaving the figures and objects forming the composition, in sharp relief on the dark blue ground.

The form of the vase is very elegant, though it has suffered from the uncertainties and irregularities incident to its material and mode of manufacture. The handles spring from the shoulder where the bulge is greatest, and are again attached to about the middle of the neck. The graven decoration is confined to the body of the vase, where it decreases from the spring of the handles by a curve of graceful convexity to the foot. The low relief of the figures, and the judgment with which the points and lines of highest relief are distributed, combine to prevent any detrimental interference with the character of the outline.

The curve of concavity from the shoulder of the vase and all round up to the lip, is therefore a blank space of dark blue glass; but this is agreeably foreshortened when it is looked at a little above the level of the eye, an aspect which at once gives increased richness to its outlines, and is required for the exhibition of the figures, both separately and in conjunction, as they are arranged on the sloping surface.

In these points of adaptation and management, the artist of the glass vase proves himself a true successor of the ancient Greek manufacturers and painters of fictile vases, and not less so in the skill with which he has varied the composition on either front by strikingly contrasted groups, which yet in either case are equally in harmony with the form of occupied space and character of outline, that are common to both. As if to complete the parallel to the followers of Eucheir and Eugrammon, some negligencies are observable in the finish of here and there an extremity or detail, that are not in accordance with the general perfection of finish, though with little damage to the effect of the whole.

With these trifling allowances, the drawing of the figure and draperies belongs to the very best style of Greek art; natural gracefulness and flowing ease and expression pervade every gesture and form, and the treatment and execution of the nude are characterized by a delicacy yet decision of modelling, that excites the highest admiration.

This exquisite production of ancient ingenuity and genius was discovered in the 16th century, contained in a sarcophagus within a tomb accidentally opened on the road from Frascati to Rome. From the family in whose museum it first found place, it was long known as the Barberini Vase. Some fifty years since it passed into the possession of Sir William Hamilton, who sold it to the Duchess of Portland, and in 1810 it was deposited by the Duke of Portland in the British Museum as the Portland Vase, and here, although no longer in its original state of preservation, it still remains.

The sarcophagus is at Rome, but a cast of it has recently been added to the British Museum. On its lid, which represents an ornamented couch, recline a pair of figures evidently intended for man and wife. The *coiffure* of the lady is in the same style that is familiar to us from coins and statues as in favour with the imperial ladies of the family of Septimius Severus and his immediate successors, and to this resemblance we may add a strongly marked profile, which seems to have been equally fashionable at the same time. These peculiarities tempted the earliest commentators on the monument, to claim the tomb as that of the emperor Alexander Severus and his mother Julia Mamaea, who were sumptuously entombed by the senate at

Rome;¹ and many of the attempts to explain the subject on the vase, were prompted by this assumption. The asserted likeness is, I think, better established by at least the comparison of the medals of Mammea, than is now usually assumed to be the case, but the conjecture is generally given up from the disagreement of the age of Alexander, who was murdered in his thirtieth year,² while his supposed representative, who, moreover, is in the relative position not of a son but a husband, is unquestionably fifty.

To this period of Roman history, however, the sarcophagus and its occupants, whoever they may have been, certainly belong; the sarcophagus itself is one of the finest of these works in the style which became prevalent about this time;³ it is sculptured on all four sides with numerous figures in very high relief, and in many respects of considerable artistic merit. So much invention, skilful management of crowded composition, and even power of execution, is displayed in these unequal works, together with true poetic feeling for the treatment of a mythus in a funereal connection, that notwithstanding their inferiority, especially in chasteness of effect, it is difficult to pronounce that the age that produced them, was not also equal to the production of the vase.

The admirable busts that belong to the same period compared with the vulgar bas-reliefs of the triumphal arches, may warn us of our danger in generalising too boldly the epochs of art. Corruption of taste in one branch of plastic art, is by no means inconsistent with its contemporary purity in another, and it will never do to disallow the existence of a genius at a given time, simply from the non-appearance of a school adequate to produce or worthy to succeed him.

The question of the possible contemporaneous production of vase and sarcophagus, has an interest dependent on the connection traceable in their mythical enrichments, to which the course of our enquiry will in due time bring us back.

¹ Senatus eum in Deos retulit (Scil. Alex. Sev.) Cenotaphium in Galliâ, Romæ sepulchrum amplissimum meruit. Dati sunt et sodales qui Alexandrini appellati sunt: addita et festivitas matris nomine, atque ipsius, quæ hodie-

que Romæ religiosissimè celebratur natali ejus die.—Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.*

² Herodian, vi. 9, 7; Lamprid. c. 60.

³ Müller, *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*, § 206.

Winckelmann, the father of scientific archæology,⁴ rejected the notion of the tomb being that of Alexander Severus, and was the first to propound the explanation of the subject of the vase as the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, the opinion that I have undertaken in the present paper to illustrate and develop. His view was adopted in the main by Visconti, Zoega, and Millingen, and in the words of the latter, by all those writers whose opinions deserve most attention.⁵ And yet to this day it cannot be said to be established in the sense of commanding universal or even extensive and hearty assent. In 1832, De Witte regarded the interpretation of the monument as exceedingly difficult, and Winckelmann's, no less than all other views put forth respecting it, as in the highest degree uncertain;⁶ and latterly the subordinate scene has been referred by an authority of influence to the story of Jason and Medea, not to advert to other recent speculations both revived and original, the dreams of Darwin, and dreams still more fantastical, contributions to the sorry curiosities of English archæological literature. Dr. Waagen,⁷ visiting the Museum in 1835, notices the enigma as yet unsolved; and lastly, the learned and laborious editor of Müller's *Handbook*⁸ of *Archæology*, Professor Welcker, notes a serious objection to the interpretation of Millingen, though he appears no more than other objectors prepared with a theory in substitution. The objection, however, as against the interpreters, certainly stands good, and thus the subject has remained from the date of the discovery of the vase, a disordered, fragmentary, inconclusive discussion, quite out of keeping with the perfection of the object that furnished its subject matter, descended to us through a series of ages, the most fra-

⁴ Winckelmann, *Werke*, ed. Meyer u. Schultze, Band 6, p. 1. p. 333. See also Venuti, *Spiegazione de Bassirilievi che si osservano nell' urna Sepolcrale detta volgarmente d' Alessandro Severo*. Rome, 1756.

⁵ Winckelm. *Stor. dell' Arti*. II. 404; Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clem.* VI. 71; Zoega, *Bassi rilievi Ant.* I. 269; Millingen, *Anct. Uned. Mon.* I. p. 27.

⁶ Quant au célèbre vase Barberini aujourd'hui au Musée Britannique, ou Winckelmann le premier, (*Histoire de l'Art*, VI. c. 8, § 7, p. 487,) a cru re-

connaître Pélé et Thétis, ce monument nous paraît d'une interprétation si difficile, et toutes les opinions émises à son égard nous semblent encore si douteuses, que nous n'osons pas le ranger parmi les représentations de l'enlèvement de Thétis. *Annali dell' Instit.* 1832, vol. 4, p. 126; Cf. Gerhard's *Arch. Zeitung*, III. p. 47.

⁷ Was diese Figuren eigentlich vorstellen, hat noch nicht ermittelt werden können.—*Kunstwerke u. Künstler in England*, p. 110.

⁸ 316, 2; Cf. 413, 1.

gile yet best preserved of all the works inherited from antiquity. This glory no longer remains ; it is now a disfigured ruin, by no fault of the nation into whose keeping it came, unless so far as the calamity might have been averted by a more sincere and generous encouragement of reverence for genius and its works. It would be some reparation of the damage if we could succeed in restoring at least the general outlines of the ideal, in recovering some more true reflection of the sentiment that inspired and animated the artist of the broken urn ; the least we can do is to hold ourselves bound to make the attempt.

Why, I may here enquire, is the vase since its restoration withdrawn from exhibition at the Museum, secluded in *penetralia*, which to those who cannot command time for special appointments, supposing such obtainable, or for repeated application, a lottery of many and vexatious blanks, are practically impenetrable ? A more important consideration than respect for the convenience, or perhaps fastidiousness of an individual student, might dictate that the interest awakened in this production through the accident that befel it, and attested still by the numerous imitations of it in windows all over London, should be allowed some chance of promoting those good effects that we are told often enough, result from the direction of popular attention to works of refinement and beauty.

The engravings of the subject by Cipriani, executed for Sir William Hamilton, remain the most trustworthy authorities for the design ; of the recent copies I would particularly refer to that in porcelain, published by Mr. Herbert Minton, of the Staffordshire Potteries ; and this I do with the more pleasure, for " I too am an Etrurian."

Our task is broadly, to find out what personages, divine or heroic, are represented in these compositions ; and what is the exact character of the action they are engaged in, the precise motive and concern of the individual figures. Here are two lines of investigation that obviously are separable, though at the same time mutually illustrative. In some archæological problems, it will occur that the true character of the action is only, or most readily, divined from the personages who take part in it, as betrayed by attributes, or even inscribed names. Greek art, however, in its finest development, is apt to be somewhat frugal of these indications, supplies no more than were sufficient, taken in conjunction with occupation and expression,

to establish identity to the original spectator, with all local and occasional traditions present in his mind, and fully alive to the specific appropriateness of the most refined symbolism. We of later days must study and struggle to recover these as best we may, but when all is done it will frequently happen that the safest course is to rely in the first instance on the interpretation of that natural language of expression which makes the whole world and all ages kin, for a conception of the occupation of the figures, and thus find guidance in the absence of proper, and even in the presence of conflicting attributes, to decide with positiveness on names and titles. With this natural interpretation, if correctly acquired, by careful avoidance of over-refinement, together with true feeling for the significance of every detail, the mythological subject obtainable from literature is bound to agree, and any remainder of discrepance to be accounted for, or the analysis must be recorded as essentially inconclusive or incomplete. The establishment of such coincidence and harmony was the aim of the paper in a previous number of the *Classical Museum*, on the Sculptured Groups in the Western Pediment of the Parthenon; and our experience there may warn us in the present instance to pay proper reverence on the one hand to characteristic action and expression, on the other to scrutinize the mythus of the best general pretensions, for the precise phase agreeing with this verified ideal.

To approach the analysis then, in the first instance, by the light of general nature and expression alone, or only availing ourselves in addition of those points of conventional symbolism that by universality of adoption have become to poetry and art a second nature,—simple inspection is or ought to be sufficient to determine that the principal composition represents a marriage; Eros, with bow and quiver, flying before and encouraging, by look and gesture, the hero who enters the scene on one side, and is received by the female figure occupying the centre, can have but one meaning. To the encouragement of Eros is added even that of the lady herself, accorded indeed with an air of dignity, or even graciousness; and wherefore should such encouragement, which the happiest in this world know blends gracefully with modest tenderness, be incompatible with majesty? Seated averse from the approaching lover, she yet turns her head to regard him at the least complacently, and with extended

right arm and hand, more than meets his advances.⁹ The expression of the lover is balanced as admirably as that of the beloved: bashful indeed he is, but still adventurous; boldness indeed is his, but not unqualified by feelings that partake of awe. The poise of his body, not thrown forward in impetuous passion, his short undecided step, his right hand retaining the drapery that falls off behind him on the threshold, the half-mechanical advance of his arm, and his left arm not his right, which lies on, does not grasp the encouraging arm of the goddess, his eye directed to the piloting and inciting Eros rather than to the kind look of the object of his venture,—all are traits that assist in fixing and defining an equivocal expression at that exact point that the spirited movement of the figure is still sufficient to save, where deference still consists with daring; it is clear that of old as now, a lover feared to fall, yet notwithstanding dared to climb, and of old as now, a goddess said no, and had him.

Balancing the figure of the lover at the other side of the group, but nearer to the female and more advanced towards the front of the vase, is an elder male figure, who stands in a tranquil attitude, with his left arm behind him enveloped in his cloak; and resting his right foot on a raised fragment of rock, with elbow on knee, and bearded chin supported by his right hand, looks upon the scene that the fluttering Eros urges and animates, with evident composure and consent, though not it may be with eager interest and satisfaction. The left foot of the figure is hidden by that of the female, whose position in front of him also assists to indicate the occupation of the moment previous to that represented, the conversation of the two original occupants of the scene. A fig-tree bounds the scene on this side as the portico on the other, and the seated figure in the centre is overshadowed by the branches of an olive.

On the opposite side of the vase the centre is again occupied by a youthful female figure; she reclines on a rock beneath a fig-tree; and holding a reversed and lighted torch in her left hand, bends her right arm above her head with the movement that in ancient art and nature of all ages, is the sign and symbol of disposition to sleep.

Behind her is seated a female of more mature proportions,

⁹ — ἡ δ' ἄσπον ἀνιξαμένη χερὲς ἀκρης

Αἰακίδω Πηλῆος · ὃ γὰρ ῥά οἱ ἦεν ἀκούσσης.—Apollon. Arg. iv. 852.

who by her sceptre and the myrtle that springs up in front of her is evidently a goddess, Aphrodite, mother of the winged boy so busy in the principal group. She appears to direct her look over the head of the reclining nymph towards the youthful male figure on the other side, who, seated on a pile of rock that passes behind the central mass, appears on his part to sympathise with the suggestions of the goddess, and contemplates the beautiful form before him with interest and affection. From the distribution of the figures, and the unconsciousness of the reclining lady, Aphrodite and the lover, although on opposite sides, appear to be in communication, and furtively watching the retired and resting nymph.¹⁰

I have no hesitation in assuming the lady and her lover in this group to be repetitions of the pair on the chief front, as well from their resemblance in character and costume, as from the absence of any points of contrast whatever, which scarcely would have been neglected had the intention been to represent an entirely different adventure of other personages. Here then again the lady occupying the centre, takes place and precedence as the more important personage; and if the lover is neither exactly thrust aside nor into the back ground, his chief dignity, it is clear, is derived from the noble daring of his aspiring passion.

We must now return to the chief composition, where we have still to advert to the huge creature attendant on the seated nymph; this it is of the first importance to observe is a marine monster (pistrix Neptunia,) and not a serpent; and Millingen correctly refers to the groups of marine personages in which the same creature is introduced. The great size of the animal, however, and the character of its forms, give it some appearance of formidableness, though the artist took care that the hesitation of the lover should not be degraded by being connected with it as the cause, by placing it nearly out of his sight, and also directing his looks elsewhere. Besides this the action of the creature is admirably managed to express observance of its mistress, whose left hand rests upon its coils, not without such

¹⁰ Thiersch, who compares the general subject with the celebrated bronze of Aphrodite and Anchises, chooses, I think erroneously, a later incident: he continues,—nur erscheint hier Venus vom Lager aufstehend, und auf den

schönen phrygischen Schläfer eben so zurückblickend, wie dort Peleus auf die schlummernde Meergöttin, von deren Lager er sich erhoben hat.—*Epoch. bild. K.*, p. 169.

a degree of intention and purpose as to convey an impression that the gentleness of its movement is the effect of command and control. The associations of power and dignity, with the lowly seated lady, are thus wonderfully enhanced; and a mysteriousness is imparted to her which comes to the relief of the hero's bashfulness, as due to something more than the mere faintheartedness that never yet won a lady fair.

We have therefore before us a patroness of the mighty denizens of the great waters, with which the symbolism of her half-draped figure is perfectly in harmony; and from the indicated bulk of the animal which is not shown in the scene, where indeed there is not room for it, we may regard her as seated by the verge of the sea, from which it rises to fawn upon her.

These maritime characteristics receive their full force from the presence of Poseidon himself, who is recognised in the composed and witnessing god, by attitude and style of beard and countenance, his proper attributes on hundreds of monuments, as distinctly and certainly as we recognise the fledged and the quivered Eros himself.

The marriage represented, therefore, is that of a sea nymph, for Amphitrite herself is not to be thought of, intimately connected with Poseidon, and her marriage, not with a divine, but an heroic lover; for only by such difference of dignity can we explain the appropriateness of the expression so distinctly and admirably portrayed, the happy temper of boldness and reserve, of loving well and loving wisely too.

The conditions of the problem thus evolved, present with one glaring incongruity a set of coincidences so remarkable with the details of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, the parents of Achilles, one of the most favourite subjects of ancient art, especially on the vases, as to entitle this mythus to be first examined, and with the closest attention.

The sea nymph Thetis was sought by both Zeus and Poseidon;¹¹ but the wooers are deterred by an oracle variously assigned to Themis,¹² Prometheus,¹³ or Proteus, predicting that her son would be superior to his father. Hence they promoted her union with the mortal Peleus. Otherwise, the story ran, that Thetis, grateful to Here, her foster-mother, repulsed the

¹¹ Pindar, *Isth.* viii. 58-70.

¹² Pind. *ibid.*; Ovid, *Met.* xi. 225,
xv. 856.

¹³ Æschyl. *Prom.* 767; Hygin. *Fab.*
54; Serv. *Virg. Ecl.* vi. 42.

advances of Zeus, who punished her contumacy by causing her humiliating union with a mortal husband.¹⁴ Peleus, instructed by the centaur Cheiron, surprised the nymph, and although to escape from him, she availed herself of her power of transformation into various objects and animals, he succeeded in retaining her.¹⁵ At the formal celebration of their marriage, the gods of both sea and land were assembled, and brought presents. Apollo himself sung at the feast to the lyre; and, moreover, the very brute creation crowded to the festivity. Catullus, however, whose authority, in spite of his age, is to be regarded, as apparently he follows a Greek original, relates that Apollo and Artemis alone of all the gods disdained to take part on the occasion.¹⁶

Here it is clear we have some of the leading circumstances of our subject, the bride a sea goddess, the heroic lover, the witnessing and approving Poseidon; but in place of the bridegroom's "bashful sincerity and comely love," the story gives us a rash violence that is in most striking contradiction to it. So again the numerous representations of the subject, on vase and sarcophagus, represent the hero either boldly surprising the sleeping nymph, pursuing her as she flies in dismay, struggling with her in spite of serpents that coil round him, and pards that cling to him and threaten him, no where at present known is the encounter depicted as the encouraging reception of a backward lover.

This is the difficulty that has caused the cold reception, not to say positive rejection of the interpretation of Winckelmann and Millingen; and any interpretation, it must be said, has little claim to a better fate, that either loyally or otherwise fails to advert to a difficulty so obvious and so important.

Failing, however, another mythus with any approach to a fulfilment of the conditions from which we started; and failing even an exceptional form of that before us in precise and literal agreement with our subject, we are thrown upon an analysis of wider extent, we are reduced to ask which among the many forms and variations of the story of which we have already seen

¹⁴ Hom. *Il.* xviii. 431, f. xxiv. 59; Apoll. Rhod. iv. 793.

¹⁵ Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 101, and iii. 60, with Scholiast; Herod. vii. 188, 191; Schol. Apollon. Rhod. i. 582; Tzetzes

Lyc. 175; Apollod. iii. 13, 5; Paus. v. 18, 1.

¹⁶ *Il.* xxiv. 61, xvi. 143, 381, xxii. 443, xviii. 84; Serv. Virg. *Æn.* i. 31; Catullus, *Epith.* 64; Pindar, *Nem.* iii. 56.

the fluctuating character, is that version of the incident which, whether usual or not, is most favourable to the subject of the vase, bears most of the colour of its motives; and this given, does it afford us a clue to the general elucidation? how far is the remainder of abnormal divarication resolvable by the laws that govern the transformation of myths, and equally of artistic groups and combinations? That is to say,—the mythus of Thetis, it is clear, from the sketch already given, was as versatile as Thetis herself. Can we, by following its transitions, clutch it and hold it fast as it passes exactly into the form that lies before us?

The exposition of the laws of the development and transmutation of myths belongs to the Theory of Scientific Mythology; and this unfortunately still remains to be written. It is enough, however, for our present purpose, to notice that the leading characteristics of mythical divarications, both in literary and figured antiquity, are first, the elaboration of highly contrasted forms by the development of various germs within the myth itself; and, secondly, alteration effected by the communication between one mythus and another, in any degree connected or analogous, of symbols, details, incidents, and accidents, transferred, recombined, and often retransferred.

This strange combination of loyalty to a type and liberty of variation, necessarily arose among a people whose traditional feeling was too strong to permit them to wander long or far out of the bounds of those great heroic cycles of legend by which they connected themselves with the divinities and heroes, while at the same time the vigour and sensitiveness of their poetical feeling demanded within those bounds a constant supply and stimulus of novelty. Poetic variations of heroic tales are rife in the earliest records. Euripides is notorious for his excessive and violent alterations. Æschylus, we have the word of Herodotus, and the evidence of the Prometheus and Eumenides, was also a master of the art. Pindar avows his practice of it; and even Homer ascribes to the bards the study of novelty, that under the conditions was sure to foster it; and he himself, it is certain, obeyed the impulse unscrupulously.

Finally, it may be observed, that we can seldom safely attempt an historical arrangement of the forms of a mythus. The chances of preservation are slight indications even of prevalence; and the relative ages of the records they are preserved

in are no guide whatever to date of origin. The latest are constantly revivals of the obsolete; and the earliest are quite as likely to be alterations of the more genuine forms anterior to all records, as any that come after them.

We shall find numerous illustrations of these laws rise before us as we proceed; and in the mean time, our business is to examine the literary and figured records of the mythus of Peleus and Thetis in the first instance, and then of other adventures similar in character, as suggestive of the import of the subject and principle of its development.

The traces of a bashful Peleus and a condescending Thetis are most rife among the later evidences; but the alarm of a mortal favoured by an enamoured goddess, is certainly a very ancient idea. The vases, those true repositories of so much archaic lore, show to us not only Paris alarmed and retreating at the approach of the goddesses who simply seek his judgment on a matter of taste, but Tithonus in flight from the vehement love of the pursuing Eos. Anchises certainly addresses Aphrodite as a goddess with sufficient self-possession, but this is when he really believes her to be mortal, and is a compliment of the same class that Odusseus pays to Nausicaa:¹⁷ when she reveals herself in her true celestial character to the awakened heroic herdsman, he is struck with apprehension and awe.¹⁸

Ovid makes Peleus in his struggle with the transforming nymph once relax his hold in dismay;¹⁹ while "the learned" Catullus, in the *Epithalamium*, for which there is so strong a presumption of a Greek original, says nothing of any struggle whatever. It was when Thetis rose from the waves with the Nereids, in surprise and admiration at the newly launched Argo, that Peleus looked and loved, and Thetis did not disdain a mortal marriage,—

Tum Thetidis Peleus incensus fertur amore,
Tum Thetis humanos non despexit hymenæos,—

and as their wooing was their wedded life—

Nullus amor tali conjunxit fœdere amantes
Qualis adest Thetidi, qualis concordia Peleo.

But it is in the *Heroicus* of Philostratus writing under Cara-

¹⁷ *Odys.* vi. 149.

¹⁸ *Hom. Hymn. in Ven.* 92-182.

¹⁹ "Territus Æacides a corpore brachia solvit."—*Metam.* xi. 246.

calla, the very age, remarkably enough, to which the tomb, if not the vase, belongs, that we find a version of the story incomparably the nearest to the design of all that have been preserved; and as the Lemnian sophist appears in this valuable composition, more intent on displaying learning than invention, we may confidently infer that the rare myths he preserves were derived from earlier obscure sources. The marine Daimon, thus runs his tale, enamoured of Peleus, visited him *incognita* on Mount Pelion; but when on a time he beheld her from the heights, sporting on the calm sea with dolphins and hippocamps,²⁰ he recognized her divine nature, and was alarmed when she approached. The goddess, however, encouraged him to confidence, reminding him how Eos loved Tithonus, how Aphrodite was enamoured of Anchises, how Selene visited the sleeping Endymion; "and I," she said, "will bring to you a son of more than mortal prowess." Here then at last we find a version of the mythus distinctly embodying the leading motives, as expressed in the group on the vase, the abashed hero, the encouraging goddess; and this authority, taken in conjunction with the other coincidences of the design already insisted on, I hold to be sufficient to vindicate the interpretation of the subject as the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, notwithstanding its glaring incongruity in a principal point with the more prevalent versions and representations.

We still certainly have not, and we are not likely to have, a literary statement of the mythus corresponding with the monument in every particular, accounting for the introduction and occupation of every personage and every detail. Art no doubt usually followed poetry; but the poetry that chiefly influenced art did not all become fixed in literature, and of that which did, we possess but a small portion. The productions of ancient art preserved to us bear a still smaller proportion to those that have perished; and rarely indeed is it that a monument occurs presenting a precise reflection of the ideas of a poet that has come down to us. We may congratulate ourselves if we can identify the special conception of the artist in the monument we seek to explain, in one version of the story. On this leading

²⁰ Cf. Tibull. I. xi. 45.—

Talis ad Hæmonium Nereis Pelea quondam

Vecta est frenato coerula pisce Thetis.

—See the *piscis frenatus* of a Ne-reid, Pl. vii. of Gerhard's *Apulian Vases*.

idea, the treatment of all details depends,—what particular details were likely to be presented, and what was the extent of modification they received to reduce them to harmony with the spirit of the new composition,—we must seek for and may discern by resorting to the fund of poetical and artistic associations connected with the subject, as preserved in the mass of parallel and conflicting legends on the same or similar incidents.

The bas-relief, on which Winckelmann²¹ relied for his interpretation, is one of a series of compositions of great similarity, representing the surprise of a sleeping nymph or youth by a celestial or heroic lover; in all of these, whether representing²² Mars and Ilia, Dionusos and Ariadne, Peleus and Thetis, or Selene and Endymion, we have a constant recurrence of parallelism in motives, groups and details; and in all, the leading characteristic is the attitude already noticed in the Thetis of our secondary group, as expressive of somnolence, the attitude of the Capitoline Ariadne.

On the vase these stock materials are all identifiable, but treated in accordance with the altered scheme of the mythus. As this is no longer a surprise, the usual group is divided; the somnolent nymph and advancing hero are made keys of distinct compositions, their expression and attitudes being at the same time adjusted to suit particular space and altered occupation.

The delicate touches by which the figure of Peleus is brought into such distinct contrast to his bolder antetypes, render it a perfect study; in the parallel myths both in literature and on monuments, we find intimations of other intermediate phases of expression. The rashness of the lover of the Greek Anthology²³ becomes stealthiness in the approach of Dionusos,²⁴ conducted by Eros and aided by the god of sleep, like the Peleus of the sarcophagus, to the reposing Aura; while Selene, contemplating the sleeping Endymion, approaches with an expression in-

²¹ *Monumen. inedit.*, pl. 110.

²² These compositions are among the most familiar to the students of figured antiquity; I content myself with referring to the most accessible,—Millin. *Gal. Myth.* 131, 550, 35, 117, 63, 241; *Museo Pio-Clem.* iv. 16; *Galerie Gius-tin.* t. II., n. 110; *Mus. Capit.*, t. IV.,

pl. XXIV. and XXIX.; *Denkmäler d. Alt. Kunst*, II. 2, 253, 254, &c. &c.

²³ *Anthol.* t. III. 75, XII.—

Διαιτὸν ἡ χάριςσα Μενεκρατὶς ἔκχυτος
ἔπνῃ

κίετο περὶ κρατῶφους πῆχυν ἐλίσσάμενη.
τολμήσας δ' ἐπίβην κ. τ. λ.

And Cf. Propert. I. *Eleg.* 3.

²⁴ Nonnus, *Dionys.* XLVIII. 614.

intermediate between the stealthy Dionusos and daring Peleus ; and on a bas-relief we recognise the same diffident, tripping, tip-toe step of the love-escorted goddess, that is described by Lucian, and reflects the motive of our group.²⁵

The heralding and inciting Eros, either alone or with his gay compeers, is as active in the compositions already referred to, as in that on the vase ; but for the exact circumstances of his introduction here, the best precedent is furnished by literature. Euripides, in his drama of *Andromeda*, represented her lover Perseus as an exiled and disinherited adventurer, despised by her father Cepheus, proud of royalty and riches, but nobly confident in his own worth and boldness, aspiring to, and gallantly achieving, the love of the princess and alliance with her house, by the exploit of slaying the sea monster to which, in obedience to an oracle, she was exposed. Not, however, unaided ; like the knight of another chivalry, which in its most poetical form is under great obligations to his adventures,—

“ He sighed a sigh and he prayed a prayer ;
The prayer was to his patron saint,
The sigh was for his lady fair.”

Among the fragments of the drama, we find his appeal to Eros, if he will teach beauty to appear as beautiful, at least to lend to lovers a helping hand through the labours their passion imposes on them.²⁶ Philostratus describes a picture in which Eros was engaged loosening the bands of *Andromeda* ; and he too notices the invocation of Perseus to the god for assistance in the contest ; in this appeal, therefore, he is an antetype of the Peleus of the vase, as we get a hint from Tzetzes²⁷ that his ambitious love of the daughter of the dignified and disdainful king, was compared by the tragedian to the alliance of Peleus and his

²⁵ Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clem.* iv. 16 ; Lucian, *Deo. Dial. Aphrodite et Selene*, xi. 2. Compare also the bas-relief figured by Otto Jahn, *Archäol. Beitr.* taf. III. 1 ; his description, though unconscious of the analogies of the group on the Portland Vase, exhibits and illustrates them most remarkably : “ Aus der ruhigen Stellung sehnsüchtiger Betrachtung (the motive of our secondary group,) wird sie durch Eros zu Endymion fortgezogen, und sehr zart und fein ist das keusche Widerstreben, mit

welchem sie diesem Zuge dennoch folgt, in ihrer Haltung ausgedrückt. Indem sie genöthigt wird den einen Fuss vorwärts zu setzen, sucht sie mit dem andern eine Stütze zum Widerstand zu gewinnen ; und während sie Eros die Hand bietet, sucht sie doch auch ihn abzuwehren und sieht ihn an, als flehe sie um Schonung.”—P. 68.

²⁶ Euripid. *Frag. ap. Athen.* XIII. p. 561, No. 135, Dindorf.

²⁷ *Chiliad.* II. 46.

goddess bride. The celebrated group of Perseus and Andromeda, the bas-relief of the Capitoline Museum, presents in the meeting arms of the pair, and the bashful grace of Andromeda, parallel artistic ideas that correspond with the recognised parallelism of the myths. Thus it was that the Greeks never disdained, and never deserted, an artistic idea, or a natural expression, so long as one of its harmonies remained unexhausted; and the more familiarity we obtain with their works, the more freely we shall recognise this law "of linked sweetness," notwithstanding the injuries that barbarism and time have inflicted on the series.

Thetis, as a Nereid, is most frequently represented as daughter of Nereus, who appears on some of the vases receiving from her sisters the announcement of the attempt of Peleus; but other authorities style Poseidon her father, by the ordinary substitution of one sea god for another.²⁸ Peleus again, we hear, having failed in one attempt to surprise Thetis, sacrificed to the sea gods, and especially invoked Poseidon,²⁹ and according to Pindar, conciliated the god as³⁰ γαμβρός, the character which properly answers to his position in our group; in Lucian we find the pair of lovers conducted to the nuptial chamber by Poseidon and Amphitrite.³¹ Poseidon witnesses the attempt of Peleus on the Athenian vase of Dr. Clarke, published in Walpole's *Memoirs*, and finally, appears at the end of a sarcophagus³² bearing the ceremonious marriage of Thetis, attended by a marine monster, and in the formal attitude of the vase, appropriate to him as god both of land and sea, as both shaking and establishing shores and continents, Gaieochos and Asphalios no less than Ennosigaios.³³

The marine monster just adverted to, as attendant on Poseidon, is the same creature (the pistrich,) that on another sarcophagus fawns on Peleus as he advances towards the reposing Thetis; the same that on the Portland vase is associated with the goddess as a symbol of her nature and power. On the chest of Cypselus, at Elis, Pausanias³⁴ saw a group of Peleus seizing

²⁸ Cf. Appian. II. v. 35; Catullus, *Epith.* 28.

²⁹ Lactant. *Placid. Fab.* XI. and VII.

³⁰ Pindar, *Nem.* v. 67; Cf. Thiersch, *Epoche der bild. Kunst.*, p. 169.

³¹ *Dial. Marin.* v.

³² Winckelmann, *Mon. Antichi*, p. 154, n. 112.

³³ Cf. Macrobian. *Sat.* I. 17; Oppian. *Kyn.* v. fin.; Hom. *Hymn. in Nep.* v. 2.

³⁴ Pausan. v. 18.

the virgin Thetis, while a serpent started from her hand to attack him ; a parallel conception of the subject to those familiar to us on the vases. It would perhaps be rash to affirm that the monster of our group has no relationship in art to the serpent of the archaic works ; but admitting, and even asserting the parallelism, we shall misconceive the principles on which a significant detail was transferred by a Greek artist from one composition to another, if we infer that the import of the emblem is necessarily the same in the derived as in the archetypal instance. A chief charm and art in these transferences, depends on the perfect mastery exercised by the artist over the transferred symbol, so that it shall recal the original composition, yet still be so perfectly in harmony with its new scene and circumstance as to exclude the slightest shade of incongruity.

I must therefore demur to the assumption of Millingen, that the *pistrix* here, as suggested by the serpent of earlier groups, is intended, like them, as an emblem of the transformations of the goddess. It has no appearance of rushing, or being about to rush, to attack the hero ; and as the reluctance of the goddess is the sole motive of her transformations, to introduce these or their emblem where the feeling finds no place, would violate consistency and the propriety of art.

The attitude of Thetis in this group is, I have no doubt, related by a chain of modifications to the same ideal that furnished the Ariadne of the Herculean painting, seated on the shore and watching the retiring sea-boat of Theseus ; we have but to imagine this very figure at the next stage of the tale, turning her head at the approach of Dionusos and accepting his consolatory hand, and we see before us the Thetis of the vase.

In the reversed torch in the hand of the Thetis of the secondary group, we have another symbol which recurs over and over again in the parallel compositions, yet in each usually with some peculiarity of employment and import. Ordinarily it seems intended to symbolize night and darkness ; it occurs in the hand of Hesperus, and on a bas-relief of inferior workmanship representing the marriage of Eros and Psyche, it is placed in the hand of the bridegroom as here in that of the bride. Philostratus, in his description of a picture of the interview of Jason and Medea, interprets a reversed torch in the hand of Eros as implying together with the tranquillity of his attitude, his folded

legs, that the moment for his active interference had not yet arrived: this seems to be mere over-refinement; the interview of Jason and Medea was clandestine, and by night; and this is sufficient explanation of the symbolism of the torch; we may compare with it the pair of Loves or Geniuses who occupy either end of the composition of Selene visiting Endymion, each with folded legs and torch reversed.

Another and concurrent motive for the introduction of the torch in the hand of Thetis may probably have been the remarkable relation in which she stands, although a water goddess, to Hephæstian legend. The fire-gods of the Cabiric worship, as coins attest, were in high repute in Thessaly, especially in Magnesia and the neighbourhood of Mount Pelion; and hence the importance that is attached in legend to the presence of the fire-god Prometheus, friend of Cheiron at the nuptials of Peleus. The name of the Thessalian city Pyrrha, indicates a seat of these worships; and not only was the Thetideion close to it, but Pyrrhaia was a title of Thetis herself,³⁵ as Purisoos of her son Achilles,³⁶ in allusion to her attempt to make her offspring immortal by placing them in the fire. She even takes the place of Athene in the legend that, either in flight from Peleus or to obtain armour for her son, she visited the forge of the fire-god, who, inflamed with desire, pursued her, and wounded her in her escape on the heel with his hammer.³⁷ The title of the goddess Pyrrhaia, is regarded in the name of the Æacid Pyrrhus.

The slight inclination of the profile of Peleus is sufficient to show that he contemplates the reclining nymph, as Selene fills her gaze with the reclining Endymion. On the opposite side, the profile of Aphrodite is elevated just sufficiently,—and it is worth notice, by how slight a difference the contrast of expression is effected, to convey the impression, that she is immediately engrossed by interest in the hero. The scene is a substitute for his surprise of Thetis, according to the notice of Lactantius, retired from the mid-day heat; or his contemplation of her from Mount Pelion, as described by Philostratus. It is observable, as another instance of adaptation of established

³⁵ Hesych. in c.

³⁶ Tzetzes on *Lycoph.* v. 178.

³⁷ Is the armed female on the terracotta published by Panofka (*Antiken-kranz*), pursued by the fire-god, ham-

mer in hand, to be called Thetis? If the Gorgon breast-plate is decisive for Athene, the other coincidences at least illustrate the exact parallelism of the myths.

types, that his attitude is in the main arrangement, that of the reclined and expectant bridegroom of the Aldobrandini marriage, as the column beside him reminds us of the same composition.

The expressiveness and piquancy of the figure of Aphrodite, as she watches the plot, are beyond all praise and all description. Equally absorbed and alert, the movement in her left hand and leg convey a feeling of her excitement and interest, while the motionless lines of those of her limbs that are on the side of Thetis, by whom she is to be considered as unseen, give the impression of ambush and intent watchfulness. The complete expression contrasts not only with the repose of the unconscious Thetis, but with that of Peleus, in whom sudden surprise, shown by his left hand still retaining the folds of his drapery, is fast settling into the fixedness of an enamoured gaze.

For the appearance here of the Queen of smiles, it is scarcely necessary to quote either parallel or precedent. Scenes like this are her established sphere; and whether gods or mortals yield to her soft suggestions, she equally looks on and "laughs that pleasant sight to see." So on the painted vase she is present at the encounter of Poseidon and Amumone; and on the chest of Cypselus, she completed a group with Jason and Medea, which was probably a parallel to that before us,—it would be gratuitous to infer that it was the same. It bore the inscription—

Μῆδεον Ἰάσων γαμέει, κέλεται δ' Ἀφροδίτα,—a line which in fact, with the substitution of the names Peleus, Thetis, and Eros, expresses the argument of the principal front of the Portland Vase.

The fig-tree that shadows the recumbent Thetis has a recognised connubial import,³⁸ which may account for its introduction here, as well as on the other front behind Poseidon. Similar trees occur in the parallel compositions, which again are as little destitute of architectural ornament, though treated differently to the porch through which Peleus enters.

I have already assumed the chief scene to be by the sea, and with this the olive in the centre is quite in accordance. Like

³⁸ Büttiger, *Kleine Schriften*, III. 319: gemeines Symbol der Honigmonate, in Uebrigens war die Feige gleichsam all- und ausser der Ehe.

the olive of the acropolis, tended by the dewy Pandrosos, it is a type of the fertility of which Poseidon, in one of his most remarkable forms, was a patron, and still farther pertains to the symbolism of a Naiad's cave on the beach, as described by Homer, followed very distinctly by Ovid in his description of the adventure of Peleus :

Αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ κρατὸς λιμένος τανύφυλλος ἔλαιη .
ἀγχόθι δ' αὐτῆς ἄντρον ἐπήρατον ἡερσιδές,
ἱρὸν Νυμφάων, αἱ γηϊάδες καλέρονται.

With respect to the porch, it has been assigned to the Thetideion, but this was inland ;³⁹ and all authorities place the adventure with the Nereid near her own element. Ovid's description might authorize us to connect it with the cave of the goddess, or its sacred precinct :

Est specus in medio, natura factus an arte
Ambiguum, magis arte tamen, quo sæpe venire
Frenato delphine sedens, Theti, nuda solebas.

Metam. xi. 235.

The observation, however, of the introduction of portals in other sculptures of this age, with evident relation to that mystic significance of the soul's migrations that literature bears out, inclines me to recognize the same motive here. I must content myself here with referring to the observations of Visconti,⁴⁰ (*Mus. Pio-Clem.* iv. 16,) which will lay the enquirer on the track ; and only further notice, that the relinquishment of his vesture by Peleus is not introduced without some feeling for symbolism of the same class, and popular in the same schools. Ἀπολυτέον ἄρα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἡμῖν χίτωνας, τὸν τε ὄρατὸν τοῦτον καὶ σάρκινον, καὶ οὗς ἔσωθεν ἡμφέρισεσθα, προσεχεῖς ὄντας τοῖς δερματίνοις . γυμνοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀχίτωνες ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον ἀναβαίνομεν ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς Ὀλύμπια ἀγωνισόμενοι.⁴¹

As to the satyrs, whose heads decorate the handles, they befit a love adventure and a wooded scene. Like Thetis and Poseidon, they are powers of humid nature, and as followers of

³⁹ *Fragm.* Pherecyd. p. 77-80, ed. Sturz.; Schol. Pind. *Nem.* iv. 81.

⁴⁰ Lajard, *Nouv. Ann.* ii., p. 10 ff. 70 f.; Porph. *de Ant. Nym.* 23; Macrobi. in *Somm. Scip.* i. 12; *Sat.* i. 17, p. 306, Z.

⁴¹ Porphyr. *de Abstin.* i. 33; Cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, p. 523, ed. Bekker; Plut. *de S. N. V.* 92, Wyttén; Porphyr. *de Ant. Nym.* 14, and the commentators.

Dionusos, have a farther appropriateness, of which we shall see more.

The bottom of the vase is ornamented with a design in work of the same kind as the other figures, but less exact and elaborate. It represents a youthful male head of larger proportions and melancholy expression, attired in the Phrygian cap, and heavily draped; the back ground is occupied with foliage, again of the fig-tree. Here again is another indication that points far afield into the regions of mythological exploration. The head is the analogue of the heads, most frequently female, sometimes male and with a starred Phrygian cap, that are frequent on the funereal vases of Apulia, rising from the calyx of a flower, and surrounded by the symbols of luxuriant vegetation. Sometimes the head is replaced by a group, the ravishment of Kore or Oreithyia, or by a winged love or genius, but in any case, the import of the symbol is easily identifiable with that of the anodos and kathodos of Kore, descending or rising through the flowery meads, type of the eternal youth of nature, the highest fact in the natural theology of the ancients; and thence of the futurity of the defunct.⁴² The head before us we may call Attya, or perhaps Ganymedes, exponents both, of the destiny of all that lives and is beautiful to death, and equally of the unquenchable eternity of life and beauty.

The vase by this mark alone I would claim as specifically funereal; and this obliges us to entertain the question, what is the special propriety to a funereal monument of the mythus with which it is embellished? There are sufficient indications of cosmogonical import in the mythus of Peleus and Thetis, the types of land and sea, and their mystic marriage, taken along with the significance of the portal and relinquished vestment, to afford an explanation on pure symbolical grounds, which would be farther supported by the not unfrequent occurrence of the mythus of Thetis on sarcophagi; but while I admit and indeed urge the existence of this feeling, I prefer in the present instance to rely chiefly on a motive less recondite.

Pindar, in the last of his Isthmian odes, celebrating the glories in the games of a relative of the victor no longer surviving, adverts to the funereal honours, especially the threne of the

⁴² See the observations of Gerhard on the general subject in the introduction to his magnificent work on the

Apulian Vases; and consult also Panofka, *Testa di Ganymeda*, in the Naples Bulletino, July 1847.

muses, accorded by divine decree to his national hero Achilles, and introduces the account of them, by what was probably regarded as a main theme of the funereal song, the celebration of his glory, as exhibited not only in his exploits, but in his divine descent, the detail and circumstance of the marriage of Peleus with his goddess mother.

There seems to be a propriety of the same kind in the enrichment of our funereal vase with the same subject, when we find ground for concluding that the personage whose ashes it contained, made pretensions to the character or qualities of an Æacid. The design at the back of the sarcophagus is certainly the ransom by Priam of the body of Hector. In front, Otto Jahn has lately argued with great force in favour of the discovery of Achilles at Scyros, while others adhere to the earlier opinion in favour of the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon; and to these conjectures I am inclined to add, that the subject may be the eagerness of Achilles for battle, after the reception of arms from Thetis and the restoration of Briseis. Divided as opinion seems likely to remain as to the exact interpretation of the several groups, no one appears to question that the hero in all is Achilles, though liberties are taken with the Homeric story as considerable as we have remarked upon the vase. But it is the coincidence of subject between the vase and the sarcophagus,—hitherto apparently unremarked or neglected,—which must fix our attention. That the bas-reliefs represent the exploits of that hero precisely who sprung from the divinely ordered marriage represented on the vase, is a circumstance that we are bound to ascribe to something more than accident, from the well-attested fact, that in these works, the selection of even a single subject, much more therefore of a pair in harmony, constantly betrays personal allusion to the entombed occupant. Thus we find the geniuses of the nine Muses on the sarcophagus of a youth, whose effigy is surrounded with the symbols of rhetorical study, and in numerous instances, the head of the chief figure in the groups has been evidently in the first instance merely blocked out, to be fashioned afterwards, often by a very inferior hand, into a portrait of the dead.

But independently of this, the vase itself as a separate work may be connected with the traditions of the hero of the *Iliad* still more interestingly. In a beautiful though gravely suspected portion of the last book of the *Odyssey*, the poet des-

cribes the funeral honours of Achilles ; his mother issued from the sea with her sisters of the brine, and the words of Nestor alone restrained the alarm of the Greeks ; while the Nereids surrounded the body, not like those of the Xanthian tomb, in the lively action expressive of joyful palingenesia, but pitiaibly lamenting as became the mourners of the yet unentombed dead, the Muses nine lamented him with responsive song, and gods and men were melted at the threne. When the body was consumed, the white bones of the hero were collected in wine and unguents, and deposited with those of his dearest friend, in a vessel provided by Thetis herself. It was a golden amphora, work of Hephaistos, and the gift to the goddess from Dionusos, presented, say other authorities, in gratitude for her protection when he dived into the waves to escape the wild pursuit of Lycurgus.⁴³ I have no hesitation in claiming the Portland Vase, a funereal urn adorned with the marriage of the parent of the hero, as intended by the artist for a realization, though in another material, of this celebrated mythic archetype.

The satyrs heads below the handles, appear happy hints of this Dionusiatic origin, though here again they lure us further ; why, it may be asked, were the ashes of the dead deposited in a vase, an amphora, a wine-vessel in fact ? There must have been some symbolical justification, and the peculiar relation of the wine god as Demiurgus to the mythology of the migrating soul, and the Zodiacal vessels that marked the epochs of its course, suggest the direction where we might probably find it, were it not that the whole subject, however pleasant to speculate on, is little inviting or profitable to expound.

Inasmuch then as the male figure on the lid of the sarcophagus, from his age and conjugal relation, can have no claim to the character of Achilles, we may regard him as representing the father of the hero, and by the same rule, his wife would claim the honours of Thetis, and we are reduced to regard the vase found within their tomb, as the receptacle of the ashes of an heroic son, the proud comparison of whom to Achilles prompted their own mythological assumptions.

And here we might relinquish an enquiry already unexpectedly extended, were it not that by its spontaneous development, we find ourselves brought back to our starting point, and again

⁴³ *Odys.* xxiv. 74 ; *Quint. Calab.* iv. ; *Lycophron, Cass.* v. 273.

confronted with the claim of the Portland Vase to be regarded as the funereal urn of the son of Mammea,⁴⁴ a claim which now appears independent of his identification with the figure reclining by his supposed mother. Assuming her identity, her companion, by the foregone deductions, must be regarded as her husband Gessius Marcianus, of whom history is negligent enough, but at least avouches his existence, an attention it has omitted in the case of some other distinguished personages of these times, as, for instance, one of the wives of Alexander Severus himself, whose name is only known from medals.

The wife of Marcianus was the last and not the least remarkable of the four Julias of Syrian blood; Domna, Mæsa, Soæmias, and Mammea, the countrywomen of Semiramis and the future Zenobia, who, by their talents, passions, and energies, played so important a part in the history of the empire during the supremacy of Septimius Severus and his family. A great part of the better characteristics of the art of the period seems to have passed under their influence from the Eastern regions, where a little later the sublime genius of Longinus and the architectural monuments of Palmyra attest the survival of Hellenic genius. Julia Domna, patroness of Philostratus, is addressed by Oppian as Assyrian Cytherea, Selene ever uneclipsed, and the same principle of mythic identification is continued in art to such an extent, that it is quite a characteristic of the period to represent the empresses and imperial ladies as Aphrodite, &c.; the strongly marked portrait and artificial head-dress, often presenting strange incongruousness with the mythical nudity. It was in accordance with the same fashion, that the assumption of the characters of old Greek heroes was carried to such extravagant lengths by the emperors at the same time. Caracalla especially affected the attributes of Hercules, and as the new Achilles, celebrated at Ilium the funeral of a freedman representative of Patroclus, not omitting even the Homeric invocation of the winds to fan the flames of the pyre.

⁴⁴ Mention occurs of more than one elaborate funereal urn in connection with imperial burials in this very family,—Macrinus burnt the body of Caracalla, and sent the ashes to Julia Domna, his mother, in an urn: *καλπῆτινι*, Herod. iv. 13, 16; and an anecdote is related of Septimius Severus

himself, calling on his deathbed for the urn that was to contain his ashes; the same apparently in which they were afterwards carried to Rome by his sons, and saluted by the senate, and variously described by Dion, Herodian, and Spartian as of porphyry, alabaster, or gold.

After the mythic heroes, Alexander the Great was a chief object of emulation, as indeed the freak of Caracalla at Ilium was a ridiculous caricature of the great Macedonian, whose imitation of Achilles, both at Ilium and at the funeral of Hephæstion, was prompted by profound knowledge of contemporary Greece, and intended to sustain the enthusiasm of the Asiatic enterprize.

Alexander Severus himself professed to adopt as his model the "great Emathian conqueror," who occupied the first place in his chief Lararium as Achilles did in the second, and in the associations of the age, the assumption of the character of one Æacid implied that of the other; Mammea, who was called consistently, but not without some satiric allusion to her domineering character, Olympias, is found on monuments as Venus Genetrix, and Juno Augusta, and Lucina, and thus by all analogy as the mother of a new Achilles, she has obvious claim to the attributes and dignities of a new Thetis also, with which character, moreover, her relation to her less distinguished and unimportant husband would perfectly agree.

The literary notices of the period are quite in harmony with its monuments. I have already noticed that the *Heroicus* of Philostratus furnishes the version of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis most in accordance with the vase. Another contemporary work had for its subject that general body of myths of which this marriage was the leading type. Peisander of Laranda, who is placed by Suidas⁴⁵ in the age of Alexander Severus, composed a poem on Heroic Theogamies, or the unions of mortal men with goddesses, an extension probably of the bare catalogue of this class of contracts which closes the Hesiodic Theogony. Beginning from the marriage of Jupiter and Juno, says Macrobius,⁴⁶ he reduced the entire history of the intervening period down to his own time into a single continuous series. The scheme of the poem was probably much the same as that of the work of Ovid, in which, starting like Hesiod from Chaos, he has woven with great art the leading mythical events into the web of a narrative of metamorphoses, unites the historical and mythical period, and concludes by blending contemporary princes in the chain of transformations, and concentrates the

⁴⁵ In v. Peisander. Compare the *Excursus* of Heyne, Virg. *Æn.* ii. 1130.

⁴⁶ *Saturn.* v. 2; Zosimus, *Hist.* v. 29.

entire and accumulated glories of the series on the person and family of Augustus.

If Peisander, as Macrobius asserts, really brought down his poetic history to the age of Mammea, her political and domestic position and character may well have invited a complimentary parallel to the Heroic Theogamy, the subject of our vase, which must necessarily have formed a most important member of his series.⁴⁷ The very respect for the dignity of the goddess which pervades the treatment of it by the artist, seems in keeping with such an application by a courtly poet, and it now appears but simple after what has gone before, to conjecture that it was from the details of this poem that the mythical embellishments were adopted for the receptacles of the remains of the empress, her husband, and too short-lived but illustrious son.

But I am insensibly falling into the tone if not acquiring the interests of a partizan in a discussion for the subject of which I must profess the most profound indifference. Interesting as the romantic story may be of the Phœnician princesses who gave a dynasty to the Roman Empire at a critical period of its decline, worthy even as their history may be of deeper study, and from more diversified points of view, than has yet been devoted to it, they and their family must have been potentates of unusual interest indeed, for the question, whether we possess the very vessel that received the ashes of the best of them, to be of the slightest moment, unless in so far as it may possibly confirm a date, or aid in some indirect manner the appreciation of the genius of the artist whose large conceptions and true Hellenic spirit their funereal urn has more faithfully and worthily preserved to us.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

Midsummer 1848.

⁴⁷ We learn from Olympiodorus, (*ad Phædr.* p. 251, ed. Wytténb.) that the marriage of Kadmus and Harmonia, that has many analogies, both superficial and profound, to that of Pélœus and Thetis, was introduced by Peisander

with some peculiarities of treatment. See Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, p. 1253. He corrects Welcker, who ascribed the notice to the earlier Peisander of Camirus, the poet of the Herakleia.

XX.

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE GROUPS IN THE WESTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.

No. XVIII. of the *Classical Museum*, (p. 396-443,) contains a dissertation, by Mr. W. Watkiss Lloyd, on the Western Pediment of the Parthenon, which is directed against my explanation, printed in Vol. II. of the same Journal, and proposes an entirely new one. My opinion was formed by the impression made on me when for the first time I beheld the original groups of the two pediments, and I wrote it down in the autumnal vacation of the year 1844, during a short visit to England. The extreme kindness of Mr. Panizzi and other gentlemen connected with the British Museum, to whom I feel the most lively obligations, enabled me to compose my essay with perfect ease, and offered me the greatest facility in consulting the books of that institution; but the proximity of the extensive collection of works of art, as well as the abundance of the treasures and curiosities of the library, naturally urged me on not to spend too much time upon my dissertation. It appeared in the *Classical Museum* in an English translation, from my manuscript, by my friend, Dr. L. Schmitz. Under these circumstances, I was prepared to look, in regard to the detail, for corrections and new lights from competent judges, who might be in a position to devote persevering industry to a further investigation of the subject; but I did not anticipate that the explanation of the whole of the Western Pediment would again go astray, and abandon the simple truth, which, it appears to me, is expressed clearly and unequivocally in the words of Pausanias, no less than in the old drawing and in the fragments which perfectly agree with it. Such, however, unfortunately, is the case in the new explanation attempted by Mr. W. Watkiss Lloyd.

All the most important points in the explanation depend upon the view taken of the two principal figures in the centre; and all the errors of my opponent, which I shall combat, seem to arise from the fact that he has misunderstood the expression and

meaning of this group. He considers it difficult to understand how the "expression of victory and triumph could have been imparted to a figure quitting the field of contest with such precipitancy in the face of a powerful antagonist." Everybody with whom I have spoken of the conception, has recognized in the manner in which Phidias has contrived to find such a clear and ingenious expression for the decisive moment of the contest, the most happy idea, and has been struck with admiration of a power of invention, which, in spite of the difficulties of sculpture, and of the space allotted to it, could represent the victory of Athena so clearly and so strikingly, and at the same time in so simple and pleasing a manner. This is one of those inventions, which every one fancies he could easily have made himself, just because it is so perfectly natural, and because this solution of the problem appears as the only satisfactory one that could possibly be devised, but to make which it nevertheless requires nothing short of the highest genius. The two combatants have proved their claims, the verdict is pronounced, and the judges of the contest (the twelve gods rather than Zeus or Cæcrops) are added by the imagination, as the shooting gods are at the destruction of the children of Niobe. There is no reason for tarrying on the scene of contest, but we may conceive many why the victorious goddess should quickly leave it. Between the victor and the defeated there is, in the first moment, no communion, and it is natural that the former should hastily withdraw from the sight of the latter. But the joy at her victory also explains the vivacity with which Athena hastens to her chariot, managed by the goddess of victory, and the idea of the artist seizing the moment immediately succeeding the decision of the victory, happily agrees with the composition in the Eastern Pediment, which represents the moment immediately succeeding the birth of the goddess. It is an equally surprising assertion, that "Athene cannot be hastening with such energy to ascend her chariot in a direction where her next step must either bring her into collision with the fore legs of the outer horse, or carry her between the pair." Whoever thus measures space and other empirical circumstances, will find much to remark or misinterpret in all compositions, not merely of groups, but also of reliefs and paintings on vases, all of which presuppose that we should approach their contemplation with our thoughts and imagination alive. However, a few pages further on, Mr. Lloyd ex-

pressly acknowledges that Athena is not moving towards Poseidon, but away from him. I will now add the remark, that Poseidon also seems hastily or indignantly to turn away from the field of contest, and that in parting, he casts a final glance at his antagonist, who, for the present, is hateful to him. This is likewise a *naïve* idea;¹ and the perfectly equal movement of both brings before our eyes all the more distinctly the moment at which the combat is decided.

The new expositor, instead of the separation of the combatants after the decision, assumes the representation of a contest itself, and instead of the one mentioned by Pausanias, which has hitherto been understood by all as the contest about the country, (ὁπὲρ τῆς γῆς), he substitutes a new one, of which neither the ancients nor any of the modern mythologists and archaeologists (though there have been and still are among them many of great inventive powers) know any more than of the new subject which Müller had devised, in place of the one known to all the world.

According to Apollodorus' account, Poseidon, from indignation at the verdict of the twelve gods, visited the Thriasian plain with an inundation. The god accordingly, as my opponent conceives the matter, does not acquiesce in the sentence, but the struggle begins in consequence of the decision, the god attempting to bring the fertile tract of land under his own dominion, or at least to damage or destroy it. This, according to him, is the particular occurrence represented by the sculptor. He is led to this conclusion by the manner in which Proclus, in his hymn to Athena Polymetis speaks of the dispute, and which, in his opinion, so closely agrees with the sculptures, that Proclus, in writing those verses, seems to him to have had the work of Phidias before his mind's eyes. He declares that he is already indebted to Proclus for good service in the elucidation of antiquities; and to prefer Proclus' statement, (which, however, if properly understood, has nothing peculiar or contradictory to others,) to the unanimous consent of all others, seems to him a point requiring no justification at all. Thus we understand how he could be led so lamentably to misinterpret and distort

¹ In thus conceiving the movement, though with a different meaning, I have the concurrence of Brøndsted, who supposed, that the olive tree, which had

grown up, and which he placed in the centre, compelled Poseidon and his retinue to flight.

a popular tradition which is so plain and intelligible. Proclus however praises the goddess who loved (chose for herself) the learned city, overcame her uncle's desire to possess it, gave to the city her name and spirit, where she caused the olive tree to spring forth, a glorious sign of the contest even to a late posterity, *when* Poseidon sent a flood over the country of the Cecropidæ.

εὐτ' ἐπὶ Κεκροπίδῃσι Ποσειδάωνος ἀγῶνι
 μῦρ' ἔκ πόντοιο κυκώμενον ἤλυθε κῶμα,
 πάντα πολυφλοίσβοιο ἑστὶς ῥέεθροισιν ἱμάσσον.

Now, who does not see that the poet has passed over the other σῆμα μάχης, originating with Poseidon, while he adds the outburst of anger of the defeated which succeeded the victory of his antagonist? The latter concluded the account with the addition which it afterwards received, and the miracle which Poseidon had wrought before that of Athena, could be passed over by Proclus, because it was an integral and inseparable part of the popular tradition, which was known to all the people. It is, however, alluded to in the words πατροκασιγνήτοιο βιασαμένη πόθον ἱόν; for, when the gods chose cities for themselves, Poseidon, as Apollodorus relates, first came to Attica, and by a stroke with his trident he produced the salt-well in the central point of the Acropolis; after him there came Athena, who took possession of the country by means of the olive tree. A dispute thus arose between the two, which Zeus caused to be decided by the twelve gods. Proclus and Apollodorus, therefore, agree perfectly, and the dispute (ἔρις in Apollodorus) is about the country, as to which of the two the country should belong, ἔρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς, the subject which, according to Pausanias, Phidias has represented. Statius (*Theb.* XII. 632,) speaks quite in a similar manner as Proclus:

—— Collis ubi ingens
 Lis superum, donec nova surgeret arbor
 Rupibus, et longa refugum mare frangeret umbra.

Pausanias in other passages also mentions the salt-spring and the olive-tree, and uses the expressions ἀμφισβήτησις, and ἀγών—(I. 26. § 6, 27. § 2). Now, this contest is spoken of in the same manner, but without mention of the subsequent anger of Poseidon and the inundation, by Herodotus, (VIII. 55,) Calimachus, (Schol. *ad Il.* XVII. 54, where Cecrops pronounces the

judgment,) and Ovid, (*Metam.* vi. 70–82,) in whose account the twelve gods decide the dispute, (*de terræ nomine litem*,) and the victory of Minerva is expressly declared to be the conclusion in a piece of embroidery; the olive tree springs forth *mirarique deos: operi victoria finis*.² The anger of the defeated Neptune is added by Varro, (*ap. Augustin. de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 9,) and Hyginus, (*Fab.* 164.) The latter limits this anger to Neptune's desire, Jupiter who here is the judge interfering through the instrumentality of Mercury. It so happens that Hyginus, in his brief account, also omits to mention that which Neptune had produced in the contest, (*inter Neptunum et Minervam certatio*,) only the olive tree being noticed, and the salt water spring is not even alluded to, as it is by Proclus. In a collection of fables, this is, properly speaking, a deficiency, since even that which is best known should not be reported imperfectly, and the spring and olive tree are inseparably connected in this legend. The contest, (*lis deorum*, as Varro also expresses it,) according to all accounts, was only about Attica, or about the honour of giving the name to Athens, and the *ῥῶμα*, *fretum*, and the olive tree are unanimously mentioned in the proceedings as the things by which the dispute was decided. It is therefore a forced and unhappy supposition, and one so arbitrary that I cannot help being amazed at it, to consider the Thriasian inundation, which is only an addition unessential to the story itself, and a distinct fable, which, according to the general tendency of mythographers to combine things, has been connected with the other, as an advanced stage of the contest, and as the real contest represented by Phidias. It was tempting enough to transfer the indignation which Poseidon seems to betray by calling forth a lake of salt water, to the moment when he was obliged to yield to Athena. A hundred other things might have been appended with equal propriety, and one example occurs in a satiric idea in the Scholiast on Aristophanes, (*Eccles.* 473, who uses ἐπιλονέεισιν of the contest,) where Poseidon, from

² In like manner, Aristides, *Panath.* p. 106, (who, in regard to the judges, alludes to the tradition in Varro, which is also adduced by his scholiast,) Himerius, *Or.* ii. p. 378, (who alludes to it,) and Geopon. ix. 1. Aristides and the author of the Geoponica add the remark, that Poseidon withdrew to his dominion

without giving up his love for the country, whereby they intended to declare against the account of the issue of the contest preferred by others. According to the Vatican mythographers, i. 2, and ii. 119, Neptune, instead of the salt well, created the horse.

indignation at the victory of Athena, pronounces a curse upon her city, and wishes that its citizens may always be bad in their deliberations, to which Athena, who hears it, adds, "that they may be bad in their deliberations, but yet attain their ends." In the account of Varro, other facetious explanations are appended. It may further be remarked, although it is almost superfluous, that according to Pausanias, (II. 22, § 5,) the same revenge of Poseidon was related in an Argive tradition. The sea had withdrawn from a tract of land (a ὀλίγη δὸν) on which there stood a temple of Poseidon the inundator; he had previously flooded the country for which he had contended with Hera, from indignation at its having been assigned to the latter by Inachus, but Hera had prevailed on him to withdraw. If the anger of Poseidon, in the more celebrated appendage to the legend of the contest, had any reference to Athena herself, the story, in order to have a meaning and an object and to be complete, ought necessarily to state also what Athena did in that second quarrel, viz. whether and how she overcame Poseidon. As the ancients say absolutely nothing of a second dispute between Athena and Poseidon arising out of the inundation, with which the latter ought previously to have threatened, the new expositor contrives to make out from his Proclus, that first Poseidon desired the country of Attica, that then Athena took such a fancy for it, that in opposition to the feelings of her uncle, she gave to it her own name and character; and lastly as "Poseidon advances at the head of a threatening inundation on the family of Cecrops, he is opposed by Athene, who creates the olive." "Accordingly," says he, "the points in which Proclus differs from Apollodorus are the omission of all reference to the μαρτόρια and the litigation, and the peculiar reference of the olive of Athene, to the conclusion instead of the commencement of the dispute." "And, late as the authority for this simpler form of the mythus may be, I believe it to be, in its leading points, a genuine tradition of a form in which it prevailed anterior to, and concurrently with, the altered and extended version given by Apollodorus and Ovid." Intentional trickery, which I will not suspect here, could not have perverted the matter more wonderfully. But, supposing that this is really the meaning of Proclus, what are we to think of such an alleged *more simple* form of the mythus? The really simple tradition has a meaning, and a suitable and consistent form. It is a con-

test (ἀγών, ἔρις, φιλονεικία, ἀμφισβήτησις, *lis, certatio*), Poseidon appeals to the sea, which is at his command and which, by his trident, he can call forth wherever he pleases, even on the top of a rock in the midst of a country, and Athena to the olive tree: the same kind of contest between two divinities for a city, which we also find at Corinth, Argos, and other places. The contest, as such, is brought to its conclusion by the verdict; the victor may rejoice and triumph, the defeated may rage, kill himself, turn against the arbiters or his opponent or his country, or those inhabiting it, but all these are only accidental consequences which lie beyond the contest itself. Poseidon's inundation by salt water is revenge, Athena's olive is the quiet working of her divine nature, to which a similar work must correspond on the other side, or else the contest would not be between two beneficent, but between a malignant and a beneficent power. Such a quarrel, then, is said to have been represented by Phidias, and, according to the attitudes of the two divinities, "the dispute itself, the contest waged, not the provocation of it, not its conclusion, not specially the victory of Athene, not emphatically the discomfiture of Poseidon—a quarrel, not a simple contention, ἔρις not δίκη, an occasion for the exhibition of petulance and temper, not a submission to arbitration or dictation, by mutual consent or superior compulsion." We accordingly have a quarrel resulting from the claims of Poseidon, and actually in progress, before the decision brought about by the olive tree of Athena; or, in other words, a gymnastic contest between Poseidon and Athena. "That Pheidias represented the two powers as coming to blows is not pretended or supposed; but sculpture obtains its effects by the exhibition of visible signs, and the personal expression of the disputants sympathises with and symbolises their moral relations." "The extended arm of Athene carries the expression of warning back or barring a passage, and the counter declination of the god suggests as inevitably that he is sensible of opposition, and yields to an impression." The movement of her body, and the action of her limbs, as my opponent thinks, show an active contest, and the difference of vigour and spirit, in which Poseidon is inferior, although the decided superiority of Athena does not prevent him, without any sign of embarrassment and despondency, from displaying his full power and dignity; and strength and weakness, the impetuosity of the assailant and the repulse of the assailed are exactly balanced. It

is necessary to read the entire pages in order to see how Mr. Lloyd, "to the best of his powers of appreciation and analysis," develops the way in which Phidias contrived to avoid the impression of a gymnic contest, although he selected attitudes and muscular opposition as the exponents of a quarrel or dispute, and to convince one's self how much he is in earnest about a view so thoroughly un-hellenic and vulgar as that of even the appearance, that is, the commencement of a physical contest between Athena and Poseidon.³ And this contest, which in p. 411 is called the "climax" of the dispute (described by the others,) in Apollodorus and Proclus, is said to have for its object to deter Poseidon from his design, the object which, according to Hyginus, is accomplished by Hermes at the behest of Zeus. We cannot understand at all how the onset of Poseidon against Athena can signify the inundation of the country, and how her retreat can imply a command of Zeus not to carry the threat into effect. According to Proclus and Apollodorus, moreover, the threat is not checked, but carried into effect; nor is the deluge withdrawn, (p. 412,) but the salt-lake on the road to Eleusis is the memorial of Poseidon's anger, and cannot be called an "attempt," (p. 413.) Proclus then, on whose authority the new explanation is based, is in direct contradiction to the explanation given of the group of the two divinities. Nor is there any reason for supposing that an actual quarrel or bodily contest is required to justify the term *ἔρις*, used by Pausanias, as is clearly the belief of my opponent in pp. 400 and 412, who thinks that otherwise *δίκη* would have been used. The contest of the three goddesses on mount Ida is called *ἔρις*, and why should not that between Poseidon and Athena? The latter, of course, has several phases: the two gods produce those things on which the decision is to be given, or they stand in expecta-

³ Quatremère de Quincy thought of an actual fight of the divinities with lance and trident, which opinion was opposed by A. Feuerbach in *Vatic. Apoll.* p. 80, and against which Müller (in the *Hallische Litteratur Zeitung*, 1835, for June, p. 229,) observed, that the decision is not implied in the mythos, and that as a mere demonstration it must appear forced and exaggerated, and that moreover the attitude of Poseidon cannot be understood at all on

the supposition of an armed opponent attacking him. Himerius makes the sound observation: the gods do not take up arms against one another, for it would have been inconsistent to shake the ægis or trident on behalf of such favoured divinities; on the contrary, both entrust the decision to them, as arbitrators. In another passage Müller states that "Poseidon obviously shows terror, consternation, and indignation."

tion of the verdict, whereby a more important part would be assigned to the judge, who otherwise is a subordinate person, and for this very reason not the same in the different accounts; or the sentence is pronounced, the parties separate, (which is by no means a subsequent act, like that assumed by Müller and Lloyd, but a special mode of representing the contest itself,) and lastly, there might still follow a representation of indignation on the one side or a celebration of the victory on the other. The fact that there is no trace of the olive tree either in the drawing or among the fragments, is made to support the supposition that Athena did not create the olive tree until she had measured her strength with Poseidon, although it is believed that both the olive-tree and the salt-well were indicated as subordinate accessories.

After so strange a distortion of the mythus, and after a misinterpretation of the main figures so surprising in our days, we might cease to wonder at a new explanation of secondary figures; but who will not be still more astonished at the originality of the idea, that the figure holding the horses belongs as a sister to the two seated figures, that the three together are the daughters of Cecrops, that the one of the dewy sisters is riding in a chariot drawn by horses, her rearing pair standing nearest the victorious goddess, and prominent in the whole series of figures? Surely there is a sufficient number of groups in which divinities and demons are represented as brothers and sisters; but is there one instance of one brother or sister being on horseback or in a chariot, and the other not? The Dioscuri, either on horseback or on foot, are both always either the one or the other; in like manner the Charites, Horæ and others, are always represented together in the same manner as sisters.

The new expositor was led by an expression of his Proclus to transfer the three daughters of Cecrops, who are so probable on the eastern side, both from the composition and the proportions of the other whole, to the western part, and to take the boy between two of the pretended sisters, for Erysichthon, the son of Cecrops. Proclus says, Poseidon advances with his floods ἐν Κεκροπίδῃσι, i. e. according to our expositor, upon Cecrops and his family, from anger at the arbitrator, (Cecrops, according to Apollodorus and Callimachus,) who had insulted him by rejection (pp. 412, 428); and the remaining group on this side, in which I recognise Heracles and Hebe, represents, according to

Mr. Lloyd, Cecrops and his spouse. Ares himself is present, not on account of Athena, but as the husband of Aglauros, beside her chariot (p. 435). According to this, we have on the one side the gods who during the contest joined Poseidon, and on the other the arbitrator with his family, in the former gods, in the latter mortals, and Athena, perfectly alone, without any followers or partizans at all. The outward harmony of the parts, and the even balance and requisite harmony of conception which, in the compositions of the Greeks, and especially in their sculptured pediments, are invariably united with each other, would accordingly be wanting only in this composition of Phidias. To render this bold supposition possible, it was worth the trouble to make a female charioteer into an Aglauros, and into a sister of two goddesses closely united with each other by a youth placed between them; and in order to put one of the daughters of Cecrops with horses in opposition to Amphitrite with her yoke of hippocampæ, so as to make even their figures correspond, it was worth while, even morally, to degrade Poseidon, who is physically repulsed by Athena, for he does not leave behind a sign of his power by inundating the country which was not to be called after him, but he rages against an arbitrator (who, as king of the country, had a right to make his own choice and form his decision,) and the whole of his innocent family. But, according to the common usage since the time of Herodotus, Euripides, and Aristophanes, the name Cecropidæ means nothing but the Athenians, and Proclus means only to say that Poseidon sends the waves of the sea upon the country of the Athenians. It would, in fact, be hardly possible to derive more comprehensive errors and inconsistencies from any one passage which in itself is as easy and clear as the ten lines of Proclus.

It will not be superfluous to add a passing remark, concerning the boy who is said to be Erysichthon. If it were otherwise possible to believe that the three figures said to be Herse, Aglauros, and Pandrosos, are actually what they are said to be, the boy who is added to them, would alone be a sufficient reason not to do so, for he does not occur any where, where Cecrops with his daughters is mentioned in a mythus, (as in Eurip. *Ion*. 1163,) or represented in a work of art. Erysichthon signifies the tearer up of the soil, or the ploughman; and in Athenæus an ox drawing the plough is actually called ἐρυσίχθον.

χθων. He is another, but less celebrated Triptolemus; and in reference to his original import or his symbolism of nature, Cecrops is represented as his father, no less than as the father of the dewy maidens; others, from different reasons, call him a son of Triopas. The mythographers, therefore, had to count four children of Cecrops, and, adding Oreithyia, five; but a relation between the son and the three sisters is not noticed anywhere, so that there was no reason for representing them together. The vehement manner in which, in our pediment, the boy turns from the one female figure towards the knees of the other, is not clear to us, but had no doubt a distinct significance. The mythical relation between Demeter, Cora, and Iacchus, is of that kind that it may have been the reason for representing the three in a striking group; this is very possible, though we cannot divine the reason with certainty. An Erysichthon, however, if we make all possible allowance, could have been represented only as standing or sitting beside his three sisters; for a special relation to two of them, to which the group might allude in any way, cannot be discovered. Or shall we perhaps say that Phidias acted thoughtlessly, according to unmeaning and wily fancies?

It is not quite so easy to get rid of the parents, Cecrops and Aglauros, whom my opponent recognises in the group beside the river god; although every one who, in judging of a series of figures, is accustomed to bring before his mind also the artist and the manner in which his mind could conceive a specific problem, before he assigns names to individual figures, must at once feel more than one scruple. Can Cecrops, the arbitrator, be so far distant from the main action, and concealed behind his four children? Is it possible to conceive that the artist should have assigned to him a place so obviously (even by the smaller space,) subordinate to the figures standing in front? Can Cecrops be accompanied by his wife, considering that elsewhere he is mentioned only in conjunction with his three daughters, while their mother, as is so often the case, is added only to complete the genealogy, without having any importance by herself, either in worship or in legend? It is true, once we see her introduced in a large vase painting representing Boreas carrying off Oreithyia, who is likewise a daughter of Cecrops. In this instance the three sisters of Oreithyia, (not Erysichthon,) her father and mother, and her grandfather Erechtheus,

are added; but this is as it should be, for as Erechtheus is entreated by Aglauros to give his consent to the marriage and sanction the carrying off of Oreithyia, and as the whole scene is the representation of a marriage, the mother could not have been wanting. An illegible name is here added to the mother, though it is not Aglauros, as Apollodorus also calls her. And further, could the mother of the dewy goddesses have been represented here, as displaying her charms, and Cecrops as affectionately embracing her, (a fact which cannot be denied,) at the moment when they were threatened with an inundation? It is stated that "every figure on this side of the pediment is in action,—in such an attitude as to imply that a moment before it was not in the same, and that it is again on the point of alteration, in obedience to a lively impulse," to the sight of the contest between Poseidon and Athena, the shouts and the impetuosity of the approaching sea-god, and the interest and admiration of the resistance of the goddess to the threatening incursion of Poseidon, *i. e.* of the salt-water into the country. In like manner the two figures in question.⁴ In regard to this point, I can only say that the new expositor, in his lengthy description of these two figures (p. 430-435,) as well as in that of Poseidon and Athena, sees that which he imagines, just like a person who, gazing at the clouds, gradually begins to see all kinds of figures. He, on the other hand, who desires to see that which a drawing really exhibits, cannot fail to see that the female charioteer is occupied with the horses, Demeter as well as Persephone with Iacchus, and the affectionate couple with themselves, without there being any necessity for asserting that they are wholly inattentive to the contest.

While, after these considerations, we cannot help expressing our firm conviction that this conjugal couple cannot be regarded as Cecrops and his wife, the new expositor (p. 428,) congratulates himself on the nature of the evidence by which he can

⁴ P. 430. "Cecrops is animated by the same feelings (interest and admiration,) which he expresses with very similar movement and gesture (looking like the river by his side, towards the scene of the contest,) only varied by his turning round from a sitting and almost erect attitude, while Cephissus raises himself from one of reclining." "The easy turn and flowing lines of Cecrops contrast

with the angularity of the associated figure; and while the attention of both is turned towards the contending divinities, in admiration of the interposing goddess rather than alarm at her opponent, the Attic king appears more self-possessed, and on the principle that 'doublet and hose should show themselves courageous to petticoat,' to encourage her to reliance."

support his own opinion, adopted in the first instance on purely analytical grounds. From an examination of the plaster casts (now in the British Museum,) of the groups, and a comparison of the fragment, which in my opinion belongs to one of the hippocampæ of Amphitrite, he believes that he has established the fact, that this fragment belongs to the group, and forms part of Cæcrops with serpent legs. I am not in a position decidedly to contradict this assertion, as I have not seen the fragment by the side of the statue, which is absolutely necessary before any one can come to a final settlement of the question. During my stay in London, the plaster cast did not yet exist; and the fact of my having examined the original in its place in the pediment of the Parthenon itself, and not having observed any gap which might be filled up by a serpent, is in my mind not sufficient to justify my denying the discovery. But I may express my decided doubt of the correctness of this observation, which is highly surprising, not only for the general reasons already adduced, but also in itself, and for particular reasons. Cæcrops is described by Euripides (*Ion*. 1163,) from an embroidery, as serpent-legged: Κέκροπα θυγατέρων πέλας σπείρασιον εἰλίσσονται; in like manner he is, according to Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 438,) τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν δρακοντίδης; and so also in Demosthenes (II. p. 1398, ed. Reiskæ,) and others. Hence he is also called διφυῆς (Diod. I. 28), δίμορφος, γηγενής (Lycoph. *Cass.* III.) and *geminus* (Ovid, *Metam.* II. 555.) He would accordingly be a figure like the so-called Attic hero, who is still in his place at Athens, and in a kneeling attitude raises up the two serpents, from the human knee downwards, high behind his back, and who may perhaps be called a Cæcrops.⁵ The bicorpores gigantes, the fantastic figures of an Etruscan tomb (*Mon. del Inst. Archeol.* t. III. tav. 3, 4,) also show serpents instead of legs, but two serpent terminations. As these cannot be introduced in our pediment, the progressive analysis of Mr. Lloyd takes the liberty of considering a Nereus, who, from the middle of his body downwards, terminates in the body of a fish, as is unmistakeably indicated by certain incisions at the end,⁶ to be an Erechtheus δρακοντόπους (we only know Erichthonius as a son of Earth, with two serpent legs,) and then to apply to Cæcrops the one serpent united with

⁵ He is figured in the first volume of the French Section of the *Archæological Institute*.

⁶ On the well known vase, *Mon. del. Inst.* III. 30, comp. O. Jahn *Archæol. Beitr.* p. 63, &c.

the upper part of a human body, a thing foreign to Greek sculpture, (perhaps excepting Echidna,) it being farther said that the σπειραι in the *Ion* of Euripides must not necessarily mean two serpent legs, (τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν.) And how so? Cecrops, who is visible even below his two knees, and consequently cannot have terminated in only one serpent, is made to sit on the serpent, he is actually seated upon the serpent. I must copy the assertion word for word,—“That Pheidias represented the male figure as seated, or resting on a huge Chthonian serpent, the appropriate symbol of the Autochthon or γηγενής. The form of the marble (as represented in the cast) at the back of the group, and under the hand of the male figure, first attracted my attention; on close examination, it appeared to correspond in character of surface and outline, with fragment engraved for Welcker's Essay, and regarded by him as part of a hippocamp; and the next step was obvious, to restore this to its original position, by placing it in front of the group, between the two figures, where the traces remain of an original joining of the block; this I was enabled to do by the kindness of Mr. Birch, the equally obliging and learned keeper of the antiquities of the Museum, and the application of the surfaces exhibited such exact correspondences of outline and dimension, as to satisfy me that I had effected a genuine restoration. The marble was joined in another place close behind the hand on which Cecrops leans, and there can be little doubt, by a continuation of the smaller coil of the animal, and its termination in a head, which apparently passed between the arm and body of the figure, and was attached to this side, so as to be visible from the front.” (This, then, is said to furnish a proof how Phidias abandoned the coarse types of archaic art, but while he avoided the monstrous combination, he still guarded himself against relinquishing entirely the symbolism of the serpent, but translated it into the style and spirit of his art. But we nowhere find that the animal belonging to a human form is detached from it, and placed beside the dæmon, it only subsides; a bull, for example, subsides into small horns, a fish into scales and fins, and so on.)

If this new composition of the serpent-like fragment, with that of a god embracing a charming woman, as I believe with the greatest certainty, is more monstrous than the ancient symbolic combination, and contains an error almost as monstrous as that of distorting the mythus itself, and forcing the figures

into the so distorted mythus, I should, even if ocular inspection should convince me of the truth of a serpent-Cecrops with his wife, not have to regret or alter any thing in regard to all the rest, but the Attic dæmon might himself not unfitly be added to the Attic divinities, Demeter and Cora, with Iacchus, Ares, and Nice; the serpent, however, on which he is said to be seated, and his affection for his obscure and unimportant wife—so characteristic of Heracles and Hebe—would remain to my mind subjects of great wonder in this Cecrops.

I may pass over the fact, that my antagonist refers Cecrops to the pride of the Athenians as Autochthons, and to the contrast between land and the ravaging sea of "the invader," (p. 435,) as well as the allusions which he sees here and there to the nature of the country, and to its antiquities and history; as for example, to the classes of its population, the inland and maritime or mercantile interest, (p. 413,) all these speculations are opposed to the clear and intelligible spirit of antiquity, and just as misty and barren as the forced observations on the attitudes of the figures, and the directions and relations of their limbs; symmetries, and sympathies down to the smallest detail, are based upon something far beyond that which is justified by the old drawing. In treating of myths, and explaining works of art, Proclus ought by no means to be our guide, unless we want to make every thing out of every thing. His value consists in something very different.

The figures on the side of Poseidon remain for the most part untouched by the new expositor, and in general their names already established are retained. The goddess who stands nearest to Poseidon, and is accidentally passed over in my former essay, is called *Thalassa*, (p. 424,) then follow *Amphitrite*, drawn by hippocampæ, *Ino* with *Melicertes*, the author observing, that the naked boy—distinctly recognizable as a boy—is partly enveloped by the drapery of his mother, (p. 422,) *Aphrodite* on the knees of *Dione*, as in the *Iliad*, (v. 370,) to whose figure a fragment is assigned, (p. 421,) and *Tethys*. The two last figures are taken to be *Ilissus* and *Callirrhœ*. There is nothing to prevent our regarding the river in the opposite corner, which is commonly called *Ilissus*, as a *Cephisus*, in support of which it might perhaps be alleged, that the latter or larger river actually flows through the long olive grove of Athena, and is therefore fit to be placed on her side, whereas *Ilissus* has re-

ference only to the sanctuary of the mystic goddesses. Moreover, as the Cephissus in the other corner would correspond with Callirrhōë, in regard to whom, such great changes having taken place, it will be useful to recall to mind the passage of the Thebais, (XII. 629),—

Et quos (populos) Callirhoe novies errantibus undis
Implicat—

it is not improbable that, besides these two, a third, an Attic river-god, should be added to the divinities of water, and, according to Himerius, (*Ecl.* i. 11,) Ilissus was married to his neighbour Callirrhōë. It must however be observed that the sitting attitude of the figure, in which my opponent is surely wrong in seeking an agreement with the literal signification of Ilissus, (p. 427,) and the position of its two arms, are by no means favourable to this supposition.

The head which has lately been removed from Venice to Paris, is assigned to Amphitrite, and to the same figure is referred a large fragment of a left thigh, (p. 416). The author also directs his attention to the nine or ten human faces which, in Carrey's drawing, appear below the feet of the horses, piled one upon the other; and he believes that "they represent the Athenian subjects of Cæcrops, whose (if ten, perhaps alluding to the ten phylæ,) suffrages he was said to have collected to decide the claims of the divinities, and who now, like himself, await with interest, or witness with admiration, the climax of the dispute." This point is minutely discussed, (p. 437-439,) and the author thinks it more likely that these faces were introduced by Phidias himself, than that they should have been drawn by Carrey, through his confounding them with something else. "From the manner," he says, "in which the question has hitherto been passed over, I am aware that such an avowal of opinion is rash to the verge of the chivalrous, but I have confidence in my result, and let those who love me follow me." This trifling circumstance is important, because it shows most clearly how this "analysis" considers every thing which it can spin out of itself, as undoubted, as possible, and as good enough for the genius even of a Phidias. These faces, it is true, have given rise to many more very unfortunate conjectures, which may be seen collected in Creuzer's *Schriften zur Archæologie*, vol. II. p. 499, &c.; but even Visconti (*Journal des Savans*, 1817, p. 29,) declared them to be an accumulation of fragments; and it is too obvious

that such is the case, to waste more words about it. In Carrey's drawing itself, the heads of eight figures are wanting; and perhaps it is these very heads which the workmen who built the wall beside Poseidon as a support of the gable, or other pious persons, had knocked off.

In p. 436, there is a serious misunderstanding, whereby I am made to place the marble slab, with the feet of Athena, in whom I recognize the newly-born Promachos of the eastern side, into the Western Pediment. How was it possible to believe this, as the Athena of the contest is not only composed quite differently, but also of far larger dimensions, or to speak of "a strange blunder," and, at the same time, to quote the words of my essay, (p. 392,) which express the contrary? The words in p. 391 refer to the stump in the centre of the slab: "the fragment can have belonged only to a naked male figure, which the stump served to support;" and it is not to be wondered at that these words should have occasioned a misunderstanding, for they do not express the meaning of my own words in the German original, which were and still are, *als Pfock passt das Ueberbleibsel nur zu einer männlichen Figur*. The fragment, therefore, cannot be a trunk such as we often find supporting naked male figures; in a clothed female figure, such as this one must have been, judging from the feet and other circumstances, the outstretched leg requires no support, for the whole figure forms only one mass surrounded by drapery, and of it therefore this stump must be a fragment, belonging to the middle part. The fact that my opponent places the figure of Ares standing by the side of Nike upon this slab, and again takes the rising piece of marble to be the trunk of the olive tree, which accordingly Athena, while yet engaged with her arms to repel the flood of Poseidon, (as the climax of the dispute,) must already have created, whereas, properly speaking, it ought not to have been produced till after the actual repulse to decide the original dispute about Attica,—this fact may be considered as a climax, as the highest pitch of the dispute between the expositors. I must leave the examination of this explanation of the fragment to those who can themselves put their feet upon the slab and the feet attached to it; and I hope that those who may have undertaken it, may acquit me of the suspicion of arrogance, if, even without having seen both together, I decline believing in Cecrops with his serpent.

It is, however, this very Cecrops alone—who has been reported to have been authenticated by the fragment of the serpent, and hence perhaps the belief has found supporters, that instead of the contest of the two divinities, we have a representation of the inundation, with which Poseidon, in his indignation at the verdict, and the train of marine divinities assembled around him, threatened Athens and the family of Cecrops—that has induced me to undertake the disagreeable task of this refutation. It is superfluous for every one who, above all things, tries to penetrate into the spirit of myths and of the works of art themselves, and takes it as his guide; that is, for every one who, possessing a general survey, and steadily comparing, is accustomed not to take up any thing isolated, without feeling its agreement and analogy with other contemporaneous or homogeneous phenomena, and its harmony with every thing else, and with the character of ancient poetry and composition. But he who takes the opposite point of view, trusting to his own inspirations, little concerned about the custom and taste of the ancient world, and does not take into account the great internal connection of things which arises from a natural development, but sets forth an idea at random, and then exerts all his industry and powers of invention to prop it up by arguments and analysis, which, of course, must be managed in an equally arbitrary manner, or it may be with sophistry, because only the things which are simply true, or at least probable, agree with one another, as it were spontaneously, will not be very willing to admit reasons derived from the opposite method. It is not likely that my opponent and I should often meet in our views, understand each other, or agree with each other, and we should therefore not war against each other, nor try to reconcile our views; and, in fact, he would be greatly mistaken, if he were to believe that I am trying to return his attacks or to prove the untenableness of his assertions, in order to deny to him acumen and learning. His Cecrops, and the circumstance that I cannot form an opinion from personal inspection, alone must be my excuse for these lengthened remarks.

F. G. WELCKER.

XXI.

MISCELLANIES.

1. VICTORY IN THE HORSE-RACE.

THIS is an amphora of the panathenaic shape with black figures, either an actual prize vase, or else the imitation of one, belonging to S. Basseggio; the style is archaic, and evidently from the Etruscan territory. On the obverse are, Pallas Athene, armed as usual, standing in the centre, and holding on her left arm a large circular argolic buckler, the ἐπισήμουν of which is a star, and Hermes, wearing the petasus, the short tunic, and his chlamys thrown over his shoulders, facing Pallas Athene, holding in his hands the κηρυκεῖον, or caduceus. At the other side of Pallas Athene, and facing her, stands Zeus, as an old bearded figure, draped in a tunic, over which is thrown an outer garment, probably the ampechonion, holding a ῥάβδος or σκῆπτρον. These are the divinities of the festival; on the other side is represented the termination of the race:—an old bearded figure advances to the right, draped exactly as Zeus; before him is an inscription, reading κιονῆδον from left to right,—ΔΥΛΕΙΚΕΤΥ : ΗΠΙΟΣ : ΝΙΚΑ Δυλειακέτ[ο]υ : ἵππος : νικᾷ:—"the horse of Duleiketēs wins." The old man is followed by a boy wearing only a short tunic, mounted on a horse; behind them walks a man entirely naked, bearing on his head a large tripod, the feet of which come down over him; he holds it steadily by one leg in the right hand, his left hand is stretched out and holds a crown. There are some interesting points about the palæography of this inscription:—the first word is apparently Δυλικετυ—it may however be Δυλεκετυ—both of which words are equally difficult of explanation: but it is apparently the proper name; if the first reading is correct, probably some compound of Δούλος, if not an ethnical name derived from the town Dulichium. The υ is unusual for the genitive on the vases, which contract, as the Sigeian inscription and other similar monuments, in ο; thus the potter Tleson constantly writes ΤΛΗΣΟΝ ΗΟΝΕΑΡΧΟ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ. Τλήσον ὁ Νεάρχω[υ] ἐποίησεν¹—the potter Euthymides ΕΥΘΥΜΙΔΕΣΗΟΠΟΛΙΟΕΓΡΑΣΦΕΝ, Εὐθυμίδης ὁ Πολίο[υ] ἐγρασφεν (ἐγραψεν).² Eucheros inscribes upon his vases, ΕΥΚΕΡΟΣ : ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ ΗΟΓΟΤΙΜΟ ΗΥΙΗΥΣ, Εὐχερος ἐποίησεν

¹ For the vases with the name of the potter, Tleson, see *Cat. Dur.* p. 84, No. 260.

² De Witte, *Description d'une Collection de Vases peints provenant des fouilles de l'Etrurie*, p. 93, No. 146.8vo.

Paris, 1837. The name written Εὐθυμίδης is evidently the potter's blunder; another vase with the same potter in the Duc de Luyne's collection.—*Ibid.* No. 2.

Ἐργοτιμο[υ] Γυς.³ In all these instances the vase inscriptions follow the usual form:—an approximation to an interchange of the *υ* and *ο* is in the word *υῖος*, which Eucherios writes *υῖς*; and another potter, Simon, writes *ῖς*, as ΣΙΜΟΝΗΛΕΙΤΑΝΥΥΣ, Σίμων ἡλεια ῖ[υ].⁴ The second word is *ῖπος* for ἵππος, for it occurs in exactly the same form, and as the name of the Satyr Hippios,⁵ the absence of the double *π* being of occasional occurrence on the vases; thus, ΦΕΙΔΙΠΙΟΣ⁶ is the manner in which the artist Φειδιππος writes his name, ΠΙΟΚΡΑΤΕΣ⁷ for Ἰπποκράτης, ΑΝΧΙΠΙΟΣ⁸ for Ἀνχιππος, ΠΙΟΔΑΜΕΙΑ on an Apulian vase for Ἰπποδαμεια. Analogous examples are not uncommon on the vases of Vulci: thus, ΚΑΛΙΤΟΣ⁹ is found for the name of the courtesan Καλλίδοος—ΚΑΛΙΠΕ¹⁰ for Καλλιππη—ΚΑΛΙΦΟΜΕ and ΚΑΛΙΦΟΡΑ for Καλλικομη and Καλλιφορα¹¹—ΝΙΚΟΘΕΝΕΣ for Νικοσθενής¹²—ΠΕΡΟΦΑΤΑ for Περοφαττα¹³—ΚΕΚΡΟΣ¹⁴ for Κέκροψ or Κέκροψ—ΤΙΜΑΑΡΑ for Τιμάνδρα—ΚΑΛΙΠΕΚΡΕΝΕ for Καλλιρη κρηνη¹⁵—ΤΥΤΑΡΕΟΣ for Τυνδάρεος—ΝΥΦΕΣ for Νυμφής¹⁶—and ΝΥΦΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ for Νυμφιοδορος¹⁷—ΛΑΠΟΣ for Λαμπος¹⁸—ΑΔΡΟΜΑΧΕ for Ἀδρομαχη¹⁹—ΣΑΦΟ for Σαφω,²⁰ with the *π* omitted—ΧΑΝΘΑ for Κσανθα=Ξάνθα,²¹—and again, ΙΘΝΑΧ (retrograde) for Κσανθοη=Ξανθοη²²—ΧΑΝΘΟΣ for Κσανθος=Ξάνθος²³ in the name of a horse. As many of these names are correctly written on other and contemporaneous vases, these forms of writing must be attributed to the ignorance of the potter, or else to dialectical causes,—the vague state of the written language, and the different manner in which it was pronounced at the period.—There are one or two inscriptions of the same kind with respect to their athletic purport on the vases. The first is that found on a vase with black figures over

³ De Witte, *Descr.* p. 70, No. 121, now in the British Museum, No. 701.

⁴ So I read on this vase, now in the B. M. No. 464; De Witte, *Descr.* p. 56, No. 103. I do not think the two other words enter into the composition of the name.

⁵ *Cat. Dur.* p. 49, No. 145; also Ἰππω, the name of an Amazon, *Cat. Dur.* p. 96, No. 293, ΗΠΠΟ.

⁶ *Archæologia*, 4to, London, 1831, p. 180, in the description of certain vases of the late Pr. de Canino; by Lord Dudley Stuart.

⁷ Brøndsted, *Descr. of Thirty-two Vases*, 8vo, London, 1832, p. 57.

⁸ *Cat. Dur.* p. 98, No. 296.

⁹ De Witte, *Desc. D. V.* p. 7, No. 12.

¹⁰ Brøndsted, *Descr. of Thirty-two Vases*, 8vo, London, 1832, p. 83; *Dur. Cat.* 643.

¹¹ *Cat. Dur.* p. 98, No. 296.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ De Witte, *Descr.* p. 11, No. 19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 58, No. 105.

¹⁵ Brøndsted, *l. c.* 59.

¹⁶ De Witte, *Descr.* No. 129, p. 78.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* No. 144, p. 92; also *Cat. Dur.* p. 126, No. 428.

¹⁸ *Cat. Dur.* p. 71, No. 231.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* No. 145, p. 92.

²⁰ *Millingen. Anc. Un. Mon.* pl. XXXIII.

²¹ *Mus. Etr.*, No. 802; Kramer *über den Styl*, &c. s. 61.

²² *Cat. Dur.* p. 49, No. 145.

²³ *Cat. Dur.* p. 143, No. 394.

the horses of the quadriga which Pallas Athene drives for Hercules. ΔΙΠΥΟΙΑΣΚΑΛΟΣ ΗΨΙΟΣ, according to M. De Witte, Διπύθιας κάλος ἵππος, "the fine horse twice victor in the Pythian games."²⁴ This phrase, however, seems extraordinary to apply to the four horses of Hercules, and still more so to inscribe upon a vase not in connection with the subject, since the same sentiment could not apply to the horse which did to the athletes. It is difficult to propose another explanation, supposing the inscription to be correctly decyphered. It is possible to read Διπλοίας κελός ἵππος, *Diploias is a good horse!* as the name given to one of the horses, as Καλλιφόρα and Καλλικόμη are inscribed over two other quadrigæ. The other inscription is more particularly agonistic: it is found on the pedestal of a figure, and reads, ΑΚΑΜΑΝΤΙΣΕΝΙΚΑΦΥΛΕ,²⁵ "The tribe of Akamantis was the victorious one!" This must have been for a musical contest similar to that for which the monument of Lysicrates, and other choragic trophies, were erected. The inscription is an exclamation,—it is the speech of the herald on the occasion of the victory repeated on the vase, and inscribed for posterity on the monument.

Most of the inscriptions in Greek are of this character, and thus invest the material word with a spiritual existence. Hence there is a perpetual ellipsis to be supplied. On the prize vases it is indifferently, ΤΟ ΝΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ,²⁶ or ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΜΙ,²⁷ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐν ἀθλῶν, or τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐν ἀθλῶν εἰμι. "I am a prize from Athens!" So in the case of the formula ΜΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ, μὲ ποίησεν,²⁸ which certain potters used, and ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΚΑΠΟΕΕΕΜΕ, ἔγραψε καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐμέ²⁹ which others employed; and in the Naples lecythus, ΤΑΤΑΙΗΣ ΕΙΜΙ ΛΗΚΥΘΟΣ,³⁰ Ταταίης εἰμι λεκύθος; "I am the lecythus of Tataie." And on the Eboli Vase, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΑΛΑΧΥΘΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΤΑΛΟΥ, Διονυσίου ὁ λάχυθος τοῦ Ματάλου;³¹ and in the case of the vases with the inscriptions, ΤΡΕΜΙΟ ΕΜΙ, Τρομίου ε(ι)μι, Τρομίον εἰμι, and ΚΑΡΩΝΟΣ ΕΜΙ, Χαράνος ἔ(ι)μι;³² and on another vase, ΣΟΣΤΡΑΤΟ ΕΙΜΙ ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ εἰμι,³³ the vase is invested as it were with this character of identity. Even with the formula ΚΑΛΟΣ, there is a certain address from the vase itself to the spectator,

²⁴ Cat. Dur. p. 115, No. 327.

²⁵ Musée Blacas, pl. i; Boeckh, *Ind. lect.*, 1831–32, p. 10. sq.

²⁶ Dur. Cat. 702. Cf. Gerhard, *Vases Etrusques et Campaniens.* fo. Berlin, 1843. taf. A. B.

²⁷ Millingen, *Anc. Un. Mon.* Pl. i. p. 1, and foll.

²⁸ Amasis, Dur. Cat. No. 33. Theoxotos, *Ibid.* 884.

²⁹ Gerhard, *Rapporto Volcente. Anali.* 1831, p. 180, n. (722.)

³⁰ Bull. Arch. Nap. tom. II. tav. 1, No. 1.

³¹ Bull. dell' Inst. 1830, p. 155.

³² Raoul Rochette, *Journal des Savans*, 1830, p. 118.

³³ Rhein. Mus. 1837, s. 132.

for ONETΟΠΙΔΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ,³⁴ MEMNON ΚΑΛΟΣ,³⁵ is not merely "the handsome Onetorides—the handsome Memnon;" but rather the positive declaration, *Onetorides is handsome! Memnon is handsome!* Perhaps the ellipsis ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ is to be understood here, for on the inscribed vase at Munich we have ΚΑΛΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΛΑ, ΔΟΥΡΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΚΑΜΟΙ ΔΟΚΕΙ ΝΑΙ ΧΑΤΕΡΟΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ MEMNON ΚΑΜΟΙ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΣ³⁶ Καλὸς Νικόλα [ος], Δουρθέος καλὸς κάμοι δοκεῖ ναι χάτερος παῖς καλὸς, Μέννων κάμοι καλὸς φίλος; the apostrophe is still more distinct in the inscriptions ΧΑΙΠΕ³⁷ and ΧΑΙΠΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΙΝΕΙΜΕ,³⁸ χαῖρε καὶ πίνεμε, or ΧΑΙΠΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΙΟ ΜΕ, χαῖρε καὶ πίου μέ.³⁹ *Hail and drink me!* ΚΑΛΕ ΗΟΠΟΣ ΠΙΕΣΘΕ.⁴⁰ *I am so good that you may drink me.* ΚΑΛΕΔΟΚΕΙ, καλὴ δοκεῖ,⁴¹ *She seems fair.* ΠΡΟΠΙΝΕΜΗ ΚΑΤΘΗΙΣ,⁴² *Take a sip, and do not lay me down unquaffed!* ΠΡΟΣΑΓΟΡΕΥΟ,⁴³ προσαγορεύον, "Hail!" All these are modes by which the artist enhanced in the eyes of his customer the efforts of his trade or art. It is evident that such could only be applied to the productions of inferior hands, for neither the original nor the copies of the great masters of antiquity contain such light remarks; they are the tricks of sheer traders. The καλὸς is added to names on vases, to recall to the purchaser the fame or beauty of the celebrated athletes, youths, and courtesans of the day.—The inscription on a vase with red figures, representing Tithonos snatched by Eos to Heaven, lately discovered at Vulci, ΟΥΠΙΑΝΤΟΣ-ΕΣΤΙΟΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ,⁴⁴ is of a like kind; for the noble treatment of the Vase prohibits the idea that it is the address of Aurora,—it is the potter's reflection on the subject—few could attain the felicity of the love of the immortal gods—his homely way of expressing by his local proverb οὐ παντὸς ἐστὶ κόρινθος, what a more elegant later writer has rendered familiar. Besides, Aurora has to chase, as in the instance of Cephalus, a reluctant lover, and the phrase is like—l'heure de berger ne sonne pas toujours—her love is scorned.

But there is another class of inscriptions which enter into the com-

³⁴ *Dur. Cat.* 389.

³⁵ *Dur. Cat.* 392, 428.

³⁶ Welcker, *Annali*, v. 236. I have followed here his reading in preference to that given by Lepsius, *Ibid.* 357, who reads καλῶ Φίλος. κ. τ. λ.

³⁷ *Cat. Dur.* p. 295, No. 1003.

³⁸ *Mus. Etr. Vat.* Pt. II. Tab. LXVI.

3; *Ibid.* LXVII.

³⁹ *Dur. Cat.* p. 295, 1003.

⁴⁰ *Archæologia*, 4to. Lond. 1831, p. 192.

⁴¹ Gerhard and Panofka, *Berlin's Antike Bild.*

⁴² *Cat. Dur.* p. 295, no. 1006; Cf. 1003, 1007; *Mus. Blac.* pl. xvi. 5; Panofka, *Recherches*, p. 30, pl. v. 75.

⁴³ Cf. *Archæologia*, 4to. Lond. 1831, p. 184; *Mus. Etr.* no. 563; Gerhard, *Rapp. Volc.* n. 779, 482; *Bull. Inst. Arch.* 1829, p. 140; *Rapp. Volc.* p. 80.

⁴⁴ *Annali.* xix. 1847, p. 233. Panofka supposes this to be the speech of Aurora.

position of the subject of vases, to understand which is scarcely less essential than the names attached to the figures, viz., the speeches addressed by the persons represented to each other, introduced by the artists of the earliest styles. To this class must undoubtedly be referred many of the inscriptions called by archæologists illegible or unintelligible,—but several of the words of which are capable of being resolved into appropriate expressions, although the rest are either expressed or distributed upon principles, the clue to which has not been detected. Some are, however, perfectly clear, and in many instances appear to have been taken from *Scolia*, or other poems which have not been preserved. One of the most interesting is undoubtedly that published by Ritschl,⁴⁵ from a vase in the Vatican. It is in the Doric dialect. On each side are two men—one young, the other of advanced years, with a dog. The inscription on one side is, ΟΖΕΥΗΑΤΕΡΑΙΘΕΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΣΓΕΝ, Ὡ Ζεὺ πατέρ αἰθερ πλούσιος γενοίτο. “*Oh Father Jove, will this harvest be rich?*” rather than γενοίμαν, Shall I be rich? for on the other side of the vase, where the two figures also stand, the answer is given, ΕΔΕΜΑΝΕΔΕΠΙΔΕΟΝΙΑΡΑΒΕΒΑΚΕΝ, ἤδη μὲν ἤδη πλέον παραβέβακεν. “*It has already indeed more than exceeded.*” This seems to have a special reference to the same unrecorded local mythos, and the Doricism of the dialect suggests that it is an extract from some of the lyrical writers, if it is not indeed derived from some of the earlier fabulists—such as Æsop. The presence of the dog and the expression seem to refer to the avarice of Ancæus and his vineyard, although it is possible, but not probable, that a mere local tradition is intended. The most remarkable vase for its inscription is, however, undoubtedly that of the return of the swallow.⁴⁶ This is not in the Doric but in the Ionic dialect, and from its style and metre of an early poem, much earlier than the fragment of Eubulus, and possibly one of the true odes (χελιδονίσματα) of Anacreon to the bird, the later paraphrases of which have reached us. Its metrical arrangement was discovered by Hermann.⁴⁷ The scene represents a man seated on an ocladias, (α) surrounded by three youths. β. γ. δ.

α. ΙΔΟΧΕΛΙΔΟΝ. β. ΝΗΤΟΝΗΡΑΚΛΕΑ.²

γ. ΑΥΤΕΙ. δ. ΕΑΡΗΔΕ.

Ιδο(ν) χελιδωννητον Ηρακλεα

αυτει. εαρ ηδη.

⁴⁵ *Annali*. vol. ix. 1837, p. 183, et
foll. *Mus. Etr. Vat.* Pt. II. Tab. LVI.
11, a.

⁴⁶ Published by Panofka, *Annali*. t.
vii. p. 240–41; *Monumenti*, tav. xxxix.

⁴⁷ *Bull. di Corrisp. d'Instituto Arch.*
di Roma, 1830.

Another of these epigraphical vases⁴⁸ also has the speech of Eros to the two goddesses who stand before him. The inscription is upon an upright stele or pillar, disposed perpendicularly. It has been published as +ΙΗΣΑΝΜΟΙΤΑΝΣΦΙΡΑΝ, for

Ἰῆσαν (ἔσαν) μοι τὰν σφαίραν.

This explanation, which supposes the use of the η in the place of the ϵ , appears to me inadmissible; nor is it likely that Eros would exclaim, "They have sent me the ball," for the information of the spectators. The artist in that case would have written, ἔσαν τὰν σφαίραν, "*they have sent the ball.*" The explanation of Kramer,⁴⁹ ΧΡΥΣΑΝΜΟΙΤΑΝΣΦΙΡΑΝ, χρυσᾶν μοι τὰν σφαίραν, "*the golden ball is mine!*" would be undoubtedly nearer the truth as far as the mythos and sense are concerned, but is still accompanied with difficulties—such as the supposition that the η is written for the χ , and that the whole should be in the objective case. As the story is derived from a comedy, it is evidently a speech of Eros to the goddess who offers to bribe him with the golden ball, and we must consequently read ΧΡΗΣΑΝ instead of ΧΙΗΣΑΝ or ΧΥΙΣΑΝ, as the imperative of the first aorist of $\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$ in the Doric form.

Eros. Χρῆσαν(ον) μοι τὰν σφαίραν.

"Give me the ball!"

An expression of a very similar character occurs on a lecythus published by Stackelberg,⁵⁰ which was found in the Athenian graves. It represents three youths probably training for the pentathlon; one holds a leaping pole and quoit, and is named ΝΕ . . . Σ ΚΑΛΟΣ Νέαρχος καλός—*Nearchos is brave!* to whom the pædotribe, or epistates of the gymnasium, turns round and exclaims, ΑΠΟΔΟΣΤΟΔΙΑΜΕΡΙΟΝ, "Ἀποδος τὸ διαμέριον, "*give back the day's pay!*" Another boy, Aínios, ΑΙΝΙΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, is crowned by the pædotribe, and a third, Charis, ΧΑΡΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, holds the halteres and leaping pole: before a pædotribe, behind whom is a mutilated inscription, ΑΝΤ . . . ΙΚΣΣΕΔΑ, probably the name of an artist, Αντ[ιγον]ῆος ἐγρα[ψεν].

Traces of speeches occur also on some other vases with athletic scenes. There is in the British Museum an amphora of remarkably pale earth, resembling the vases of the style called National, *i. e.* Etruscan, in Italy, formerly in possession of Millingen,⁵¹ by whom it

⁴⁸ In the Naples Museum. Millingen, *Anc. Uned. Mon.* Pl. XII. p. 30, and foll. *Neapels Ant. Bildw.* Z. VII. Schrank, 2, 1, 174.

⁴⁹ *Ueber den Styl und die Herkunft der bemalten Griechischen Thongefässe.* 8vo. Berlin, 1837, s. 183.

⁵⁰ *Die Gräber der Hellenen.* taf. 12, no. 3.

⁵¹ *Arg. ad Soph. Œdip. Tyr. Schol. Aristides.* Frommel, 8vo. Franc, 1826, p. 193, 245. c. Brunck, *Analecta*, III. 321.

was ceded to the national collections. On one side are two men wrestling, and the inscriptions ΣΙΓΟΣΤΕΝΕΣ and ΣΙΚΛΟΣ, probably for Ἴπποσθενῆς and Σιχλος, Hipposthenes and Sichlos: these are followed by a boy leaping with a pair of halteres, or the leaping dumb bells, over a series of five upright points which mark the distance. This figure is accompanied by the inscription ΛΥΓΟΚΣΝΧΥ. This is not decypherable: the man who stands behind, has attached to him the expression ΟΔΕΣΠΙΟΣ; and to the paidotribes behind is ΘΥΠΕΣΘΕ, *θυπέσθη*, perhaps a dialectic form of ἐτυπέσθη. On the other side are also traces of inscriptions of a similar kind; for amidst a combat of warriors are the expressions ΠΟΚΘ ΠΙΨΕΣΟ ΛΠΙΣΣΕΣ ΟΥ . . ΟΕΠΕ QΕΣΘΑ, In these is the Corinthian form of the K or Q,—in the latter word *κέσθα* probably the word *ικέσθαι*. On another vase, at present in the Museum of the Vatican,⁵² the subject of which is Œdipus, named ΟΙΔΙΠΟΔΕΣ, Œdipodes, in its Doric form—seated and listening to the sphinx—instead of that monster being accompanied by its name, are the words ΚΑΙΤΡΙ, καὶ τριποῖς, taken from the ænigma, ἐστὶ δέπουν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τετράπων οὗ μίᾳ φωνῇ ΚΑΙΤΡΙΗΝ.⁵³

An amphora found at Vulci of a style rather Nolan than Vulcian, having on one side a bearded man, half draped, and standing with the *ράβδος*, or staff, half draped, on a square pedestal, and rather resembling a statue than a figure in action, has also part of a verse. On the pedestal is inscribed *καλον εἰ*; from the mouth of the figure issues the inscription ΗΟΔΕΠΟΤΕΝΤΥΡΙΝΟΙ.⁵⁴ On the other side is a female playing on the double pipe, one of the auletrides who were the zest of ancient entertainments. This inscription has already occasioned much controversy. It is apparently part of an iambic dimeter catalectic ode:

Ο δὲ ποτ ἐν Τυρ(ρ)ῶνι.

Who formerly in the Tyrrhenian, (land, or sea.)

Οἱ ὦδε ποτ' ἐν Τυρῶνι καλὸς εἶ,

an expression applicable to many poets, perhaps more particularly to Arion.⁵⁵ There is another remarkable metrical inscription placed on a stele between two draped youths, who are Eteocles and Polynices; above them in the area is a pair of dumb bells. It is the epigram

⁵² *Mus. Etr. Vat.* Pt. ii. T. LXXX.

⁵³ *Archæologia*, 1834, p. 202; *Mus. Etr.*

⁵⁴ This inscription has excited much observation since the time of its first

discovery. Cf. Bulletini, 1837. *Arch.* 1839, p. 202. Vase, No. 797.

⁵⁵ Millingen, *Anc. Un. Mon.* Pl. 31. Welcker, *Sylloge Epigrammatum*, 8vo. Bonn, 1828, No. 102, p. 138.

of the tomb of Œdipus, and occurs on a vase in the Museo Borbonico at Naples.⁵⁶

NOTOMENMALAXHNTΕ KAIΔΣΦΔΗΛΟΝΠΟΛΥΡΙΖΟΝ
ΚΟΛΠΩΔΙΔΠΠΟΔΑΝΛΑΙΟΥΥΙΟΝΕΧΩ.

Νώτω μὲν μαλάχην τε καὶ ἀσφρόδελον πολίριζον

Κόλπῳ δ' Οἰδιπόδαν Δαίου υἱὸν ἔχω.

There can be no doubt but that this contains the epigram cited by Eustathius, as pointed out by Welcker.—I shall close this portion of the subject with one or two of the shorter expressions addressed by the figures on vases to each other, such as ΧΑΙΡΕ, *χαίρε*—*stop, ho!* by which Apollo calls to Tityus, who attempts to ill-use his mother Leto.⁵⁷ So indeed, instead of the names of the figures on an amphora, with red figures, published by Millin,⁵⁸ and representing the combat of Pallas Athene and Enkelados, are the speeches of the two combatants, ΚΑΘΙΕ. ΚΕΘΜΙ; *καθίε*, “lay down!” *κέομαι*, “I place myself!” and the shout of the old Tyndareus on the cylix, published by M. Gerhard,⁵⁹ ΧΑΙΡΕ ΘΕΣΕΥ, “*Stop, Theseus,*” and the cry of Clytemnestra or Leda, ΕΙΔΟΝΘΕΜΕΝ, not Εδον Θεσεν, but *ειδοσθεμεν*, some irregular form from the verb *εἶδέω*, perhaps a kind of third person of the first aorist passive, as *εἰδόσθη μὲν*, *it is known*.

Among similar expressions, I am inclined to class ΕΥΘΥΜΟ, which has been read ΕΥΘΥΜΟΣ by all who have published the Vase⁶⁰ with the subject of Cræsus mounted upon the funeral, at the foot of which stands a man with a torch, ready to fire the pyre. The restoration *Ευθυμος*, supposes that this is the name of the man, and it is indeed a good Attic name found on the vases in its patronymic *Ευθυμιῶης*; but there is no Σ in both plates of the vase which have been published; and from a communication which I have lately received from M. De Witte, it appears doubtful whether such exists in the original. This makes me suspect that in this instance *ευθυμο* (υ) is the word uttered by the man at the pyre to Cræsus, the contracted form of *εὐθυμέον*, “*be of good cheer,*” “*fear not,*” a valedictory address⁶¹ similar to *χαίρε* πρὸςαγορεύο (υ); and in the same form as this last word and the precited *ἰδο* (υ.) with the archaic ο for ον; for on the reverse of this very same vase is ΠΕΠΙΟΘΟΣ for *Περίθοος*; on another vase formerly in the collection⁶² of the Prince de Canino, on which is

⁵⁶ Lenormant et De Witte, *Élite des Monumens Céramographiques*, Pl. LVI.

⁵⁷ *Vases Peints*.

⁵⁸ A. V. taf. CLXVIII.

⁵⁹ Duc de Luynes, *Mon. In. de l'Inst. Arch.* Pl. LIV. LV. *Ann. v. p. 237*, Millingen, *Supp. Trans. R. S. Lit.* Vol. II., 4to. Lond. 1834, p. 28.

⁶⁰ Euripides, *Cyclops*, 530.

⁶¹ *Arch.* 1831, p. 207.

⁶² That is in the form given by the Vase Artists, the first form might be *διζίω*, the form *πάλιν*. *Arch.* 1839, p. 209. B. 793.

the celebrated and often repeated strife between Hercules and Apollo for the tripod,⁶³ is ΔΕΧΙΟΙ ΠΑΛΟΝ, probably δεξίοι πάλον (ἐπαλον,) "*they have wrestled well*;" the exclamation of Pallas Athene as the paidotribes of Heracles.—Another inscription to be referred to this class is that on the Vulcian cylix,⁶⁴ on which Silenus pours wine from a skin into a large crater. It read ΣΙΛΑΝΟΣ ΤΕΡΠΙΟΝ ΗΕΔΥΣ ΠΟΙΝΟΣ, Σιλανὸς τερπῶν ἡδὺς οἶνός, i. e. "*Silenus delighted (says) the wine is sweet!*"

Having thus abundantly proved the use of these inscriptions on vases, and adduced the most remarkable instances known, it now only remains to consider the character on this who pronounces these words. According to Pausanias⁶⁵ it was the herald, who proclaimed the name, age, or country of the successful competitor before the assembled chiefs of Greece; there is however here no distinctive mark of the leading figure being a herald, for he simply holds a ῥάβδος or stick, which may have equally been held by a brabeus or umpire. The whole subject indeed much resembles the return of the victor from the games to his own city. The victor also appears at some of the games to have been crowned upon a tripod covered over with bronze, τρίποις ἐπίχαλκος, but afterwards at a table inlaid with gold and ivory.⁶⁶ The contest with horses, (κέλητι,) ridden by boys, appears on two of the Panathenaic prize vases; in one instance the boys hold whip, μάστιγες, in their hand, in the other, goads, κεντρά.⁶⁷ The history of the principal festivals has not been accurately preserved, so that the introduction of particular games is not in all instances to be traced; but the introduction of the race with foals into the Pythian games is known to have taken place in the 63d Pythian, or the 2d year of the 64th Olympiad, B. C. 523. If this was in consequence of their general use throughout Greece, it would form a fixed point for determining the age of certain vases. There is, however, another point which might have aided, but which unfortunately does not;—in the first Pythiad, Ol. 48, 3,⁶⁸ the prizes were χρήματα, by which is undoubtedly to be understood tripods, and other valuable objects; in the second Pythiad⁶⁹ a chaplet was introduced. Our vase, however, presents the circumstance of the two, for the youth holds both the tripod and crown, showing that the agon gave both the χρήματα and the στεφάνη. The tripod was a common reward. In the Pythian games, and in connexion with the Apollo Enolmios, they were more especially the re-

⁶³ De Witte, *Deser.* p. 65, No. 135.

⁶⁴ Plato, *Leg.* viii. p. 833. Paus. v. 15. s. 8.

⁶⁵ Paus. v. 12, s. 3. 20, s. 1, 12.

⁶⁶ *Monumenti del' Istituto di Cor-*

rispondenza Archeologica, Roma, 1829–1832. Pl. xxi.

⁶⁷ Cf. Gerhard and Millingen, *l. c.*

⁶⁸ Krause, *Die. Pyth. Nem.* s. 21.

⁶⁹ Arg. ad Pind. *Pyth.* Paus., *l. c.*

ward held out for the encouragement in contest of all natures, not only in the agonistic, but even in literary contests, since the tripod and the bull were the usual rewards—the tripod of gold offered to the seven sages of Greece, and ultimately consecrated to the Apollo of Delphi.⁷⁰ Not only; however, in the Pythian games, but also in the Panathenaia, the tripod was the usual form in which the victor was remunerated; and in the choragic contests carried on by tribes, a trophæic monument was often erected to sustain the tripod as a base, and to record the victory of the tribe.⁷¹ The vase paintings completely confirm this view. A very ancient vase, published by Inghirami,⁷² in which, among other subjects, is a race of bigæ, represents a tripod placed at the side of the course, beyond the Doric column which marks the terminus, as the proposed prize. From the vase under consideration, it is clear that they were offered as prizes in the race of colts ridden by boys. On a vase in the British Museum, painted by the artist Polygnotus, are two apteral figures of Nike or Victory sacrificing a bull, or rather on the point of crowning it with fillets in honour of a dithyrambic victory. An athletic vase found at Vulci with agonistic subjects, also had a tripod as the reward,⁷³ and on some of the Athenian lecythi, the λέβης or caldron, replacing the tripod, is depicted as the prize.⁷⁴ So also the celebrated vase with the *Ἀκαμαντὶς ἐνέκα φύλλῃ*, and the allegorical race of Plutus and Chrysos,⁷⁵ have the consecrated tripod; and innumerable instances may be adduced of its use. Subsequently, this was consecrated to some divinity, and great numbers were consequently placed in the altis at Olympia. Occasionally it was taken home, and the return of the victor from the games accompanied with particular honours. Still, preceded by the κήρυξ, the victorious cry νικᾷ νικᾷ may be considered to be ringing in the ears of his countrymen. Hiero I. had thus conquered with a horse (κέλητι) in the 73d Olympiad, B. C. 482, for Sicily was celebrated for its racers.

To which game are we to refer this vase? Of the great games, the Isthmic and Pythian must be excepted; the Nemean seem hardly admissible; and the Olympian are the most plausible; yet, the position of Pallas Athene, which is the central figure in the picture, suggests that she is the principal protectress, and thus one of the Panathenaia, the greater or lesser, must be supposed.

—a rolled bud and a wreath of olive leaves as to horticulture S. BIRCH.

⁷⁰ Plutarch, *Vit. Solon.* t. i. p. 320. Reiske.

⁷¹ *Archæologia*, 1839, p. 233.

⁷² *Vasi Fittili*, tom. iv, tav. cccviii.

⁷³ Stackelberg, *Die Gräber*.

⁷⁴ Gerhard, *A. V.* taf. LXXXI. s. 10.

Cf. Panofka, *Cabinet Pourtales*, pl. vj. *Musée Blacas*, pl. 1. p. 8. *Bulletino*, 1832, p. 87. Stackelberg, *Die Gräber*, taf. xxv.

⁷⁵ Pindar, *Arg. ad Pyth.*

2. REMARKS ON THE USE OF THE ACCUSATIVE AFTER PARTICIPLES
AND ADJECTIVES.

The want of a truthful and philosophical view of the peculiar genius of the Greek and Latin languages, was the cause of the induction of many absurd and unfounded rules which long figured in the leading grammars of the past age. Foremost among such errors stands the attempt to explain classical idioms according to the idiom and genius of the English language, rather than by such a method as would have commended itself as just to the judgment of one whose native tongue was Greek or Latin. The cause might be traced still further back, to the wrong notions which were entertained as to the use to which the cultivation of the dead languages should be applied; in those cases, especially, in which it was not intended that the acquisition of them should reach beyond the elements. Foremost also amongst the errors engendered by this system, stood the rule that *the accusative is used after participles passive and adjectives, governed by κατὰ or secundum omitted*. Now although this view has gradually given way before more philosophical explanations of syntax, we meet with some here and there, who seem very reluctant to part with their old *mumpsimus*. To give an instance, we find in Mr. T. K. Arnold's Introduction to Greek Prose Composition, (3d Edit.) 135, (a), the following remark on such expressions as καλὸς τὸ σῶμα, Σωκράτης τοῦ νομα, &c. "The accus. is used after nouns and adjectives, where κατὰ, as to, might be supposed¹ understood." The following quotations from Buttmann's Intermediate Greek Grammar are to the point. "The relations of more remote objects, which return most frequently, are generally expressed by a mere *casus*. But languages differ greatly in this respect; what is expressed in one by one case, is rendered in another language by another case; and very frequently one language employs a *prep.*, where the other simply uses a case, or some may use either the *prep.* or the *casus*: *ex. gr.* in English, *I gave the letter to him*, or *I gave (to) him the letter*. When we, therefore, meet with a mere *casus* in Greek, where other languages use a *preposition*, we must not be too hasty with the interpretation of an omitted *preposition*; we had better assume that the *casus* involves already that idea, which we would render apparent through the medium of a *preposition*, (§ 130, 3 and 4, Supf's Tr.) That is to say, because we cannot render the expression, word for word, into English, so as to make it intelligible without introducing a *prep.*, we have no right to assume that the Greeks could not understand their own *acc.* without mentally supplying a *prep.* Now

¹ The italics are Mr. Arnold's.

it is pretty generally acknowledged that inflections in nouns and adjectives are *prepositions* tacked on to their crude forms : what remains, then, is to discover as near as possible the *meaning* of this *post-position*, and then apply it to each instance of its occurrence. We believe that the primary notion of the accusative term is "*motion towards*;" as $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ denoting the object towards which the blow proceeds, or *passes over* from the agent : $\acute{\omega}\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ is swift ; when $\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ is added, the attention is turned *towards* the particular part referred to."

But there is another cause which has given rise to very confused and erroneous notions about this accusative, especially in Latin ; and that is the non-conception of the close connexion between the notions of the passive and middle verbs. In the old Greek grammars a broad distinction was maintained between the so-called middle and passive tenses ; but this forcing process could not be carried out to its full extent, for the pres. and imperf. are set down as common to both voices. But this arrangement is apt to mislead ; for, not to enter into details, every school-boy knows that $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\nu$ in the New Test. is $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\upsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\nu$ in Thucydides ; and that almost all the other tenses with middle and passive inflections constantly vary in their use. The first meaning of these tenses was probably the pure inflexive, as $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$, *I defend* ; $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, *I defend myself* ; but this meaning had almost died out in the Classical Attic. The next meaning by an easy transition must have been, *I get myself defended*, and of this a greater number of examples remain ; and this meaning, moreover, forms the connecting link between the middle and passive significations ; the extraneous agent being introduced by $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\omicron}$. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\omicron}\ \tau\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is therefore properly, "*I got myself defended by another*;" or if there is no personal exertion of mine, "*I get defended by another*."

In the Latin verb, where there is no superabundance of passive inflections, one voice was formed, which was called passive, and was always to be translated passive, in spite of any amount of absurdity resulting therefrom ; even to the attributing of the punishment of hanging to boys, who had committed no crime beyond *themselves* hanging their counters and tablet on their arm for their school-work : *Lævo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto*, Horat. *Sat.* i. 6, 74. Still this method was not free from inconsistency, for there were said to be *deponent* verbs, having this very same passive inflexion, but withal an ACTIVE signification. The truth is probably *all* (as we know it for certain of a great many,) these so called deponents had in the older language corresponding actives, so that *abominor*, *comitor*, *commentor*, and *expurgisor*, are just as much passives of *abomino*, *comito*, *commen-to*, and *expurgisco*,² (all of which forms are actually found,) as *amor* is

² See Allen's *Analysis of Latin Verbs*, pp. 66 foll.

of *amo*. In poetry, which is conservative of by-gone constructions and phrases, we find most instances of the middle meaning. Thus taking at random from the Second *Æneid*, we have *executor somno*, (302)—*I rouse myself from sleep* : *In flammas et in arma feror*, (337)—*I bear myself, I rush* : *Induitur galeam*, (393)—*puts on himself the helm* : *Notâ conduntur in alvo*, (401)—*hide themselves* : *Coluber mala gramina pastus*, (471)—*having fed himself on noxious herbs* : (*Priamus*) *ferrum Cingitur ac densos fertur moriturus in hostes*, (511)—*girds on, and rushes*. Nor in prose is this meaning unknown, though less frequent, as, *fit particeps publici consilii*,—*he makes himself*, Cicero in *Catilinam*, i. 1. With regard to the verbal in *tus*, an additional confirmation is gained from the corresponding verbal in *τός* in Greek ; *ἄγνωστος* is just as much a perf. pass. participle of its verb *γινώσκω*, as *pastus* is of *pasco*. But this verbal in *τός* is *active* as well as *passive*, and this has been allowed from the first. So long as *cingitur* in such phrases as *cingitur ferrum* was considered strictly *pass.*, no government for the *accus.* could be found in the phrase itself. Recourse was therefore had to the whimsical expedient of a *preposition*, exerting a secret mystical influence over a noun, but ashamed to show itself to claim its full rights. There is an insurmountable difficulty, in our judgment, in a *preposition* uniformly governing a particular case after particular words, but being as uniformly omitted. Besides, *secundum* never has the meaning attributed to it in this rule.

The only possible view, then, of this *accus.* is simply this : the passive and middle tenses in Greek were originally identical. Remains of a pure middle are found in Latin of the Augustan age to a considerable extent : this *middle* had a tendency in several instances to subside into a mere active ; in others, to be entirely restricted to the passive. An *accus.* after such forms, when transitive, is what might be expected.

The following quotation from Professor Key's Latin Grammar shall conclude these remarks : " The perfect participles of what are commonly called passive verbs, are used, particularly by the poets, like those of reflective or deponent verbs, and so take an accusative case." (§ 892.)

E. S. J.

3. ON HERODOTUS, II. 39, and VI. 91.

HERODOTUS, in B. II. c. 39, where he describes the Egyptian rites of sacrifice, says, according to the common reading, . . . σφάζουσι .

σφάζαντες δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν. Σῶμα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κτήνεος δείρουσι· κεφαλῇ δὲ κείνῃ πολλὰ καταρησάμενοι, φέρουσι, κ. τ. λ.

In B. VI. c. 91, where he describes the way in which the Eginetan nobles massacred the popular insurgents whom they had overpowered, he says that one of the prisoners escaped, and took sanctuary by clinging to the handles of the door of a temple of Demeter:—οἱ δὲ, ἐπεῖτε μιν ἀποσπᾶσαι οὐκ οἶοί τε ἀπέλκοντες ἐγίνοντο, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἤγον οὕτω· χεῖρες δὲ κεῖναι ἐμπεφυκνύαι ἦσαν τοῖσι ἐπισπαστήρσι. Such, at least, is the common reading.

In these passages, κεφαλῇ κείνῃ can be translated in no other way than “on *that* head;” and χεῖρες κεῖναι are “*those* hands.” It is unnecessary to enter into any disquisition to show that such a mode of expression is very improbable. I would observe, however, that ἐκεῖνος, and not κείνος, is the usual form of the demonstrative pronoun in Herodotus. The transcribers of the Florentine and Sancroft MSS. were aware of this, and have written in the latter passage, χεῖρες δὲ ἐκεῖναι. But this does not mend the sense. I believe that the true readings are, κεφαλῇ δὲ κεινῇ, and χεῖρες δὲ κειναί. Κεῖνός is the Ionic form of κενός, the ordinary meaning of which is “empty:” but I believe that here it is used for “severed,” “separated from the body.” Κεφαλῇ κεινῇ is “the severed head;” and χεῖρες κειναί, “the severed hands.” I cannot give another example of this use of the word in the physical sense; but there is a metaphorical expression in Soph. *Aj.* 986, 7, where a lioness, bereaved of her mate, is called κενή λέαινα; in illustration of which Lobeck has cited *Bion.* I. 50, χήρα δ’ ἄ Κυθήρεια, κενοὶ δ’ ἀνὰ δώματ’ ἔρωτες. The extension of the meaning of the word from “wanting that which is commonly contained,” to “wanting that which is commonly attached,” is not violent.

How easy the confusion of the form κεινός with the forms κείνος and ἐκεῖνος was, appears from another passage in Herod. II. c. 40, where now all the recent editions have rightly adopted Schweighæuser’s conjecture, and read κοιλίην μὲν κεινὴν πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον; but the Florentine MS. has κείνην, and the older editions ἐκεῖνην. In this passage there can be no question about the emendation, as the κοιλίη has not been mentioned before.

H. M.]

4. ON THUCYDIDES VI. 21.

There is a passage in the speech of Nicias in Thucyd. VI. 21, which has given much trouble to the interpreters and commentators. It stands thus in Bekker’s edition, (Oxford, reprint, 1821): γρόντας ὅτι

πολύ τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν μέλλομεν πλεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ στρατευσόμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς τῇδε ὑπηκόοις ξύμμαχοι ἦλθετε ἐπὶ τινα, ὅθεν ῥάδιαι αἱ κομιδαὶ ἐκ τῆς φιλίας ὧν προσέδει, ἀλλ' ἐς ἄλλοτρίαν πᾶσαν ἀπαρτήσαντες, ἐξ ἧς μηνῶν οὐδὲ τεσσάρων τῶν χειμερινῶν ἄγγελον ῥάδιον ἐλθεῖν. I believe that this reading is right in all respects, except that I would rather omit the comma after στρατευσόμενοι. The MSS. vary between στρατευσόμενοι and στρατευσάμενοι, and between ἀπαρτήσαντες and ἀπαρτήσοντες. Goeller and Poppo and Arnold have preferred στρατευσάμενοι, and so did Hermann, (*Adnot. ad Viger. not. 224.*) Hermann and Dobree strike out the second οὐκ before ἐν τοῖς τῇδε ὑπηκόοις: Poppo and Arnold put it in brackets: so does Bekker in his second edition: and Goeller changes it into εἰ. Several of the commentators have been misled by a false notion, that the participles στρατευσάμενοι and ἀπαρτήσαντες are so coupled together, that they must necessarily be in the same tense. Hermann translates οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ στρατευσάμενοι, "non simili facta expeditione." Now, though it is true that the aorist στρατεύσασθαι may signify "to set out on a military expedition," while the imperfect form στρατεύεσθαι can signify only "to carry on war;" yet, as the aorist participle στρατευσάμενοι would necessarily denote a time past relatively to the time of the main verb with which it is joined, it seems scarcely possible to say μέλλομεν πλεῖν στρατευσάμενοι. It must be the future participle, μέλλομεν πλεῖν στρατευσόμενοι, "we are about to sail with the purpose of waging war." Ἀπαρτήσαντες is not coupled to στρατευσάμενοι, but is dependent upon it; and denotes the circumstance opposed to ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῇδε ὑπηκόοις ξύμμαχοι ἦλθετε ἐπὶ τινα. The construction is στρατευσόμενοι ἀπαρτήσαντες κ. τ. λ., "about to carry on war after we have disjoined ourselves from our resources, and thrown ourselves into a country altogether alien." This intransitive use of ἀπαρτᾶν (in which Dr. Bloomfield has found a difficulty,) corresponds to the transitive use, of which Liddell and Scott cite an example from *Dem. de Cor. p. 244*, καὶ με μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, ἐὰν εἰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω. In the preceding clause the second καὶ is the particle which answers to ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ. Ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ καὶ is "in like manner as." Hermann and Dobree understood this construction rightly, but were mistaken in omitting the οὐκ. In the sentence οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ στρατευσόμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς τῇδε ὑπηκόοις ἦλθετε ἐπὶ τινα, the second οὐκ is redundant according to the English idiom, but is introduced in Greek in consequence of the preceding negative, on the same principle as in the phrase, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ, "not more than," in *Thuc. ii. 62*; *Herod. iv. 118*, *v. 94*, *vii. 116.*, &c.

5. ON SOPHOCLES, *Antigone*, 31, 32.

Τοιαῦτά φασι τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κρέοντα σοὶ
κάμοι, λέγω γὰρ καμέ, κηρύξαντ' ἔχειν.

Having carefully read Mr. Richmond's remarks on my proposed interpretation of this passage, I am bound to say that my opinion remains unshaken.

Mr. Richmond considers "the trajection of the datives to the place they occupy after the substantive Κρέοντα," to be a decisive objection. This is a question of grammatical æsthesis, on which I cannot agree with Mr. Richmond. Had I time to read Plato, Demosthenes, and Thucydides for the purpose, I am confident I should find numerous instances of collocation equally free; and if so, poetical arrangement has an *a fortiori* freedom. Sophocles could not write, τὸν σοι καὶ ἐμοί, λέγω γὰρ καὶ ἔμε, ἀγαθὸν Κρέοντα: he therefore throws the words into the order of the text, the admissibility of which I consider free from doubt.¹

Mr. Richmond asks, "if such be the construction, would not the sense more naturally be, *Creon whom you and I THINK good*, than, *whom you and I THOUGHT good*." I perceive no force in this objection. Τὸν ἀγαθὸν does not define time at all: the participle ὄντα, which the mind supplies, may refer as much (imperfect) to duration in time past, as (present) to subsistence in time present.

Mr. Richmond conceives that my interpretation would demand κάμοι instead of καμέ. Here again I cannot agree with him. While I grant that Sophocles might have written κάμοι, I hold that it was quite open to him to write καμέ in the same sense: i. e. "*for I name myself also*, (as having been accustomed to entertain this opinion,)" instead of "*for I say to me also*."

Mr. Richmond interprets καμέ, "*emphatically me*." Without denying the possibility of such an interpretation, (which, by the way, is not inconsistent with my view of the passage,) it seems to me more simple and probable to explain καμέ from the preceding κάμοι, "*and to me also; yes, me also I say*."

Mr. Richmond refers τὸν ἀγαθὸν to the opinion of the citizens. This, in itself, is open to no objection. My interpretation I regard as necessary, not to explain τὸν ἀγαθὸν, but to elucidate the pronouns and parenthesis. For I cannot accept as satisfactory Mr. Richmond's paraphrase: "*Such is the edict which they say Creon in his good zeal has proclaimed,—an edict which must needs affect you and ME above all the citizens; in saying which I make special mention of myself,*

¹ My opinion on this point is shared by one of the best Greek scholars in England, the Rev. T. S. Evans of Rugby.

because, whether you join with me or not, I mean to incur the penalty of burying our brother." *ἢ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ Κρέοντι τὸν δῆλον ὅτι*

This explanation, like Wex's, with which it agrees in the main, I cannot accept: (1) because I do not believe that words, such as *τοιαῦτά φασι Κρέοντά σοι κἀμοὶ κεκηρυχέναι* can mean, "*Such is the edict which they say Creon has proclaimed,—an edict which must needs affect you and me :*" or any thing else but, "*Such is the edict which they say Creon has proclaimed to you and me ;*" (2) because the hint suggested to be lurking in the parenthesis is too obscure and enigmatical for even the daughter of an Œdipus; (3) because such an emphasis and such a hint seems to destroy the beauty and propriety of Antigone's character. How much more suitable to suppose her saying, "*this is the proclamation of the man whom you, dear sister, from the impulse of your gentle, affectionate, and too confiding nature, used to call 'the good,' whom even I—let me frankly own it—though of sterner temper, have often called so.*" *ἢ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ Κρέοντι τὸν δῆλον ὅτι*

I will merely add that, although more accustomed to be sceptical than dogmatical in the interpretation of difficult passages in classical literature, I entertain no doubt in the present instance. This affords no reason for the mere adoption of my present opinion: but it serves to explain why I continue to place it before the eyes of scholars, trusting that it will be generally sanctioned for its own value.

sub of (ἀντιγόνη) δὲ μὴν ἀντιγόνην πρὸς Κρέοντα. BENJ. H. KENNEDY.

XXII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. GREEK VERBS, Irregular and Defective, their Forms, Meaning, and Quantity: Embracing all the Tenses used by the Greek Writers, with References to the passages in which they are found. By the Rev. William Veitch. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. 1848.

CLASSICAL scholars are much indebted to Mr Veitch for this most elaborate and meritorious work. It contains all that the title conveys or implies, and more. There is truly little left to be done by future labourers in the same field.

All will admit that it is indispensable to correct scholarship, to be acquainted, not only with the general principles on which the Greek verbs are constructed, but with the anomalies in which that language, so luxuriantly rich in forms, abounds. The analogies of the language, when these are correctly ascertained, may lead, and have often led, to the correct reading, and the right understanding of a disputed passage.

Of course there can be no attainments to any extent made, when the scholar wanders in a maze of perplexity, apt to be led astray, in search of the truth, by a resemblance in form, while there exists a difference in the reality. But there may be a question as to what goes beyond this. When we have ascertained that the Greeks used a form which, in ordinary cases, is connected with another, it may be plausibly said that the existence of the former presupposes that of the latter, although we do not find it actually in the writings now extant. To use the words of Salmasius (*Commentar. de Hellenistica*, p. 107,) on a kindred subject, *Vix millesima pars restat eorum, qui aliquid Græce commentati sunt. Si omnes extarent, nulla vox tam μωιρρς in nova et vetere pagina reperiretur, quin χρῆσις ejus ex aliquo auctore qui periit confirmari posset.* Granting the truth of this in such vocables as rarely occur, from the rare occurrences of the notions which they express, there are numerous words so necessary to the very use of speech, that if we do not find them in certain forms in the writings which survive, we may safely conclude that such forms were purposely shunned. If we cast a glance at the uses to which we put our knowledge of the forms of verbs, we shall find that there are mainly three—to understand the original writers themselves, or to express our thoughts in that language, or to ascertain from analogy, in disputed cases, what the Greeks actually wrote. For all of these cases, a certain knowledge of the forms of the verbs, and for the two latter an accurate familiarity with them, is indispensable. The last, indeed, is that on which the two former are based. Before we can interpret what an author wrote, we must know what he actually did write. Where good MSS. agree, we have, of course, no right to pursue the question farther. This is all the evidence which we can have on the subject; and we must conclude, that whatever our notions may be of what an author should have written, he preferred to use such and such words. But where there is a discrepancy of MSS., or an uncertainty as to the reading anyhow arising, he is the only safe authority, who, with an accurate acquaintance of what forms authors of the same dialect and age were in the habit of employing, sagaciously suggests the very form which probability, thus derived, leads him to conjecture. This, certainly, is the noblest use to which this knowledge can be turned. But in the other cases, also, *non absurdum est*. More especially, in an extensive perusal of Greek authors, it is impossible to avoid perplexity and error without this knowledge. The forms and the senses varied in different times and in different parts of the country. How puzzled would a student of our own language be, if he took up certain American works, and did not know that the vocables were used in a sense, and often in a form, different from ours! Should changes and revolutions disgorge new authorities, the lost records of past ages, and the

missing trophies of bygone genius, we should be entitled to add to our stores of words and forms. But is the record closed? Then it is wise to search and know what our treasury actually contains, that accuracy in the knowledge of words may add to accuracy in the knowledge of thoughts and things.

It is curious that Scotland, by no means, of late years at least, generally distinguished for classical research, should have contributed more than her due share to the minute knowledge of the Greek verb. Matthiæ and Buttmann had done much. But the late Mr. A. N. Carmichael, of the Edinburgh Academy, a laborious and accurate scholar, whom we are surprised to find that Mr. Veitch does not even mention in his preface, by a careful perusal of the Greek authors, furnished a list much more complete than any that had preceded. The work was, however, notwithstanding Mr. Carmichael's minute scholarship, defective in certain particulars. He was not careful with regard to the editions to which he referred; and hence he introduces forms now rejected by the best critical authorities. And he did not discriminate sufficiently between the use of a simple verb and its compounds; if a tense was found in the one, he inferred that it might be found in the other,—a conclusion by no means safe, and which exposed the list to many chances of error.

Both these sources of mistake have been avoided by Mr. Veitch, another scholar of Scotland. The editions to which he refers are the best and the most accurate that have been produced. And he carefully distinguishes between the tenses found existing in the simple and in the compound verbs. Hence we have placed before us at a glance the result of the labours of many independent critics, and our trouble and perplexity are abridged and removed. Peculiarities in the signification are not overlooked, and much acuteness is evinced occasionally, in hints at the interpretation of disputed passages. The author seems to revel in minute verbal criticism, while now and then flashes of humour reveal the fact, that his has been a labour of love. It is above all refreshing, to find a man who reads and thinks for himself on matters, where we are all too much inclined to permit others to think and read for us. To all we cordially recommend this work as a trust-worthy guide; and the most accomplished scholar will not fail to find remarks on points of criticism, both as to various readings, to meaning, and to quantity, which he will regard as valuable and suggestive.

We had almost omitted to mention that, in this work, the usage of the verb, as existing in the later prose writers, as well as of the later poets, is given, while the difference between them and the prose writers is carefully marked.

To enable our readers to judge for themselves,—though this is al-

most impossible in the case of a work like the one under review,—we shall give beneath, the treatment of a verb chosen at random from Buttmann, (translated by Fishlake,) Carmichael, and Veitch.

BUTTMANN.

Κλῖνω,¹ *I bend*: fut. κλινῶ; aor. 1. κλῖνα; aor. 1. Midd. κλινάμεν; aor. 1. pass. ἐκλίνθην and ἐκλίνθην, (ῖ) both forms in Homer;² but ἐκλίνθην exclusively Ep. and Poet.: much less frequent is the aor. 2. pass. and perhaps used only in the compounds, as κατακλινῆναι, Plato and Aristoph. ζυγκατακλίνεις, Aristoph. *Ach.* 981. Perf. pass. κέκλιμαι, part. κεκλιμένος.—MIDD.

CARMICHAEL.

Κλίνω, *I bend*, fut. κλινῶ, Dem. 1450, 3; Arist. *Plut.* 621; perf. κέκλικα, *Anthol.* (Straton.) 12, 213, 1; perf. pass. κέκλιμαι, *Il.* γ. 135; *Æsch. Pers.* 926; *Xen. Eq.* v. 5; 1 aor. pas. ἐκλίνθην, *Odys.* τ. 470; *Soph. Trach.* 1228; *Eurip. Cycl.* 540; *Xen. Cyr.* viii. 7, 4; and ἐκλίνθην, *Il.* γ. 360; ζ. 463; *Hes. Theog.* vii. 11; *Archil. Frag.* xxvi. 4; *Xen. Hist. Gr.* iv. 1, 30; 2 aor. pass. ἐκλίνην, (ῖ) *Arist. Lys.* 906, *Vesp.* 1208, 1210; *Plat. Conv.* xxxvii. 40, 60; for its fut., see *Arist. Eq.* 98; *Plat. Conv.* xlv. 17; 1 aor. Act. κλῖνα, *Il.* ε. 37; *Eurip. Alc.* 277; *Xen. Cyr.* vii. 3, 3.

The Mid. has the intransitive sense of *lean, incline*, with fut. κλινῶμαι, *Arist. Lys.* 910; and 1 aor., *Odys.* ε. 340.

Obs. The Act. is sometimes found with pure writers in the Mid. in sense, compare *Herod.* ix. 16; *Xen. Mem.* iii. 5, 13; *Æol. Rh.* 1, 452. For the rejection of ν in the perfect of this and certain other verbs, see κρίνω, *Obs.*

Construction. In the Act. the acc. with the dat., the latter varied by the acc. with πρὸς; in the Mid. and Pas. the dat. varied as in the Act.

VEITCH.

Κλῖνω, *To bend*, *Il.* xxiii. 171: f. late in simple κλινῶ, *Lycophr.* 557; (*Dem?*) *Proem.* 1450, 3, ἐγκατα—*Ar. Plut.* 621: aor. κλῖνα, *Il.* viii. 435; *Pl. Tim.* 77: p. κέκλικα, *Polyb.* xxx. 10; *Anth.* xii. 213; pp. κέκλιμαι, *Il.* v. 709; *Xen. Eq.* v. 5: Ep. 3, pl. κεκλίεσθαι, *Il.* xvi. 68; aor. ἐκλίνθην, *Od.* xix. 470; *Pind. Ol.* i. 92; *Eur. Hip.* 212; *Pl. Phaed.* 109, κατ—, *Xen. Hell.* iv. 1, 30: Epic and Poet. exclusively, ἐκλίνθην, *Il.* iii. 360; *Hes. Th.* 711; *Archil. Fr.* 30 (*Toup's emend.*); *Theocr.* iii. 44: f. κατακλινθήσομαι, *Eur. Alc.* 1090: 2 aor. ἐκλίνην, *Her.* ix. 16? (*Dind.*) κατ—, *Ar. Lys.* 906; *Pl. Conv.* 213: f. κατακλινθήσομαι, *Ar. Eq.* 98; *Plat. Conv.* 222. M. κλινόμαι, ἀπο—to lay oneself down, recline, &c. *Her.* iii. 104: f. κλινῶμαι, κατ—; *Ar. Lys.* 910: aor. ἐκλινάμεν, *Od.* xvii. 340. For f. κλινῶ, *Dem.* p. 1450, 4, *Sauppe* reads subj. κλίνῃ. 1 aor. forms with ν, ἐκλίνθην and compounds, are not now admitted in prose. The only instance we know of 2 aor. ἐκλίνην simple, is *W. Dind.* suggestion κλινῆναι for κλῖναι, *Her.* ix. 15, the necessity of which we do not see.

¹ On the formation of the perf. and aor. 1. pass., see Τίνω.

² Examples, however, of κλινθῆναι may be found in *Plutarch* (See *Stephan.*

Thesaur.), and in *Æsop. Fab.* 143, *Heusing.*, but in this latter the writing is uncertain.

2. **THE ANABASIS OF XENOPHON**; chiefly according to the Text of L. Dindorf. With Notes: For the use of Schools and Colleges. By John J. Owen, Principal of the Cornelius Institute. 6th Edition. New York. 1847.

THE ODYSSEY OF HOMER, according to the text of Wolf; with Notes: For the use of Schools and Colleges. By John J. Owen, Principal of the Cornelius Institute. 5th Edition. New York. 1847.

THE CYROPAEDIA OF XENOPHON, according to the text of L. Dindorf; with Notes: For the use of Schools and Colleges. By John J. Owen, Principal of the Cornelius Institute. New York. 1846.

THESE are all the works, we believe, hitherto published, of a set of classical commentaries, known in America as Owen's Classical Series. That they have arrived at a high pitch of popularity there, is evident from the numerous editions through which those of them first given to the world have run. We do not think that they are much, if at all, known to English Schools or Scholars. And we are glad to be the medium through which they are introduced to the British public, as they possess many excellencies, and are marked by few of the defects too often belonging to such works.

Our notice of them, however, must be brief. We intend to devote an article in an early number to that which is becoming of greater importance every day, an examination of the principles that ought to regulate School Commentaries. And from this series, as well as from other works, we propose to draw illustrations of our views. But it is due to Mr Owen to state, in the meantime, that so far as we have examined his Series, it presents a gratifying specimen of an accurate text, of notes in the main judicious, and a full array of those appliances, which, while they facilitate the progress of the learner, do not interfere with, nor impede the exercise of his own judgment or powers of thought.

XXIII.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

- Arnold's, T. K., *Eclogæ Historiæ*; or, Selections from the Roman Historians: being the last part of the Lateinisches Elementarbuch. By Jacobs and Doering. 12mo., cloth. London.
- Arnold's, T. K., *Elementary Greek Grammar*, 12mo., cloth.
- Bosworth, Rev. J., *The Origin of the English, German, and Scandinavian Languages and Nations*. Royal 8vo. cloth.
- Bunsen, C. C. J., *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. I. Translated from the German by Charles H. Cottrell, Esq. 8vo. London. Longman.
- Buttmann, Dr. P., *Intermediate or Larger Greek Grammar*. Translated from the German, and Edited by Dr. Charles Supf. Third Ed. 8vo., cloth. London.
- Ciceronis *Orationes Selectæ*. By Anthon. U. S. 12mo., cloth.
- Dobson's, W., *Selections for Composition and Translation in Prose and Verse*. 7th Series. 12mo. Cheltenham.
- Edwards' *Eton Latin Accidence*. New Edition. 12mo., cloth.
- Edwards' *Greek Delectus*. New Edition. 12mo., cloth.
- Euripides' *Four Plays*. Greek and English Notes. By Porson. 8vo., cloth.
- Fellows, Sir Charles, *Account of the Ionic Trophy Monument at Xanthus*. London. 8vo. John Murray.
- History of Rome*. Tract Society.
- Hitopadesa*, or, *Salutary Counsels of Vishnu Sarman*: in a series of connected Fables. Translated from the original into English. By Thomas Johnson. 4to. London.
- Key to the last Edition of Arnold's Latin Prose Composition*. By James G. Cowan. 12mo., sewed.
- Kühner's *New Greek Delectus*. Translated and Edited by the late Alexander Allen. Third Edition. 12mo., cloth. Taylor & Walton.
- Origin and Progress of Language*. 18mo. Tract Society.
- Ovid's Fasti*. Westminster New Edition. 8vo., bound.
- Principal Tenses of the Irregular Greek Verbs*. On a Sheet.
- Sallust*, with English Notes, Map, &c. Edited by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt. (Chambers' Educational Course.) 12mo., cloth.
- Stoddart, G. H., *New Latin Delectus*. Second Edition. 12mo.
- Synopsis of Grote's Homeric Theory*. Intended as an Appendix to Fausset's *Homer*, 12mo., sewed. Dublin.
- Terence—the Comedies of—with Text metrically arranged throughout, and copious English Notes, &c.* By J. A. Phillips. 8vo., cloth. Dublin.
- Veitch's, Rev. W., *Greek Verbs, Irregular and Defective*; their forms, meaning, and quantity; embracing all the Tenses used by the Greek writers, with references to the Passages in which they are found. Post 8vo. Edinburgh.
- Virgillii Maronis Carmina*, with English Notes, &c. Edited by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt. 12mo., cloth. (Chambers' Educational Course.)

Welsford, Henry, *Mithridates Minor; or, an Essay on Language.* 8vo. London. Longman.

Xenophon's *Anabasis.* Books I. to III. From the Text of Bornemann. By J. A. Phillips. New Ed. by G. D. Wheeler. 12mo., bd.

Xenophon's Expedition of Cyrus into Upper Asia. From the Text of Schneider, with English Notes. By the Rev. John White. 12mo., bound.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT.

'Αρρίανου Ἀγεξανδρου Ἀνάβασις. Emend. et explicat. C. G. Krüger.

Vol. II. 8vo. Berlin. 5s. 6d.

Bibliotheca Classica Latina. Vol. III. C. Julii Caesaris Opera. Vol. I. *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, in usum Scholar. Ed. G. A. Koch. Edit. stereot. 8vo. Leipzig. 1s.

Caspari, C., *Grammatica Arabica in usum Scholar. Academicarum.* Acced. brevis *Chrestomathia ex codd. MSS. Concinnata.* Pars II. 8vo. Lipsiae. 3s. 6d.

Duentzer, H., de *Zenodoti Studiis Homericis.* 8vo. Göttingae. 5s.

Euripidis *Tragoediae, cum fragmentis.* Versio Latina, tom. II. 16mo. Leyden. 4s. 6d.

Fables de Babrius, traduites en Français par M. Sommer, avec le texte Grec en regard, revu par M. Theobald Fix. 12mo. Paris. 3s.

Gerhard, E., *Ueber die Kunst der Phoenicier.* Seven plates. Berlin. 7s.

Gromatici Veteres, ex recens. C. Lachmanni. 8vo. Berlin. With 40 plates. 14s.

Hesiodi Opera et Dies. Ed. D. T. van Lennep. 8vo. Amstel. 7s.

Histoire Romaine de Dion Cassius, traduite en Français, avec des Notes critiques, historiques, etc. etc., par E. Gros, tom. II. Paris. 8vo. 10s.

M. Valerii Probi in Virgilii *Bucolica et Georgica Commentarius.*

Acced. *Scholorum Veronensium et Aspri Quaestionum Virgilianarum Fragmenta.* Ed. H. Keel. Halae. 8 maj. 3s.

Madvig, T. N., *Bemerkungen über einige Punkte der Griech. Wortfügunglehre.* 8vo. Göttingen. 2s.

Mnaseae Patarensis Fragmenta. Colligit et Comment. Instruxit E. Mehler. 8vo. Lugdun. Bat. 4s.

Procli *Commentarius in Platonis Timaeum, Graece.* Recensebat C. E. Chr. Schneider. 8vo. Vratislavia, 1847, 16s.

Q. Horatii Flacci Opera. In usum Scholarum. Edidit, Comment. et Varietate Lectionis Instruxit H. Düntzer. 8vo. Brunsvigae.

Schleicher, D. A., *Zur Vergleichenden Sprachengeschichte.* 8vo. Bonn. 5s.

Schneidewin, F. W., *die Homerischen Hymnen auf Apollon.* 8vo. Götting. 1s. 6d.

Unger, R., *De C. Valgi Rufi Poematis Commentatio.* 8vo. Halle. 10s. 6d.

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XXIV.

ON THE INTRUSIVE ELEMENTS OF LATIN.

THOSE who are aware how vigorously, and with what extensive erudition, the prevalent opinion, that Latin has been infected by a barbaric element, is impugned by Prichard, in his *Physical History of Man*,¹ will not think it superfluous to re-investigate the whole subject. To this end the present paper will be devoted, in the hope of attaining some more definite results, which will be fixed points of knowledge for farther progress.

Before entering on the details which concern the Latin language, it will not be away from the mark to consider the *à priori* state of the case. Assuming that the early migrations of the human race by land outstripped the colonies which could arrive by sea, a peninsula like Italy must have been first peopled from the north, and we shall find its oldest inhabitants (either in difficult mountain regions, or) on its farthest soil. So judging, we should count the Sicanians to be the oldest nation of Italy, because they are the oldest of Sicily, its natural extremity. The Sicanians, we are positively informed by Thucydides, were Iberians, which agrees with the old opinion, that the Iberian²

¹ As I am about to differ from Dr. Prichard's results, it is more particularly incumbent upon me to state how highly I am indebted to his luminous and comprehensive work, wrought out as it is from original sources, and combined with a full consideration of the views of modern scholars. English students, I fear, need to be informed (for they cannot guess by the title of the work,) how vast a mass of erudition is contained concerning the *ancient* as

well as modern nations of Europe in his third volume, which peculiarly concerns our present inquiries.

² That the Iberians were the oldest inhabitants, is doubted by great authorities, Humboldt and Niebuhr. Prichard adheres to the ancient view. What prepossesses me in its favour is, the literature and considerable cultivation of the Turdetanians, and other Iberian tribes, which implies long and fixed possession of the soil.

race was the first occupant of Spain also : but on this no stress will be here laid.

Next in antiquity to the Sicanians may seem to have been the CEnotrians, or Italians. Concerning these, a conjectural interpretation of a passage which professes to explain the name Italia,³ would suggest that they spoke a Celtic language, namely, if they called bulls *Italus* or *Vitalus*. For in Welsh also *Bittolws* means a bull, not a calf ; so that, as we cannot volunteer to suppose that the CEnotrians and the Welsh, after alike receiving the word from the Latins, fell into the very same blunder, the presumption is, that the Latins adopted from an CEnotrian people the Celtic word *Bittolws* or *Vitolus*, and altered its meaning to a *calf*. Now, if the CEnotrians were Celts, it will agree with the opinion of the ancients, that the Celts were the second people that entered Spain, and overpowered the Iberians ; and, in the flux of nations, the Iberians make the first wave, the Celts the second. Nevertheless, on this also, it would be absurd to build any conclusion.

Because different writers seem to confuse Siculians with CEnotrians, it has been inferred that the two were the same people. They may have been so ; but no deductions ought to be drawn from so uncertain an opinion. Others tell us that Siculians were Pelasgians, but this is uninformative to a historian of Italy. Of more importance would it be to a historian of Greece to be able to prove that Pelasgians were Siculians,⁴ for of the Sicu-

³ The passage of Varro is often quoted : " Græcia enim antiqua, (ut scribit Timæus,) tauros vocabant *ιταλούς*, a quorum multitudine et pulchritudine et foetivulorum Italiam dixerant." The connection of Timæus with Sicily, and of *ιταλός* with Italy, makes me think that his fact was simply this, The old Greeks of Italy said *ιταλός* for *ταῦρος*, and his inference was, that it was an old word of Greece Proper.

⁴ The arguments are two-fold : 1. The Italiots called their serfs Pelasgians. These serfs must have been CEnotrians, which means Siculians. Therefore Siculians were Pelasgians. 2. Pausanias was told at Athens that the Tyrsene Pelasgians who had dwelt in Attica were Siculians. A hill near Athens, called Siculia, confirms the fact. Therefore,

certain Pelasgians were Siculians. The first argument is less cogent than it seems. *Slaves* are not of the race of the Slavi, nor were the natives of America Indians, nor are the gipsies Egyptians, (nor yet Bohemians.) There is no end of the possible illustration of this topic. As for the second argument, any one who wishes to reject it has only to insist that the hill Siculia,—by accounting for the origin of the idea, that those Pelasgians were Siculians,—nullifies the testimony. None of the characteristic words of the Pelasgians, as Larissa, Argos, are known to us as Siculian, or as Latin ; yet the Pelasgians may have been the same people as the Siculians. Only, if they were, then it is utterly impossible for the unconquered Attic or Arcadian people ever to have been Pe-

lians we do know some trustworthy facts. We know that *mutuum, lepus, patina, carcer, cubitus, gelu, catinus, campus, nepotes*, were all Sicilian words, and that Valentos was with them the genitive case of Vales—(Valens.) We also learn from what appears positive testimony, that the Sicilians entered Italy from the north, and spread southward, a branch of them having at one time occupied Latium, where they were conquered, but not expelled. It cannot, therefore, surprise us to find such identities between the Sicilian and the Latin tongues.

Whether the Oscan race entered Italy before or after the Sicilians, cannot be known. They may have possessed the Highlands, and the Sicilians simultaneously the eastern coast, and Latium on the west. At any rate, they at length overwhelmed the Sicilians in Italy, drove part of the race into Sicily, and suppressed their name everywhere. That the Aborigines (so called) who conquered the Sicilians in Latium, were Oscans, has been probably conjectured, though it cannot be proved.

The north and northeast of Italy was overspread time out of mind by Umbrians, a people whom a late and uncertain tradition pronounced to be Celts, whether from the similarity of their name to Ambrones, or from a dim feeling that whatever was most ancient in Italy *ought* to be Celtic. If, however, the sole⁵ authority of Zenodotus of Troezen sufficed to prove what Lepsius holds as a certain truth, that the Sabines were a branch of the Umbrians, in the course of this paper reasons might appear for thinking that they were really Celts. The Eugubine Tables are assumed to be written in the Umbrian language; and the words which have been probably interpreted appear to be generally both Latin and Celtic. Such are *piquier* (= *picus*), *duva* (= *duo*), *triia* (= *tres*), *buu* (= *boves*), *vithuv* (= *vitulos*), *purca* (= *porca*.) The grammatical forms, however, suggest a far closer resemblance to the Oscans, to whom the Umbrians are probably a kindred nation.

Whatever theory we form concerning the relation of Sabines

lasgians. A Sicilian, like a Roman, was incurably barbarous to a Greek. How can Sicilians have "ripened" into Ionians? a thing which no Dorian race ever did.

⁵ Dionysius tells us, that he said the Sabines ἰξ' Ὀμβρικῶν gained the new name of Sabines after their migration. That they should have been confounded

with Umbrians by the neighbour people, while they dwelt on Umbrian soil, is so much a thing of course that this statement (which I believe is confirmed by no one,) will not stand against a single real fact. That the Eugubine Tables are pure Umbrian, what is our guarantee? One race has overlain another there as elsewhere in the south.

to Umbrians, and the course of Sabine migration, it is certain that Latium was many times conquered. Pliny names its occupants in the following order: (iii. 9,) Aborigines, Pelasgians, Arcadians, Siculians, Auruncans, Rutulians. Though nothing can be made of the details, we cannot be wrong in believing that it was a very mixed population, having, in all probability, at least four elements, viz., 1. Some primitive race—say Enotrians; 2. Colonists from the Grecian seas; 3. Siculians; 4. Oscans. To all these, in Rome itself, the Sabines were superadded. Under such circumstances, it would seem to be a miracle if the ultimate Roman language was not extremely composite. No doubt, we may be told that Siculian, Oscan, Greek—yes, and Celtic—all belong to the Indo-European stock, and have many words and principles in common; that words may really be native, which at first sight seem to be imported; that Latin has a sensible fraction of its primitive vocabulary in common with Sanscrit; indeed, words which do not exist in Greek, as *ignem*, *ensem*, *regem*—*Sansk.* *agnim*, *asim*, *rājam*; and that we do not imagine an Indian migration into Italy, in order to impart these terms to the Romans. All this we admit. But, to put a parallel case, supposing that European literature, earlier than the fifteenth century, had utterly perished, but that tradition preserved the fact of the Saxon and of the Norman conquests of Britain, we surely should be justified in the *à priori* inference that the English tongue contains at least three distinct elements, British, Saxon, and Norman. Which of these would predominate, nothing could be said *à priori*; and, in the actual business of separating them, we should be liable to various errors of detail. We might easily suppose that Night is of Norman origin, or that Air is of Welsh—*awyr*, while, in fact, night is independent of nuit; and the Welsh *awyr* was first expelled by the Saxon *lyft*; and this in turn by the Norman *air*. Knowing how complicated a problem we have in hand, we must learn extreme caution, and much diffidence, as to special points. But a combined etymological argument is of such a kind, (however logicians may explain it,) that *the whole is stronger than any of the parts*; and it is often reasonable to speak more confidently of the conclusion than of the premises separately.

In endeavouring to analyze the Latin tongue, and mark off its several constituents, we must expect to fall upon words which were common to them all, and are not rightly to be referred to any special one; yet, through the fragmentary state of our know-

ledge, we shall not always be aware of this. Such cases, nevertheless, will be quite exceptive, if the colliding languages differed in something more than dialect; and in many instances we may judge almost by inspection whether a word is imported or not. That *rex* is native Latin, we discern from its connection with *rego*; a verb which has the senses, (1.) to point or guide; as *regio* and *dirigo* prove; (2.) to rule; and unless all are native, the whole family has been transplanted and acclimated with deceptive success. Hence, though the Erse has *righ*, and the Sanscrit *rāja*, we are not hereby tempted to doubt that *rex* is native. On the contrary, βασιλεὺς has no sources in Greek; and does not appear likely to be itself a root; finding, then, a Syro-Arabian verb, *marshal*, (to rule,) we are led to believe that the Hellenes, during their residence in Asia, before they reached Greece, picked up this and many other words from some people who spoke a Syro-Arabian dialect. We may apply such principles unskilfully; but the principles are sound. There are ways of discriminating words certainly native, and words probably imported; and, upon applying such methods to the Latin tongue, we find a great mass of words of which no account can be given. When they are un-Greek, they are not forthwith “barbarian,” or intrusive; indeed, on comparing *rex* and βασιλεὺς, we must judge the Greeks to have talked barbarously; though, as ὀρέω stands for *rego*, perhaps we may believe that they have still kept the congener of *rex*, under the form ὄρχαμος. But, if we find in Latin two or three words which bear a certain similarity of sound, but none of sense, or if their forms stray from all laws of the language, while, in sense, they are connected,—if, on the contrary, in some other tongue, we see the representatives of these words connected by closer links of sound and sense,—or if, in the one language, we find a well-developed family, in the other an isolated word,—we have a pretty sure mark in what direction the current of language set. Sometimes the mere circumstance, that one tongue has merely the secondary sense of a word, another has both the primary and the secondary, will indicate that the former has borrowed from the latter. If a Chinese were informed what *abstraction* means in Latin and in English, he would be able (without any other knowledge of either language,) to form a probable opinion, that the English have borrowed from the Latin, and not conversely. These principles are well known; the difficulty is to practise them. Etymo-

logy is a quagmire, where a careless walker is easily swallowed up; but it has firm ground for those who know how to pick it.

To return; if we use the word Sicilian in an extended sense, we may say that Latin is made up of Sicilian, Greek, and Sabine, overlapping as well as combining. But, under the word Sicilian, is concealed, not merely everything that the Sicilians may have picked up in Italy itself, from Umbrians, Ænотrians, or Oscans, but possibly other heterogeneous material. For the similarities of language force us to believe that these tribes migrated from the far east, where they once lived in close company⁶ with the progenitors of Persians and Bengalees. If the Sicilian stream of migration passed along the continent to the north of Greece, there is a great *à priori* probability that they were often in close contact with northern peoples, Celts, Scandinavians, Teutons, or even Albanians, Lithuanians, Slavonians. If stray words are found in Latin which seem to belong to any of these, we need not be surprised; much less ought we to adduce them as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the argument which alleged an Italian corruption of Latin. To summon a tribe of Slavonians so far south is unnecessary to account for Slavonian words, if clear cases of such are found. The communication may have taken place on the banks of the Danube, or elsewhere.

It has for some years been recognized, at least by several English⁷ scholars, that there is a remarkable similarity between the CELTIC languages and Latin. In the case of Welsh, it was, I believe, at first supposed that the words must have been introduced by the Roman dominion in Britain; but when the likeness was found to exist in the Erse, and that the Erse was even more like to Latin (as regards the consonants) than the Welsh is, this idea, of course, fell to the ground. The scholar and physiologist who first pressed into notice the strong similarities of the Celtic to the Indo-European languages, and claim-

⁶ In reasoning thus, we are not seeking to determine "the original" home, or to mount up at a single stride to the very beginning of mankind, as Niebuhr seems to think, (vol. i. pp. 53, 54, 4th Eng. Ed.) Languages cannot have grown up on the soil, and have such likenesses and such unlikenesses as we now see. If any reasoning at all on these subjects is trustworthy, the likeness of Gothic and

Latin to Sanscrit proves locomotive transmission of language from common points, and this can only have been by migrations.

⁷ Welsh and Irish scholars have, I believe, long declared that the first population of Italy must have been Celtic. But their principles of reasoning were so incautious, that their inferences passed for nothing.

ed a place for Celtic within that group,—Dr. Prichard,—has naturally fixed his attention with so much strength on the *primitive* relations of all these tongues as to be jealous and suspicious of an argument, which alleges that one has *borrowed* from the other. Some ten years ago, by his favour, I read a M.S. of a vocabulary, (the composition of Dr. Stratton, formerly of Aberdeen,) which compared the Gaelic with the Latin tongue in alphabetical order, without comment or development. From this vocabulary, Prichard gives an extract in his chapter on the Italian nations, and finds it entirely to confirm his views, that the Roman language has not suffered any large admixture by a foreign action. What is or was Dr. Stratton's opinion, I never heard. His vocabulary first suggested to me the value of this inquiry, but that is all. Having now been led to a fuller examination of the Welsh and Gaelic dictionaries, I find not only a far greater abundance of material (especially in the Welsh) than I could have imagined, but also that, by grouping the words aright, conclusions result such as I had not expected, and adverse to those of Dr. Prichard.

It may be imagined that the Welsh is certain to have received a large stock of words from the Romans, even if it be allowed that the Erse and Gaelic can have admitted few except ecclesiastical ones. But in order to remove any incredulity as to the value of Welsh to us when it stands alone, a few examples shall be first produced of a special kind:—

Fenestra, *a window.*

Welsh, Ffun, *breath, spirit.*

[Eng. Fun?]

Ffen, *flowing principle, air.*

Ffyned, *a breathing.*

Ffynel, *an air-hole.*

Ffynnon, *a fountain.*

Ffynetr, *a chimney.*

Also Ffenestr, *a window.*

Fons, *a fountain.*

The Welsh Ffenestr at once suggests itself as an importation from Italy; but, for that very reason, Ffynetr is likely to be native; and when we see its sense, and the whole family of words, there is no longer doubt of it. Ffynetr is formed regularly from the root Ffun, (the Welsh representative of πνέω,) and means an air-hole of a certain kind, viz. a chimney. Fe-

nestra has no derivation in Latin. It is probable that the Latins imported Fenetr (with Fons) from a Celtic people, and (slightly modifying its sound) changed its sense from an air-hole or chimney to mean a window. Afterwards, Fenestra was perhaps carried back to the Celts, with its new sense adhering to it. As for Fons, the gushing of a spring is not unnaturally called *a breathing forth*; and the relation of Ffynnon to Ffen and Ffyned seems unquestionable. No one could have guessed this of Fons and Fenestra. Surely the Welsh preserves for us here an earlier and a less fractured state of the language.

Space will not allow to comment as fully on other similarities.

[Welsh *f* is often found for Latin *m*.]

Ferrum, <i>iron</i> .	Ffer, <i>strong, rigid</i> : <i>a great cold</i> . Fferyll, <i>a metallurgist</i> . Berwy, <i>iron</i> .
Firmus, <i>stout</i> .	Ffyr, Fferf, <i>stout, firm</i> .
Fortis, <i>strong</i> .	Fferdd, <i>substantial, solid</i> .
Frigus, <i>cold</i> .	Fferu, <i>to perish with cold</i> .
Fores, <i>doors</i> . (Foris, <i>abroad</i> .)	Ffwr, <i>divergency</i> : <i>Off! away!</i> Ffôr, <i>an opening or pass</i> . Forio, <i>to explore</i> . Ffwrch, (mas.) <i>an angle of divergency</i> .
Furca, <i>a fork</i> .	Fforch, (fem.) <i>a fork</i> .
Forma, <i>shape</i> .	Fford, <i>a way or passage</i> . Ffuruf, Ffurf, <i>shape or form</i> .
Fas, <i>lawful and right</i> .	Ffas, <i>a band, ligature</i> . ⁸
Fascis, <i>a bundle</i> .	Ffasg, <i>a bundle, faggot</i> . Ffasgu, <i>to bind</i> .
Fasciculus, <i>do</i> .	Ffasgiad, <i>a binding</i> . Ffasgell, <i>a bundle</i> .

These illustrations have been all taken from the letter Ff, by opening the dictionary at random: yet I can hardly hope that they are every where as abundant. It will be observed, that

⁸ Cf. German Fassen, *to hold or clasp*, English Fasten, Fast. Our word Fast combines two roots; 1. Welsh Ffêst, *quick*, from Ffes, *subtlety, power of pene-*

trating; 2. Welsh Ffas, *to tie and fasten*, whence also the idea of *withholding* from food.

no one can guess in Latin, that *Fas* and *Fascis* are connected : but we now see reason to think that (from the idea of binding and loosing in morals,) *Fas* means that which is *bound* or *sanc-tioned*. Thus at any rate we learn the importance of Celtic to Latin etymology ; even if it be maintained that such a Latin family is native, though mutilated.

In entering upon a more general comparison of the existing Celtic with the Latin, we must remember at how great disadvantage we are, from the certainty, that no Italian Celtic (supposing such to have existed in the days of Numa Pompilius,) could now be understood by any living person. Even the Welsh and the Irish are utter barbarians to one another ; and by combining all that is native in their tongues, we shall be far from reproducing a language 2500 years old. And here it may be well to obviate an objection. It will be said,—The Romans knew the Gauls so well, that if any people in Italy with whom the Romans were in close contact had spoken a Celtic tongue, we should certainly have been informed of this : hence, no historical Italian people can be imagined as Celts. If any one reasons thus, he forgets that the very idea of “Celtic” tongue is a modern generalization far beyond the reach of antiquity. Sir William Betham has written a book to deny that Welsh and Irish ought to be included in one family of languages ; and though he has not raised his reputation by it, he is undoubtedly an accomplished lexiloger in comparison with the ablest scholars of Greece and Rome ; not one of whom, if they had known any thing of the Irish, would have dreamed of calling their language Celtic. Now, if two tongues of the same class may be so unlike to the popular apprehension, while fundamentally so similar, there may have been a third or Italian Celtic equally unlike to either : nay, for any thing ever yet proved, the formation of its verb may have been analogous to the Oscan, but its vocabulary to the Erse. This would not be more strange than many familiar facts of language : but, be this as it may, it will presently appear, that although the Welsh tongue furnishes us with the greatest *number* of similarities, the Gaelic⁹ forms of the

⁹ The Irish or Erse has been a written language ever since St. Patrick. As those who wrote it were ecclesiastics, more or less skilled in Latin, it might seem possible that they have in a mea-

sure Latinized it. The Gaelic has been written only in recent times : for this reason, it may seem that more dependence is to be placed on it in our present argument, than on the Erse.

words are most like to the Latin. As one striking example, initial S and H may be adduced.

Welsh.	Greek.	Latin.	Gaelic.
hên	ἔνος	sen-ex	seann
heul	ἥλιος	sol	[seul ?]
heli	ἄλς	sal	sail
hafal	ὁμαλός	similis	samhuil
he		se-ret	[se ?]
heddu	ἔδος	sēdo	suidh
helig		salix	seileach
hwy		serus	[sēr ?]

As the Gauls approximated to the Welsh¹⁰ branch of the Celts, we here see that *theirs*, at any rate, is not the sort of Celtic which has pervaded the Latin tongue. I will briefly say, that I believe the Italian Celts to have been of the Erse stock, who probably arrived in Europe long before the others; and by the pressure of the Gauls upon their centre, or by the love of roaming, reached Italy and the extreme north-west.

In the following tables, the Gaelic is denoted by G: Celtic words not otherwise marked are Welsh. I have used Richard's Welsh Dictionary, 4th ed., 1839, M'Leod and Dewar's Gaelic, 1839; Welsh Ll is sounded as χλ,¹¹ mh and f as v, ff as f.

I must once more remind the reader, that words may have been identical in Latin and in Celtic, and *be native to both*; but whether this is likely in mass, is to be considered after reviewing them. I begin with the country and domestic animals; which will shew how very far from the truth Niebuhr was, when he imagined that, in words connected "with the gentler pur-

¹⁰ See the proof of this in Prichard, vol. iii.

¹¹ The Rev. Mr Garnett, who has so profitably and seasonably directed attention to the Welsh language as a great source,—(which had been sneered down, because of the too warm enthusiasm of Welsh etymologists in past days),—denies that Ll has any known equivalent in other tongues, and says, that it is to our L as our Th to T. (London Philolog. Soc. vol. ii. p. 258, year 1846.) I can only say that, again and again, when I

have pronounced Llangollen and various other Welsh words to natives of North Wales, giving to Ll exactly the utterance which the Greeks give to χλ, I have been assured that my pronunciation is *perfect*, and could not be distinguished from that of a native. Nor does my ear detect the slightest difference between the native Welsh utterance of Ll and the native Greek of χλ. But possibly there is some variety among the Welsh themselves.

suits of life," the Roman language has a peculiarly extensive agreement with the Hellenic.

Tellus, G. talamh.
 Mare, môr, G. muir.
 Terra, W. G. tir.
 Solum, syl.
 Mons, mount, G. monadh.
 Fons, ffynnon.
 Amnis, afon, G. amhain.
 Lacus, } lluch, llagod,
 Lacuna, } G. loch.
 Palus, pwl, G. poll.
 Stagnum, G. stang.
 Puteus, pydew.
 Lutum, llutrod.
 Calx, calch, G. caile.
 Pulvis, pylor, pluor.
 Ventus, gwynt.
 Procella, brochell: (brochi,
 to chafe.)
 Sol, heul, (*probably*) G. seul.
 Luna, G. luan.
 Aurora, gwawr.
 Lux, llug, G. leus.
 Hortus, gardd, G. gort.
 Vicus, gwic.
 Carrum, G. car.
 Carpentum, G. carbad.
 Rota, rhod, G. roth.
 Axis, echel, G. aisil.
 Falx, G. fal.
 Rete, rhwyd.
 Remus, G. ramh.
 Serra, G. searr.
 Scopæ, ysgub, G. sgwab.
 Scobis, (*saw-dust*) G. scabh.

Scala, (*ladder*) ysgol.
 Funis, ffunen.
 Cuneus, cun, G. cuinne, geuin.
 Baculus, bagl, *crooked staff*,
 from bach, a hook.
 Vinum, gwîn, G. fion.
 Vitis, bidan, *twig*; bîd, *hedge*.
 Caulis, cawl, *pottage*,
 G. cal, *cabbage*.
 Triticum, tredd.
 Hordeum, G. eorna.
 Secale, G. seagal.
 Faba, ffa, G. faob.
 Pisa, G. peasrach.
 Granum, G. *pl.* gran.
 Aro, G. âr, *ploughing*.
 Arator, G. aradair.
 Segetes, G. arbhar.¹²
 Opera, gober, G. obair.
 Colere, cywill, *tillage*; ¹³ co-
 ledd, cywyllu, *to till*.
 Planta; plann, *shrubbery*;
 plannu, *to plant*; plant, *off-*
 spring, children, &c.
 Taurus, tarw.
 Vaccæ, buch.
 Bos, bu, G. bo.
 Vitulus, bittolws, *bull*.
 bittail, *buffalo*.
 Caper, gafr, G. gabr.
 Hoedus, cidws, *goat*.
 Arietes, hyrdd, G. reithe.
 Agnus, *amos*, oen, G. uan,
 (Russ. agnets.)

¹² Whence is Latin *arbor*? May we believe its older Italian sense was *ager*, *sata*? Bopp, however, gives *Urvara* for a tree as Zend; and for fruitful soil in general as Sanscrit.

¹³ Neither the Welsh nor the Latin here preserves the primitive idea, which is seen by help of Culter, W. cylllell, a knife, to be the *κολ* of *κολούω* and *κολάζω*, to trim and prune.—Prof. Key.

Bubalus, G. buabhul.	Cruor, craw.
Bestia, G. biast.	Corpus, corf, G. corp.
(W. bwyst, <i>ferocity</i> .)	Caput, W. G. cap, <i>cap</i> , <i>top</i> .
Equus, G. each.	Collum, cwill, <i>breast</i> ,
Mulus, mul.	G. coll, <i>neck</i> .
Asina, asen, <i>fem</i> .	Clunes; clun, <i>haunch</i> ; llyn, <i>loin</i> .
Asellus, <i>Gael</i> . asal, <i>Germ.</i> esel.	Labium, G. liob.
Foenum, ffwyn.	Gena; gèn, <i>chin</i> .
Divitiae;—defaid, <i>sheep</i> ,	Barba, barf, <i>from</i> G. bearr,
defod, <i>wealth</i> .	<i>shave</i> .
Grex, gre, G. greigh.	Bucca, boch.
Lac, llaeth, G. blioehd.	Renes, aren.
Caseus, caws, <i>curds</i> .	Unguis, G. ionga.
Pellis, pil, G. peall.	Axilla, Ala, asgell, <i>wing</i> ; G.
Vellus, gwlan, <i>wool</i> , G. olla.	asgal, achlais, <i>armpit</i> .
Cornu, corn, <i>horn</i> ; earn, <i>hoof</i> .	Aurum, aur, G. or.
Pasco, pawr <i>and</i> pasg, <i>a feeding</i> .	Argentum, ariant, G. airgiod.
Ursus, arth.	Stannum, ystaen, G. staoin.
Porcus, porch, G. uircain (<i>for</i>	Plumbum, plwm.
puircain ?) ¹⁴	Ferrum, berwy [fferwy ?] G.
Cuniculus, G. coinean.	iarunn ¹⁴ [fiarunn ?]
Cervus, carw <i>and</i> cerwyd.	Unus, un, G. aon.
Dama, G. damh, <i>ox</i> , <i>stag</i> .	Duo, dau, G. da.
Simia, simach.	Tres, tri, G. tri.
Olor, alarch, G. eala.	Quatuor, pedwar, G. ceithir.
Columba, G. colm.	Quinque, pump, G. coig.
Pavo, pawyn.	Sex, chwech, G. se.
Perdrix, petris.	Septem, saith, G. seachd.
Piscis, pysg, G. iasg (<i>for</i>	Octo, wyth, G. ochd.
piasg ?) ¹⁴	Novem, nau, G. naoi.
Natrix, neidr, G. nadhair.	Decem, dêg, G. deich.
Nidus, nyth, G. neadh.	Viginti, ugain, G. fichead.
Pluma, pluf.	Centum, cant, G. céud.
Caro, cŷr.	Mille, mil, G. mile.

From the very nature of these words, they can seldom be traced to a higher root in one language any more than in an-

¹⁴ There is a peculiar tendency in the Gaelic to drop initial f and p; thus *Athair* for *Pater* or *Father*. We are told that *Arena*, *Hordeum*, *Hirci*, and

Hoedi, had F prefixed to them in the Sabine pronunciation. This is the reverse tendency.

other, but so close a similarity as is here exhibited implies a long and recent intimacy of local connexion, and can never be accounted for by the mere community of origin which the word Indo-European implies. The identity is equal to that of two dialects of the same speech. Why is not Greek equally like? Why is not Icelandic, Moeso-Gothic or Lithuanian? Any of these is in grammatical structure closer to Latin than the Erse and Gaelic. If many of the very same identities should appear to be Slavonic, it might justify the theory that what I have called Italian Celtic was a Slavo-Celtic; but would not, I think, injure this argument. That will need examination. But let us pass to some words connected with war.

Arma, arf, G. arm.
 Gladius, cledd, G. claidheamh.
 Lamina, llafn, G. laun.
 Pilum, pilwrn.
 Scutum, ysgwyd, G. sgiath.
 Sagitta, saeth, G. saighead.
 Arcus, *Armoric* goarog.
 Parma, parfais.
 Veru, ber, per (Eng. *spear*.)
 Lorica, llurig, G. luireach.
 Batteus, G. balt.
 Torquis, torch.
 Corona, W. G. coron.
 Murus, mur.
 Moenia, maen, *a stone*.
 Vallum, gwal.
 Spolia, yspail, G. spùinn, spùill.

Gloria, G. gloir.
 Telum, G. tailm, *tool*.
 Miles, milwr.
 Centurio, canwriad.
 Turma, torfa, *troop*.
 Caterva, catorfa.
 Micare, *to fight*, biera.
 Castrum, cader.
 Clades, }
 Lethum, } *llaith*.
 Catena, cadwen.
 Carcer, carchar.
 Fustis, ffust, *flail*, &c.
 Batuo, baeddu.
 Numerus, nifr.
 Praeda, praid, *a herd, booty*.
 Tragulum, G. tradh.

At first reading of this list, it may perhaps be thought, that not some only, but many of the words passed from the Romans to the Britons, and by the way of commerce to the Irish. It may be thought that weapons of war were forged in Britain, and carried their names with them beyond the province; such as *arm*, *claid*, *lamn*, *sgiath*, *saighead*, *luireach*, *balt*. Then, some will add, *canwriad*, *torfa*, *catorfa*, *milwr*, are, beyond a doubt, borrowed by the Britons from the Roman legions. This needs to be more narrowly looked into, and I must bespeak some patience in my reader.

1. Arf (=Armh) *a tool*, is connected with Arfaeth, *a design*,

Arfer, *a manner*; which is not like an imported word.—2. Cledd, is also Cleddan and Cleddyf, *a sword*, and is perhaps allied to Glaif, *a bill-hook*, Eng. Glaive; this appears native.—3. Lamina, in Latin, may suggest a relation to lēvis, λεῖος, but that is all. In Welsh, we find Llae, *an expanse*; Llaf, *that which extends*; Llafn, *a blade, a sword*, contr. Llain; Llaned, *level, plain, smooth*; Llefn, *even, smooth, sleek*; Llefryn, *a blade, a slab*; Llif, *a saw*; Llyfn, *smooth, soft, slippery, glib*; Llyfnu, *to make smooth*; and many more. These shew that Planus, Lēvis, Lamina, and, in fact, Palma, Lātus, are of one family, though the broken state of the Latin disguises it.—4. Pilum would not so easily generate Pilwrn, as conversely; but there is a whole family in Welsh,—Pilo, *staff, wand*; Pill, *stem of tree*; Piler, *pillar*; Pillio, *to peg, to shaft*; Pilwrn, *a dart, &c. &c.* . . . Here we see how Pilum and Pila are connected; which cannot be discovered in Latin. Pilum, in short, like ὄρπαξ, hasta, and so many other words, is properly a shaft, and only secondarily a javelin: thus the Welsh, and not the Latin, is the primitive.—5. Sgiath is (1.) *a wing*, (2.) *protection, shelter*, (3.) *a shield*; and has various derivatives in the sense of a wing. The Latin Scūtum therefore, (if connected with Sgiath,¹⁵ and not with σκῦτος,) is derived from the Gaelic.—6. That the Gaelic Saighead comes nearer to the Roman sound Sagitta than the Welsh Saeth does, is adverse to the opinion that it passed to the Gaels through the Britons. In fact, the Gaels have Sgaiteach, *sharp*, from Sgath, *to cut off*; [Eng. Scathe, Scythe] and it seems highly probable that Saighead is an anomalous derivative, meaning *a sharp-pointed thing*. Since Scindo appears to be the Latin representative of *Sgath*, Sagitta ought to begin with Sec, if native.—7. Arcus in Latin stands alone. The Armoric Goarog, *a bow*, in Welsh takes the form Gwarrog, *a yoke*, which has the common idea of a twist or semicircle. So in Gwargam, *a hunching of the shoulders*, and other derivatives of Gwarg. Gwarr also is the nape of the neck, Gwarcen, the upper part of the back and shoulders. Without involving ourselves in the question, whether these are referable to the

¹⁵ Gaelic Sg initial is ordinary for Sc. Plutarch (Romul. 21.) tells us that the Scutum (στυγίς) came in with the Sabines; and we know that its form is that of the Gaulish shield. The Clypeus and

Hasta belonged to the Greek phalanx system. Galea and Hasta are found in Erse. See the Postscript. Ensis is probably true old Latin, as Sanskrit.

same root as Queer and γῶπ, Curv, as Mr Garnett suspects, we see distinctly enough that Gwarog *a bow* is native, and that Arcus is borrowed. The Welsh initial Gw is ordinarily F in Gaelic, and V in Latin; as Gwin, Fion, Vinum; and that the initial V should have vanished in Arcus, will scarcely be thought a difficulty.—8. “Balt” is not found in Welsh.—9. As for Torch, it is masculine, and is connected with a family, Torchi, Torchog, Torchol, &c., but besides these, it has a feminine Terch, whence come Terchu, *to loop or noose*, Terchog, *having a loop*, &c. This development is unlikely in any but a native word.—10. Coron is connected with Crôn, Crwnn, *round*, Cronen, *a globe*, Caran, *the crown of the head*, κράνον? Creuan, *the skull*, κράνον, and the root Car, *a bending, twisting*, in Gaelic, whereas Corona in Latin is isolated.—11. Mur, *a rampart*, has not merely Murio, *to fortify*, but Murdd, *a foundation*, Murddun, *rubble, a ruinous wall*. Thus it is richer than the Latin root.—12. Moenia has no singular; this is explained by the Welsh sing. Maen, *a stone*.—13. Gwal, *a fence or side-wall*, has Gwalio, *to enclose*, Gwald, *a hem, skirt, welt*; yet the Latin Vallus, *a stake*, connected with Vallum, *a palisade*, is a special development, which throws doubt on its origin. The Gaelic has Fal, *a fence*, Balla, *a wall*: cf. wall, pale, πόλις.—14. The Gaelic Spùinn is connected with a large family of words which mean *robbery*, and as the art was native, so may the word be.—15. It is remarkable that Gloir is not Welsh; and this is scarcely a word to be carried in the course of trade.—16. Tailm is almost *too like* Telum, as *m* is accidental to the latter. But the Gaelic has also Tàl, a cooper’s adze, probably the same word as English Tool, which is connected with Till (*to prune and trim*), a Tally, or notched stick; and French Tailler, *to clip, cut, prune*; which must have been an old Celtic root, and, as such, picked up in Britain by the Anglo-Saxons: for the word does not seem to be German. As the French out of Taille (*cut*) have got the sense of “height of stature,” so the Welsh have Tal, Eng. *tall*. The three words Talauc, Talbos, Talwas, all meaning “a shield” in Welsh, may seem to be Celtic representatives of the Graeco-Etruscan (?) Clypeus, as Till of their Colere. Pliny supposed Clypeus to come from γλύφω: it is curious that the root col, κολ, gives the same sense, viz. *carved*.—17. Milwr and Canwriad are likely to be the origin of Miles and Centurio, for the following reasons. The word Milwriad (χιλίαρχος) also

exists in Welsh. *Wriad* is not an uncommon Welsh ending, and *Uriad* is explained (hesitatingly however) *an elder, a senator*; now as *Mil* is *a thousand*, and *Cant* *a hundred*, and *Milwriad* (captain of a thousand,) certainly does not come from Latin; it is unreasonable to suppose that *Canwriad* does. Next, imagine that *Centio* meant “a soldier”¹⁶ in Latin: should we not instantly infer from *Centum*, *Centio*, *Centurio*, that *Centio* primitively meant “one of a company of a hundred?” *A fortiori* we draw a similar inference, in the case of *Mil*, *Milwr*, *Milwriad*, since *Milwr* is evidently compounded of *Mil*, a thousand, and *Gwr*, *man*: (this *G* always vanishes in composition: *Gwr* is the Anglo-Saxon *Wer*, Latin *Vir*, Gaelic *Fear*,—a widely diffused root:) thus *Milwr*, a soldier, is analyzed into “A man of a thousand.” But *Miles* admits of no such analysis in Latin. We may probably infer that *Mille* and *Centum* are likewise borrowed from the Celtic, observing that *χίλια*, *ἐκατόν* are the Greek. —18. *Turma* in Latin is isolated and specific; but *Torfa* or *Tyrfa* in Welsh has the same breadth of meaning as *Troop*, its English derivative; and besides has a numerous family. —19. *Caterva* in Latin is unaccountable; *Caterfa* in Welsh is a compound of *Cad*, *battle*, and *Torfa*: thus the Latin hides the relation between *Turma* and *Catorva*, which is clear in the Welsh. —20. *Micare*, in Latin, is to twinkle; also to fight! Does not the latter sense imply an entirely new verb, borrowed from Celts? —21. The root of *Castrum* has in vain, I think, been sought within the limits of the Latin. Professor Key,¹⁷ comparing it with *Rastrum*, *Rostrum*, *Claustrum*, whose roots are *Rad*, *Rod*, *Claud*, concludes that *-strum* is the Latin ending and *Cad* the root of *Castrum*, and so far seems safe ground. He proceeds with much ingenuity to refer this *Cad* not to *Cado*, but to *Caedo*, which he maintains to be its transitive; and thinks that *Castrum* properly meant “an instrument for felling trees,” that is, an axe; so that “*Movere Castra*” is properly “to remove the camp-tools.” But the diminutive *Castellum* persuades me that the received interpretation, *Castrum*, *a castle*, is correct.

¹⁶ The Gaelic has *Milidh*, *a soldier*, pl. *Milean*; *Mileanta*, *soldierlike*; *Mil-each*, *a war-horse*; which last they regard as shortened for *Milidh-each*. If this is admissible, I presume that *Milidh* was imported in the middle ages, when

it was customary to style knights and baronets thus.

¹⁷ I refer to an able paper, contained in vol. ii, p. 249. of the Proceedings of the Philological Society, London, 1846. The author here, as every where, dis-

The termination *-strum* cannot, I think, be restricted to an instrument; and *à priori*, *Castrum* seems to mean “a place of strength,” and suggests to search for a root *Cad*, *strength*. Now in Welsh there is *Cader*,¹⁸ *a strong hold*, *Cadarn*, *Cadr*, or *Cadyr*, *strong*, *stout*, *Cadwr*, *a shield*, all apparently related to the verb *Cadw*, *to guard*, *to keep*, *to look to*. (The last must not be confounded with the other roots, *Cad*, *battle*, *Catau*, *to fight and cut*.¹⁹) *Caer*, the common Welsh for a castle, might be suspected to be a mere corruption of *Caster*. Considering how isolated *Castrum* is in Latin, I think that *cadw*, *to guard*, is the immediate parent of *castrum*, ἐχύρωμα.—22. In *Clades* and *Lethum* or *Letum* we see different attempts to pronounce the Welsh *Llaith*, χληθ. *Clades* has obviously no Latin root, though everybody must discern in it an origin not alien to κλαω, θλαω, and Eng. *slay*. How the Welsh *Ll* changes into *kl*, *fl*, *pl*, *sl*, in other languages, (perhaps by a mutilated enunciation) has been well illustrated by the Rev. Mr. Garnett,²⁰ who has also referred *Clades* to the Welsh, and compares the Slavonic *Klati*, *to slay*. The Welsh family contains *Lla*, *Llaw*, *a hand* [Gael. *Lamh*;] *Llabi*, *to slap*, *clap*; *Lladd*, *to slay*, [Slav. *Klāti*;] *Llaith*, *slaughter*; *Llas*, *to be slain*. The double form *Lethum*, *Letum*, is at once accounted for by the Celtic *th*, which

plays great resource in his etymologies, and opens profitable veins of inquiry. The violent changes of form which are so powerful an instrument with him, have taken place, no doubt, between different languages, but not (I submit,) within the limits of one undisturbed language. Nor were different “*dialects*” merely spoken over ancient Italy: the contrast of Etruscan, Sabine, Latin, Oscan, was of tongues mutually unintelligible.

¹⁸ Welsh lexicographers have a keen eye for an Arabic or Hebrew word; and here quote the Arabic *Qāder*, *strong*. Such coincidences come rather oftener than they ought, and may excuse the enthusiasm of Welsh etymologists. There are secrets here, yet to be discovered.

¹⁹ *Cād* (qu. *Caed* ?) and *Catau* [Eng. *cut*] appear to be the Welsh represen-

tatives of Latin *Caed*, Gr. *καὶν* and *κτα* (in *κτα-μῖνος*, *slain*), Arabic *Qatā*, *Kas*, &c.; and to be the roots of *Castrare* and *Castus* in Latin. If so, it is hard to believe that *Caedo* comes from *Cado*; especially observing that a Latin verb derived from another verb by vowel change ought not to be of the primitive or *consonant* conjugation, as *Caedere*; but, if transitive, of the *A* conjugation, as *sēdāre*, *fūgāre*; if neuter, of the *E* conj., as *pendēre*. Besides, in *castus*, *castrare*, *præcīdere*, *recidere*, *circumcidere*, the idea is that of sharpness without violence. So nearly Quintilian, “*Ipsam togam rotundam, et apte caesam velim*.” *Caedere* seems to be one of the widely diffused roots, which may be called primitive to many distant languages.

²⁰ Philology. S. vol. II. p. 258.

was at length expelled, as foreign words became gradually assimilated to native tendencies. The twofold pronunciation Cl and L in Clades and Lethum suggests, that the foreign parent of both had Ll; thus we are led to the Celtic Llad and Llaith with considerable certainty. That the Latin can have generated the Celtic is impossible; that the Latin should have been homesprung, and accidentally agree with the Celtic, is highly improbable; that the Latin has borrowed from the Celtic, accounts naturally for all the phenomena.—23. Catena has no root in Latin; Cadwen comes from the Welsh Cadw, as Vinculum from Vincio. Still, as the Teutonic Kette, *a chain*, is perhaps Indo-European, the origin of Catena is less certain.—24. Carchar, *a prison*, comes from the root Carch, *restraint*, which seems to mean *tightness, anxiety*; for there is also Care, *cave*; (N.B. the Engl.) Carcus, *anxious*; and in Icelandic, Kargr, *surly*; whence also German Karg, *tenacious, stingy*, and Engl. chary.²¹ Thus, we see the root diffused and developed in the north, and no mark of it in Latin except in the derived Career, *a prison*. This word must, however, have entered the Sicilian very early, since the Sikeliots said ἀρχαρον.—25. Numerus implies a root Num, the root perhaps which is concealed in θυμα, θυμα; but for θυμα, the Latins said nōmen, or rather gnōmen, which is analogous to θυμα; and comes from the root gnō, γνω; thus we are set astray, in mere Latin, from any root Num. Now, the Welsh have Nif, *a specific number, or tale*; Nifer, *a number*, pl. *men, forces*; Niferu, *to count*; Niferog, *numerous*; and many other words. There is nothing in any one of the derivations to suggest that the Latin Numerus, Numerare, Numerosus, are their sources; on the contrary, Nif is referable to a higher root Nif, but Numerus is not. I conclude that the Italian Celts said Numh, *a number named*; Numhir, *a numbering*, (Gaelic Nuimhir and Uimhir); whence the Latins got Numerus. Enw is the Welsh for *a name*; apparently a corruption of Enuf, that is, Enumh.—26. As for Praeda, it is at first sight clearly imported from the Celtic, since it has not the primitive sense of a *Herd*. Possibly Pretium belongs to this root:—for there is Prid, *price*,

²¹ This root is in part similar to Gr. and Lat. *Ang.* in angustus, anxius, &c., but in sound approaches nearer to *Arco*, *Arco-tus*, which has in Gr. the twofold representative ἄρκω and ἀρκιά. How

ἀρκείναι comes to mean, “I am satisfied” is partly explained by contentus for contented, but it has here gone beyond Carg, Kargr.

value, ransom; a pawning; precious, dear; Pridio, to set a price; cf. πρίον. But we may here get too deep. The double sense of the Welsh representative of *Praeda*, may remind us of *Divitiæ* in the first table; which is, for the same reason, obviously borrowed from the Celts.—27. *Treagh* is a *spear* or *trident* in Irish, where *Tradh* also is found. *Tradh* in Gaelic is rendered a *fishing-spear*. It seems to be from *Tri*, *three*, *Eag*, notch, (edge?) which could not be guessed in Latin. The result of this tedious, but necessary discussion, is, first of all, to assure us that our extant Welsh, as well as Gaelic, has received but a very feeble impression from Latin. It seems to be the language, not of the Roman provincials, but of unconquered tribes, who resisted Normans, Saxons, and Romans, until the days of our Edward I.; and have ever since tenaciously kept their beloved native speech. Next, we are forced to admit that the Latins, unless Celts themselves, have imbibed an infusion from a people whose vocabulary was Celtic; and since the words which concern war and battle are seldom adopted, except from conquerors, the obvious probability is, that *these* words did not belong to a Celtic people whom the Sicilians (I mean the primitive speakers of the oldest Latin) overwhelmed, in or out of Italy, but were imposed by Celts who conquered the Sicilians; and that, we may presume, was on the Latin soil. And here we may remember *Cæsar's* statement in *Salusty*, that the Romans had adopted weapons of war from the Samnites (*Catil.* 51.) Was it not really from the Sabines who conquered Rome? and did not the relation of the Samnites to the Sabine tongue here mislead either *Cæsar* or *Salusty*? That the Latin blood, the Latin genius, and the Latin tongue, rose again after their fall, like the Saxons in England against their Norman lords, is witnessed by the history; yet, supposing we are on the right track, we ought to find in Latin scattered Celtic words,—verbs as well as nouns,—not capable of being comprised in the lists already given, or in any general description. And this is the fact, as the following alphabetical vocabulary will shew:—

ACER, G. *achiar*.

ALO, ALTUS, G. *al*, brood; *alaich*, to breed, or nourish; *altrum*, nursing; *ailt*, high, lofty, noble.

ANIMA, G. *anam*, soul.

ARDUUS, G. *ard*, lofty.

BLANDUS. See Note on *Lætus*.

BONUS, in old Latin, *Duontis*.

Dai, *that which gives existence; a name of the Deity.*

Duw, *God.*

Daw, *a boon; cf. δίδωμι.*

Dawn, *a gift, (Donum).*

Daionus, *good, kind.*

Daioni, *goodness, &c.*

The connection of God and Good seems clear in the Welsh.

Cf. Duonus and Divinus.

In Gael. Daonna, *humane.*

CABALLUS, G. caball, *qu. from*

G. cab, *mouth, and al, horse;*

i. e. horse trained to the bit.

CALVUS, G. calbh, *bald.*

CALLEO, CALLIDUS, *called,*

hard, call, G. cœllidh, pru-

dent.

CAMURUS, *camm, have the*

CANUS, *cann, white.*

CANDIDUS, *cannaid; JUVENS*

CANO, *canu, G. can, JUNIOR*

CAPIO, *cip, a snatch; eipio, to*

snatch up; Eng. keep.

G. ceap, *to snatch; gabh, to*

take.

CARUS, *car, and caru, to love;*

ἐράω? χάρις?

CARIES, *gôr, G. gaor, gore, filth.*

CAUSSA, G. cûis.

CELLA, CELO, Cel, Cele,

hiding-place; cell, closet, ar-

bour; celt, covert, ἄλτος?

celtn, *to hide. G. cûil, a*

nook, κῆλος? ceil, hide, con-

ceal; ceal, concealment; cealt,

clothes; ceall, a cell, a

church.

COELUM, G. Ceal, *death, hea-*

ven; (qu. the hidden world,

αἶθρς?) This may throw

doubt on the diphthong in

coelum, and its relation to

κεῖλον; G. ceart, *right, just.*

[Yet as Ceart, by Gaelic de-

rivation, means τετράγωνος,

either the likeness to Certus

is accidental, or Certus does

not come from Cerno.]

CESTUS, G. ceast, *girdle.*

Homer's κερτόν τιαντα

CISTA, *cest, twig-basket; also*

cist, a coffer, from Latin?

CLARUS, *clær, dawn, donum*

CLAUDO, *clwydo, to wattle in.*

CLAUDUS, *cloff, G. claudu*

COLO, G. coill, *to castrate.*

COLUMNEN, G. calpa, *pillar, calf*

(of leg); calba, colpa, do.

and colmh, columhan, pillar,

pedestal. Hence Calpe, pil-

lar of Hercules?

COM, CON, G. Comh, *in com-*

position. It seems to unite

com and com (Sansk. sam.)

meaning evenness or equa-

lity, as well as combination.

Thus Comhaois, *ομήλις, ae-*

qualis, comhnard, planities.

The Welsh seems to have

developed two words. Cyn

and Cyf for com and com,

com and com.

COMIS, G. caomh, *placidus,*

mitis, amicus; perhaps from

Comh.

COPIA, G. cob.

CREO, creu.

CRUDUS, eri, G. eruaidh.

CULCITA, *colcaidh, a feather*

bed; from colc, an eider-duck.

CUNEUS, cun, gaing; G. cuin-
ne, geuin.

CUPA, cwppan; G. cup.

CURA, cur. G. cur.

CURTUS, G. goirid; *what?*

Eng. Shear, Short.

DE (of), G. de.

DE (privat.), G. de.

DEUS, Duw; Dew, G. Dia. See

Bonus.

DIVINUS, duwin, dewin.

DENS, dant.

DIES, dydd, G. di.

DONUM, dawn; also Sansk.

But see Bonus.

DORSUM, G. druim.

DURUS, Dur; steel; duraw, to

harden; durio, to whet. G.

dur, dull, obstinate; durga,

early.

ELEMENTUM, elfen. The Welsh

is here remarkable. El, a

spirit (cf. Heb.); elf, a mov-

ing principle; a spirit; Eng.

Elf; elf, a pure state; elfen,

an element.

ENS, a participial ending; En,

a being; Enaid, the soul; Eni,

to exert the soul; Enig, full

of soul, lively; Endid, exis-

tence; (Here this patriarchal

language carries back the

mind to a time when Latin

and Greek had not yet de-

veloped their grammar! This

is no Italian Celtism.)

Ex, es, G. as.

FALLO, G. feall, to betray; de-

ceive. Hence Eng. Felon,

(traitor.)

FLACCIDUS, G. floch.

FLAMMA, flam; from flioi, to

radiate. Cf. φλογ.

FLOS, G. flur.

FLUO, ffreuo; also lli, a flow

or flood.

FREMO, fromm, angry; from-

mi, to chafe. But also βρέμω.

FRIGUS, ffer, rigid, cold. G.

besuar, cold. But also ψύχος.

FRONS, ffrin, brow; edge of a

hill. (The W. seems not to

have the primary sense.)

GRATIA, G. gradh, love.

JUVENIS, ieuant;

JUNIOR, iau;

JUVENTUS, iéwaint.

widely diffused:

IMUS, iw, im.

JANUS, Ion (Jehovah). Yet is

not Janus for Dianus?

LAETUS, llawen, blithe, glad;

llawd, delightful.²²

LATUS, lled, πλατός; llyd,

breadth; llydu, to widen.

LAUDO, llawd, or clòd, to praise.

G. luaidh, mention; (N.B.

this sense;) also laoidh,

where initial χλ becomes l or bl in

mouths which reject the χλ. Hence

blot, blend, blandus, blithe, laius, and

perhaps lenis; but glad, glee, &c. seem

to belong to quite a different root, which

means brightness, γίλα.

²² The Icelandic has Bleidi, mollis, macero; Blida, blanditia, mīlgo; Blidr, blandus; Blenda, mīcco, tempero; Eng. blend. The purest root is probably the Gr. χλῖω, to be warm and soft; (perhaps to steep and soften in warm water,)

hymn, perhaps ecclesiastical.

LAXUS, *llag*, G. *lasach*, *slack*;

also W. *llesg*, *weak*, *faint*;

cf. *lag*, *flag*, *slack*, *slug*,

flaccidus, *langued*, *languid*,

slow.

LENIS, LINEA, *llin*, *a line*, *flax*;

llinar, *smooth*. (Yet I sus-

pect that *llin* is only a Welsh

utterance of *lin*, and that

the word was imported with

the thing.) Then we shall

refer *Lenis* to the same root

as *Laetus*?

LICET, G. *leig*, *let go*, *let slip*,

permit.

LIMI oculi, *Llymm*, *sharp*.

LIS, *llid*, *anger*.

MALUS, MOLLIS, *mall*, *soft*, *rot-*

ten, *evil*; *mallus*, *soft*, *wanton*;

mallain, *over-soft*; *mallu*, *to*

be rotten; *mwyll*, *soft*, G.

mall, *slow*, *lazy*, *mill*, *to spoil*,

mar.

MANDERE, *mant*, *jawbone*.

MANUS, *mun*, *the two hands*

full.

MEDIUS, *med*, *a centre*; G.

meadhon, *midst*, &c.

MERUS, *myr*, *pure*; *myraoth*,

purity, &c. See *Purus*.

MERX, G. *Marg*, *a coin*; *marg-*

had, *a buying*, &c.

MERO, *medi*, *méd*, *to reap*.

MISCO, *mysgu*; (widely dif-

fused root.)

MITIS, *moeth*, *mwyth*, *soft*,

gentle, [Eng. *Smooth*.] G.

maoth.

MINUO, *main*, *slender*; G. *Mion*,

little.

MODUS, G. *modh*, *from* *vidy*

MOLO, *malw*, G. *meih*, *to*

MORES, *moes*.

MORIOR, *marw*; G. *mort*, *kill*.

MORA, *mor*, *time*.

MURUS, G. *smug*, *both*

MUTUS, *mud*, *both*

MUTO, *mudo*, *remove*; G. *muth*,

change.

NON, NEC, *na*, *nag*, *nage*, *nad*,

nid, *nis*.

NE, *nas*.

NECTO, G. *naisg*,

NEGO, *naeca*, *nagu*.

NEMO, *neb*, *nebun*.

NEBULA, *nifwl*, G. *neull*, *vapour*.

NOTA, *nod*; *modi*, *to mark*, &c.

NUDUS, *noeth*, G. *nochd*.

PANNUS, *pann*, *fulling of cloth*;

pannu, *to full*; *pannog*, *hav-*

ing a nap, &c.

PAR, *par*, *a brace*.

PARS, PARIES, *parth*, G. *pairt*,

a part; *parthud*, *to divide*.

(See *Efwr*.) *pared*, *a house-*

wall; *parwyd*, *a partition*,

&c.

PARIO, PARO, (cf. *Créo*.) *Para*,

continuance, *duration*; *pa-*

rau, *to last*, *abide*; *par*, *ready*,

prepared, *effective*; *pariad*,

paraeth, *a causing*; *parol*,

effective, *creative*; *paraethu*,

to render causative; *para-*

only in Celtic, Latin, and perhaps in

Oscean, where they read *perum dolum*

mallon, as *per dolum malum*.

²² The root, with the sense of *softness*, is immensely diffused; with the sense of *badness*, as far as I know, it appears

dwyr, *susceptible of being caused.*

[Also *parod*, ready, prompt; with many derivatives, possibly from Latin *Paratus*.]

PETO, *pedim*, G. *petw*, to seek.

PONS, *pont*, G. *pons*, a bridge.

PORTA, *porth*, G. *port*, a gate.

PORTUS, *Porto*, *Portitor*,

porth, *porthfa*, G. *port*, a

port or harbour; *porth*, *aid*;

porthi, to aid, carry, &c.;

porthwys, *portwys*, to

PRECOR, *preg*, greeting, ad-

dress.

PRETIUM, *prid*, *pris*. [Cf. *pres*,

brass, and *pridd*, *cattle*; also

pryd, to buy; *pridd*,

peculiar, *one's own*, Lat. *pr-*

prus ?]

PROBO, *profi*; *prawi*, a trial,

assay.

PUNGO, *pungu*, *ablister*, a push,

(*punch* ?)

PURUS, *pur*, G. *pur*, pure,

PURGO, *puro*, G. *pur*, to

purge.

QUIES, G. *quid*.

RAPIO, *rhaib*, *ravering*; G.

reub, to tear; Eng. *rob*.

RAUCUS, G. *roc*; whence *rocas*,

rook.

REGO, G. *ruig*, *reach*.

RIGEO, G. *rag*, *be stiff*; *rig-*

hin, *tough*.

RODO, *rhutio*, to corrode, rub

away.

ROTA, *the*, *swift motion*, a run;

swift; *rheu*, to run; *rhead*,

a running; *rhean*, that which

runs, a streamlet; *rhedeg*, to

run, to flow; *rhedfa*, a race,

&c. *rhidio*, to leap, mount;

rhedyr, a knight; *rhod*, a

wheel; *rheda*, (old Gaulish)

a car, or coach. Cf. *rho*,

run, ride, Germ. *Ritter*.

RUGA, G. *rug*, a wrinkle.

SALTO, G. *saltair*, to trample.

SALUS, *SALVO*, *sal*, safe; *sa-*

laidh, hale.

SCRIBO, Gaelic, *sgriob*, to scrape,

a scratch; *sgrioban*, a rake;

sgriobach, the itch; *sgriobh*,

to write, &c. (Here we see

the primitive sense, which

the Latin has not. Yet the

word must be ante-Sabine

in that language.)

SCRUTOR, G. *sgrud*,

SECURUS, *secur*, at leisure,

slothful; *segura*, to be idle,

&c. But this is a very diffi-

cult word. For there is not

only W. *sicir*, G. *sicir*, sure,

but also G. *socair*, *dotair*, =

euwpos, *duwpos*, easy and

hard.

SEVERUS, SOBRIUS, *syfru*, to

harden, make severe; *syfrol*,

firm; *sobr*, temperate; *syf-*

niad, making firm; *syfrdan*,

dull in mind.

SICCUS, SITIS, *sych*, dry; *syched*,

thirst; *sychu*, to grow dry;

sychedu, to thirst.

STULTUS, STOLIDUS, Gael. *stol*,

a stool, seat; *stol*, to settle;

stolta, *stolda*, steady, sedate,

stadepos, tame, slow; *sto-*

ladh, a settling or calming

down.

SUCCUS, SUGO, *sug*, G. *sugh*,

juice; sugiad, *a becoming juicy*; suger, *extracted juice*; sugar; sugno, *to suck*.
 SUMMA, *a sum*. (Not from *supremus*, for there is) sym, *a complete whole*; symaeth, *a middle state*; symerth, *fullness of energy*; symis, *to apprehend, pierce*; syml, *simple, pointed*; symlu, *to prick*; symmol, *integral, middling*; symu, *to render integral*; swm, *the state of being together*; sum, *a sum*; G. sum; sumio, *to sum up*; sumiol, *relating to size*; sumiad, *a deducing the size*. Cf. Sansk. sam, Gr. ἀμα, Lat. simul, simplex, &c.
 SUPERBUS, syberw, *proud, magnificent*.
 TACEO, taw, *silence*, &c. of French *il s'est tu*.
 TENER, tyner.
 TENUIS, tenau, ταναός.
 TIMEO, G. tiom, *tender, timid*, &c.
 TORREO, G. tior, *dry*. Cf. Germ. Trock.
 TRANS, tra, *above, beyond*.
 TUMEO, TUMULUS, TUMULTUS. It may be well to compare the Gaelic. Tom, *a knoll, a swelling*. Toman, *a hillock*. Tomach, *hillocky, tufty*. Tomad, *bulk, quantity*. Tomult, *bulk, amplitude, authority*. The sense of the last has deviated in the two languages.

But (it may be said) ¹⁶ of the words produced as Celtic, there is evidently here a portion which is common to many languages.

ULTRA, alltra, *from all* — ὅλος, other.

USUS, G. uis.

VAE, gwae, *woe*. *woe* so that we do as

VASTUS, G. fas, *empty*; fasach, *desolate*, &c.

VANUS, gwann, G. fann, favin, Eng. faint. Also W. gwynn, *white*.

VANUS, G. faoin.

VATES, G. faidh, baidh.

VELUM, G. falach, *a veil*.

VER, ēap, see Viridis.

VERUS, gwir, G. fion; and Germ. wahr, *the west, they*.

VIDUA, gweddwi, *single, solitary*; (but the root is ancient, and far spread.)

VILIS, gwael, *low*, (physically or morally.)

VIR, gwr, G. fear.

VIRTUS, G. feart.

VIRAGO, gwraig, *woman*, gwrferch, *virago*.

VIRIDIS, VIRGO, VER, *in green, fresh, juicy*; iraid, irain, do

χλωρός. Also *luxuriant, polished*, λιπαρός; irder, *greenness*; irhan, *to grow moist*, &c.; gwyr, *fresh*; gwerch, *Armoric*, but in G. uraich, *new, fresh, a virgin*. The Welsh has two roots, Ir and Gwyr; in Gaelic Ur, *fresh*; whence very many derivatives.

VITA, βιός, W. byd, G. heatha.

W. byddu, *to exist*.

Vox, G. foc.

The Latin, you tell us, is in a more broken state than the Welsh: granted. It has lost many of its roots, and has kept only derivatives, and has corrupted the forms of many of these, so that we do not always discern the likeness of those which once came from a common root. The true inference from these facts is, not that a Celtic tongue has intruded into Latin, but that the Latin tongue once reached into Celtica; that, in short, a single vocabulary had a vast range over Italy, Gaul, and Britain, although the words had a different development north and south, *and a different grammar superadded to them.*

I reply, by insisting, first, that the diverse grammar has not been developed since the Latins reached Italy; but, as the agreements with Greek and Sanscrit prove, many ages before. If all the time that Latin and Celtic lived side by side in the west, they had laws of grammar quite irreconcilable, the people must always have been barbarians to one another. Inasmuch as the marked glossarial similarity cannot have been accidentally connected with the fact of their proximity, one language has certainly *acted upon* the other. Being reciprocally unintelligible, no organic harmonious development of one by the operation of the other was possible; the only action is that of collision, rupture, and mixture. Such being the *a priori* case, to stand out for the purity of the Latin, by imputing to internal causes all that comes more easily and naturally by a foreign force, is unreasonable. For instance, in comparing Turva and Caterna, it might be alleged that the Romans perhaps, *of themselves*, corrupted these from Torva and Catorva, and perhaps *there was once* an old Latin word Cad or Cades, battle, connected with Caedes, of which Catorva was compounded. No one, however, I think, will argue thus, or will doubt that these words are foreign to Latin, and are imported from the Celtic. But the same argument is equally valid in a very great number of the instances above adduced, which, therefore, appear to me to shew an intrusion of the barbarian Celtic into the Latin.

Imperial Rome called her speech Latin; and there is no question that the language which we now know by that name is fundamentally the speech of Latium, modified only by the political, the military, and in part by the religious vocabulary of Rome. That portion of the tongue which can in no way be included in these classes, we cannot (I suppose) impute to the Sabine invasion of Rome; and if it have a Celtic infusion, that

must be ante-Sabine; especially, the names of different sorts of cattle cannot have been introduced in Latium by the Sabines on that occasion. If there were any *a priori* reason for supposing that the Latins had kept their speech pure in Italy itself, we might imagine that the Celtic part was adopted while they were yet out of Italy, in Dalmatia, or much farther east; but when we read of so many successive occupants of Latium, the obvious probability is, that the prior inhabitants, whom the Latins there subdued, were Celtic. Shall we suppose these to be Umbrians, or Tyrsene Pelasgians,²⁴ and that these spoke a Celtic tongue? It is immaterial to this argument. If indeed we may believe the *grammar* of the old Italian-Celtic to have been nearly like that of Latin, though the *vocabulary* approximated to the Erse, if we are willing to call Latin itself an old Celtic, this argument will lose a large part of its force: yet even so, the broken state of the Latin still points to our present conclusion.

The great sea of languages which, four thousand years ago, heaved from Rhegium to the Orkney Islands, was no tranquil frozen mass, crystallizing everywhere into similar forms. Every tribe had, no doubt, its own specialities, and within every language there were very diverse dialects. In early ages, the inhabitants of the north always coveted the southern climes, but southern people never volunteered a movement northward. Each successive impulse of migration heaped together uncongenial tribes at the southern end; and while gentle undulations alone affected the northern mass, the waves of language, in approaching their southern barrier, were shortened into breakers, and exhibit to us ruptured forms not to be mistaken. Hence the comparative purity and extremely ancient character of the Welsh and Gaelic. With a special view, however, to the Sabine part of the question, I have purposely held in reserve the *political* words which seem to characterize the Romans, some of which we know, and most of which we may suspect, came into

²⁴ Larissa and Argos are supposed to be Pelasgian words; the latter, according to Strabo, meant a *plain*, the former is conjectured to mean a *fortress*, (Thirlwall, vol. i. p. 34, 1st ed.) In Gaelic, Arnach is "a plain, a field of battle, a plain field." Lairig, "a moor,

"a hill." Learg, "a little eminence, a beach, a plain." Leargach, "steep." Whether these are to the purpose, students of Greece may discuss. As Arach and Araich point to the widely diffused root Ar, to *plough*, the word is not of much worth to us, still less to the

Rome with the Sabines. These also will be found to be Celtic, with a particular resemblance to the Gaelic or Erse.

Quirites, G. curaidh, <i>warrior</i> .	Ritus, (<i>see below</i> .)
Cives, (<i>see below</i> .)	Ordo, <i>urdd</i> .
Populus, pobl.	Seculum, sicil, <i>a wind, a round</i> ,
Plebs, = λαός, <i>liaws, multi-</i> <i>tude; also plwyf; G. laom.</i>	κόκλος:
Curia, cwrt, G. cùirt, <i>a court</i> .	Finis, ffin, <i>boundary</i> .
Cohors, G. gort.	Ora, or.
Tribus, G. treubh.	Toga, twyg.
Senatus, G. seanadh.	Pallium, G. peall, <i>shaggy hide</i> ,
Lex, G. lagh, and dlighe.	falluin, <i>mantle</i> .
Fas and Jus, (<i>see below</i> .)	Bulla, G. bulla, <i>ball; (W. bwl,</i> <i>roundness.)</i>
Fascis, fiasg.	Hospes, osb.

Most of these words deserve separate comment.

Quirites.—It is agreed that the word Quirites was not only peculiar to the Sabines, but distinguished a race of that nation. Of the ancients, some supposed it to be derived from the town of Cures, others from *Quiris*, the Sabine word for a spear. Now since, as a fact, the Gaelic has not only Curaidh, *a warrior*,²⁵ but Coir, *a spear*, (pronounced Quir,) no one will suppose this coincidence accidental. After the abundant instances given above of Celtic and Latin agreeing, we have here a clear and most marked instance of the Sabine tongue being Gaelic, *where it differs from Latin*.

Cives.—The early Greeks, who dwelt in fortified towns, (πόλεις,)

²⁵ Becker has objected to the derivation of Quirites from Quiris, that Quirites would then mean warriors; whereas it is the political designation of the Romans among themselves. But if they brought the name with them into Rome, it may very well have been retained, just as Dukes, Marquises, Counts, and Knights, in political and civil life, until the old sense was lost and forgotten. The derivation from Curia, which he prefers, might in itself be good, but it is set aside, I think, by our finding Curaidh and Coir in Gaelic. On the other hand, it is obvious that foreigners would no more call the Romans Quirites than milites or commilitonēs, while

any idea of the meaning of the word survived.

The Gaelic Dictionary derives Curaidh, *a warrior*, from Cur, *power*; (κῦρος ?) but if we are to identify it with Quirit, we shall not doubt that it comes from Coir. The root Geur, *sharp pointed*, may seem akin to Coir.

Niebuhr's idea that populus Romanus Quiritum is put for populus Romanus Quirites, and the last for populus Romanus et Quirites, implies a denial that the two nations were fused into one. This *et* would express alliance, not identity. But because the Alban aristocracy of Rome was admitted among the "warrior-comrades," they became Quirites.

called those who had a right to dwell inside the walls *πολιται*. But the Sabine nation, like the Dorian Spartans, lived in un-walled villages, (Plut. *Rom.*) and had no *πόλις* to name themselves from. In their reciprocal relations, they called one another *Cives*, and from it their state *Civitas*. This consideration convinced me that *Cives* must mean "comrades," or "fellows," *οἱ ἐφύοι*, and I turned to the Welsh dictionary in search of such a word. The following family immediately presented itself, leaving (as I think) no doubt of the fact. *Cyf*, a prefix, denoting a mutual act or effect, nearly = Gaelic *Comh*. *Cyfu*, to accord or fit together. *Cyfiaw*, to make equal. *Cyfaïs*, side by side, collateral. *Cyfael*, of the same party, [cf. *Civilis*.] *Cyfaill*, *Cyfaillt*, a friend or comrade, "alter idem." *Cyfall*, matched, or joined together. *Cyfallu*, conjux. How completely does this explain the *civilis animus* of the Romans, as denoting the equality of the Quirites, or warrior-comrades. So we may almost translate "*Civis meus*" into "*Socius meus*." *Concivis* was barbarous.

Populus.—*Welsh*, *Pobl*, people; (so in Cornish and Armoric,) *Poblach*, populace; *Pobli*, to people; *Poblog*, populous. *Gaelic* *Pobull*, and *Erse* *Pobul*, people, tribe, congregation; *G.* *Pobleach*; *E.* *Poiblioeh*, the populace. The *French* and *Anglo-Norman*, *Populace*; *Italian*, *Popolazzo*, not being developed out of Latin, would seem to be the Celtic *Poblach*. In *Erse*, *Pobul* takes also a local sense, as *Tribe* in Latin and English. The use of *Populari* for "to lay waste the land," might even suggest that *Populus*, like *ἔγμος*, had *land* for its earlier sense; but the derivation is no clearer in the Celtic than in the Latin. In Welsh, there is another family from the root *Pyb*, meaning strength, as *Pybyr*, strong; *Pybyl*, strength; *Pyblu*, to invigorate; and also, *Pybl*, people; but perhaps the last is a fanciful orthography, rising out of a notion that *Pobl* was connected with *Pyb*. A Welsh poet, in a distich quoted by Owen, contrasts *Pobyl*, people, with *Pybyl*, strength, for epigrammatic effect. On the whole, we must conclude that *Populus* or *Pobul* is the Celtic correlative of *Natio* or *ἄγμος*, (Engl. "The Country,") which, may, indeed, have been as old in Latin as in Celtic; but is more likely to have been borrowed by the Latins. The constancy of the *b* of *Pobl* in Welsh, Irish, Gaelic, and German, seems to show that the north has not borrowed the word from Italy.

Plebs.—It is customary to compare this word with *πληθος*; not unjustly; although neither is derived from the other. But its true correlative in Greek, I apprehend, is *λαος*, *λεώς*, for *λαός*, root *lav*, *lev*. Initial Pl and L, here, as elsewhere, are a twofold attempt to express the Welsh Ll; a sound familiar to the historical Hellenic, but not perhaps to some of its constituent languages. Comparing the three Celtic forms Lliaws, (*Arm.*) Lies, Laom, and remembering how *m* exchanges with other labials, especially in the Celtic, it seems probable that Lliaws represents an older form, Lliavs = Lliamhs, from which the Gaelic has the mutilated form Laom. According to this, the Italian (perhaps ante-Sabine,) Celtic may have been Llëvs, which the Latins sounded and wrote Plebs. Niebuhr indeed (vol. I. note 981,) quotes *Plevitas* as the old spelling for Plebitas, the abstract substantive for Plebs. But I now perceive a second form Plwyf in Welsh itself, *eddi* to village *eddi* garden.

Curia.—That this word must have been identical with the English “court” and French “cour,” is *primâ facie* a plausible opinion. But Curia is never found in the earlier sense of a yard, as the French, English, Welsh, and Gaelic words are: they therefore must be looked on as more primitive than it. *Court* in Welsh means also a circular mound, and is obviously connected with a root *Cur*, (in Erse *Car*, Germ. *Kebr*, A. S. *Cyr*,) which means circularity. From this, moreover, the Greeks and Latins have borrowed *κυρτός* and *curvus*. It is even possible that the French *cour* preserves the earliest Celtic form, from which Curia came.—The French dictionaries derive *cour* from Latin *cohors*; a word which does not agree in sense, as will next appear.

Cohors.—In old Latin this was written Chors, which has of itself a foreign aspect. The meaning is two-fold: 1. a hen-coop; 2. a band of soldiers. Unlike as these appear, they are connected, as Enclose with Bind, and probably both rise from the same verb Gird. We have seen how this produced Welsh *gardd*, Gaelic *gort*, Latin *hortus*, Engl. *garden*. A modification, I believe, of this, was *Chort*, a hen-coop,—properly, an enclosure. Secondly, the phrase, “band of soldiers,” (*manipulus*) will show that “a girth of soldiers” might equally well be said. This is “Chors militum.” The Italian-Celtic, out of which *hortus* and *chors* were made by the Latins, was probably GHORT.

Tribus.—The Greek *τρίττος*, the third part of a *πολὺς*, is so systematically used with an absolute sense, that to explain *tribus* in the same way was plausible, although *tribus* is identical with the *πολὺς*, and was a third of the whole *populus*. The Gaelic, however, has *treubh*, a tribe or clan; *treubhach*, brave; *treubhachas* and *treubhantas*, bravery. How a tribe and bravery are connected, is explained by Nestor's advice, *Κρίν' ἄνδρας κατὰ πόλιν*. To be a tribesman (*treubhach*) was probably as proud a thing to a Gael as to be a *gentilis* to a Roman; and it is by the accident of more refined manners, that in Gentleman the idea of polish prevails over that of bravery. The *Tribus Sapienia* in Umbria is regarded by Müller and Mommsen as proving that the word *Tribus* was also Umbrian. If derived from *Tribuo*, as *νέμω* from *νέτω*, its root is Latin; this does not satisfy me, but it is too long a question here to discuss.

Senatus.—This word may be imagined common to all the Latins from early times. Its root *Senex* has *Seann* for the representative in Gaelic; yet the irregular formation *Senex*, gen. *Senis*, implies some foreign action. It has appeared that when a foreign word ended in *ch* (guttural), the Latins sometimes elided it, sometimes changed it into *c* or *qu*. Thus *Each*, a horse, they made into *Equus*; *Buach* (*buach*?) cows, into *Vaccae*: but *Simach*, an ape, into *Simia*. I conjecture that *Senech* was the foreign word for *old man* in the first Italian-Celtic which influenced the Latin; and that this gave them *Senex* or *senis*, an old man; *senectus* or *sentus*, old. Previously (to judge from the remaining word *ānus*, an old woman,) the Latins had no *S* to this root, like the Greeks, who said *ἔνος*, Germ. *Ahn*. Thus *Senex* and *Senatus* would come in together; but, I apprehend, from an ante-Sabine Celtic.

Lex.—This word has no connection with the Latin *Lego*, to which it at first sight ought to belong. Its root is the Gaelic *Leag*, Germ. *Legen*, Eng. *Lay*; whence Gaelic *Lagh*, Eng. *Law*. But *Dlighe* is here embarrassing.

Fas.—On this word I have already remarked, that it seems to be the Welsh *ffas*, a band or fastening. With it the Romans couple *Jus*, which precisely corresponds in sense to Welsh *Iawn*; but the latter will not account for the origin of *Jus*. Professor Key has expressed his belief that *jus* is corrupted from *dius*, which he compares with *deo*, and supposes to be a contraction

of *dicus*, and connected with *dico*, = *ligo*, to bind.²⁶ I accept his first step, which yields *diur* as the crude form. Now *dior* is given in the Gaelic dictionary as an obsolete word for "meet, proper, decent," and may possibly have been the equivalent of *decens*. But *deon* itself goes to show that *dior* (not *dicor*) is likely to have been the true old Gaelic, and if so, it is away from our mark to discuss, whether or not at some early period the root lost a *c*. The fact remains, that *Jura* and *Dior* are very much alike. Now, is this coincidence mere chance? I do not know how to believe it. Yet *dior* cannot have come from *ius*; while the opposite is not only possible, but (considering the entire argument) to me convincing. We thus get the contrasts of *Fas*, *Jus*, and *Lex*:—"Fas et jura sinunt,"—Virg.; "Qui leges juraque servat,"—Horat. Namely, *Fas* is that which the conscience of itself imposes; *Jura* are the proprieties inherent in the very structure of the political society; *Lex* is an ordinance arbitrarily laid down, which, however sacred while it remains, may be annulled by the public act without moving the foundations of the state. That *Jus* should have taken the secondary sense of "that which belongs to one," will not surprise us, when we observe how "Becoming" in English differs from "Bekommen" in German, and "Proprius" in Latin from "Proper" in English. Compare also *προσῆκον*.

Fascis.—Since this has no root in Latin, while *Ffasg* comes out of *Ffas*, we have as usual the mark of a borrowed word in *Fascis*.

(*Ritus*; a word wholly isolated, excepting the adverb *Rite*. *Rhaith* (*ῥάιθα*?) is in Armoric a law, in Welsh a solemn utterance or oath, especially of many persons together. Its derivatives are spelt with *e*, as *Rheithio*, to establish by law, to appoint a jury; and the root may be guessed identical with that of *ῥήδαι*, *ῥήμα*. In Gaelic, *Rdite*, a saying, a proverb; but *Rdith*, an appeal, an umpire; which reminds us of Germ. *Rath*. Again, the Gaelic has *Reachd*, a law, statute; Germ. *Recht*; also *Réidh*, equable, harmonious, and *Réite*, agreement, concord, atonement, a marriage contract. Among all these the choice is difficult.

²⁶ Two forms so related as *Dico* and *Ligo*, the former moral, the latter physical, (unless their likeness is accidental,) seem of themselves to prove the commixture of different languages in Latin, still more powerfully than do the forms *Full* and *Plenty*, *Father* and *Paternal*, in English.

Ordo.—In Welsh, *Urdd* (a state or degree) is derived from the higher root *Ur*, that which is essential or pure: cf. Germ. *Ur* in composition. Hence *Urdden*, pure intellect; *Urddas*, honour, dignity. Such are marks of *Urdd* being a native.

Seculum.—No words are needed to show that *Sicl* (a winding round) is the original.

Toga.—In Welsh, *Twc*, a cut, a clip; *Twcca*, a knife; *Twcio*, *Toccio*, to clip, trim, dock; *Toc*, a cap, a hat; *Twyg*, a gown. The *form* of the *Toga*, (Dionysius seems to say) was brought to Tarquin, the First from Etruria; but he does not say this of the *word*.

It has appeared that the characteristic Sabine word *Quiris* is Gaelic. This leads us to inquire, whether any other known Sabine terms are found in that or in the cognate languages; and we may begin with the religious words. A verse is often quoted as belonging to the Salian priests; although, being an Hexameter, it must be more recent than Ennius:—

Præsul ut amtruet inde, et vulgus redamtruet olli.

The verb *Amtruo*, however, is probably a technical term of the old religion; that is, it is Sabine. The dictionaries render it, To Dance; but Prichard has rightly observed that it is the Welsh *Am-troi*, to turn round.

Carmen.—I should likewise conjecture to be Sabine. The Gaelic has *Gairm*, to call, invite, crow as a cock; cf. ἄγρ. Also *Gairm*, a calling, a proclamation; pl. *Gairmean*. In Welsh there is, *Gair*, a word, saying; fame, report; *Garm*, a shout, an outcry; *Garmio*, to shout; *Garmiad*, a shouting.

Comparing *Augur* and *Auspex*, it is observed that the latter may be said even of private life; as, *auspices nuptiarum*. So Juvenal: *veniet cum signatoribus auspex*. *Auspicia* also took a broader sense as a native word; but *Augur*, *Augurium*, seem to be more technical and limited. From this we may infer that *Augur* is Sabine, and *Auspex* its Latin translation, formed on the model of *Haruspex*, which is the Latin rendering of the Graeco-Etruscan ἱεροσκόπος. Since *Auspex* is *Avispex*, the word *Augur* suggests that *Avis* must be Sabine; yet οἰωνός looks so like a mere elongation of some such word as οἶός, a bird, that I am far from asserting that *Avis* may not have been primitive Latin also. Indeed some may see *Avis* hidden in ἀετός, αἶετος; Sanskr. *Vi*, a bird (Benfey.) The derivation of *Augur*

from *gero* appears to me quite unbearable.²⁷ I think it is formed from *Cur*, care, which is Welsh. In composition, the initial *C* becomes *G*, as in *Amgoed*, woody, from *Am* and *Coed*. Thus *Augur* = *Avium* curator. The *r* became *s* in *Augustus*, just as *Milwr* became *Miles*.²⁸ Yet I suspect that the Sabine compound was *Auch-gur*; perhaps for inadequate reasons, still I will give them. French etymologists regard *Avis* as the parent of *Oie*, a goose; thus: *Avis*, *Avica*, *Auca*, *Oie*. But of these four words, *Avica* is invented; *Auca* is low Latin. Now I conjecture that *Auc* is the old Gaulish for *waterfowl*, the parent of our English *Awk*; Icelandic *Alka*? *Auca* in fact is *any* female bird in low Latin (*Du Cange*): from it comes *Aucella*, a bird; Italian *Uccella*. Thus *Auch* may well have been the Sabine for a *bird*.

Picus, the woodpecker, *Pica*, the magpye, are sacred Sabine birds. The Gaelic has *Pìoc*, to pick or peck; *Pic*, *Piocaid*, pickaxe; *Piocaire*, a pecker; [*Piquier* Martier of the *Edgubine Tables*? *picus* Martius;] as well as *Pighe*, *Pioghaid*, a magpye.

Aquila is an un-Greek word, which from its extreme importance in augury we might suppose to be Sabine. I confess I have nothing here but a conjectural reconstruction of the Italian-Celtic; proceeding, however, on various facts of the known tongues. The Welsh have²⁹ *Asgel*, for a wing; (*G.* *Asgal* or *Achlais*, *arm-pit*; low Latin, *ascella*, *wing*, &c.) let us then sup-

²⁷ Freund rejects it: *Rubino* has again patronized it.

²⁸ Since we are told that the Sabines said *Fasena* for *Arena*, *Ausum* for *Aurum*, they may have had a peculiarity distinguishing them from other Celts, in the tendency to *r* for *s*. It is even possible that *Papisius*, *Fusius*, &c., is a Sabine pronunciation, and the *r* sound is the working up of the vulgar Latin into high life again. For any thing that appears, the Sabine may have said *Milcs* not *Milwr*, *Augus* not *Augur*, *Cus* not *Cur*; yet in *Augur* the old and true utterance would seem likely to be retained as sacred.

[Upon farther consideration, I distrust (in this argument) all minute conclusions drawn from the words reported

to us as Sabine by Roman writers. The Sabine tongue must have had many dialects; some of them may have been mixed with Etruscan or Umbrian;—for that the Umbrian and Sabine speech was identical, is at any rate improbable. We must not assume that the Romans knew much more about the speech of the primitive Quirites than we do.]

²⁹ From *Asgel* come our words *Shield*, *Shelter*, Germ. *Schilden*, &c.: as appears by comparing the Gaelic, *Sgiath*, a wing, shelter, or shield; *Sgail*, a shade, curtain, covering. The old poets said *Sge* for *Sgiath*, which seems to exhibit the simplest root; so Heb. *Suk*, textit, protexit. Cf. *σκῆτος*, *σκία*, *Shade*, *Shaw*, *Sky* (a cloud,) as well as *Scutum*. Yet see *Achsal* in *Schwenck*.

pose that the old Celts said *ASQUIL*; and hence *ASQUILAICH*, a winged creature, a large fowl. From *Asquil* might come the Engl. *Quill* (a word of wholly unknown origin,) and the French *Aisle*, *Aile*, a wing. *Asquilaich* might be shortened into *Quilaich*; which (only spelt *Coileach*,³⁰) is Gaelic, and means a Cock; as *Fowl* has now come to mean *Cock* and *Hen*: cf. *ὄρνις*. Again, in Latin, *Asquil* generated *Axilla*, and by contraction *Ala*. *Asquilaich* made the substantive *Aquila*, an eagle; and the adjective (*Asquiles*), *Ales*, winged. Yet *Ales* also, like *Volucris*, became a substantive. This suggests to remark on the word *Aqua*. Bopp has alleged that *Aqua* and *Equor* are connected; and the Celtic with the *A. S.* seems to prove it. There is *W. Aigl*, the sea; *Eigeon*, ocean; *G. Aigeal*, *Aigean*, abyss, ocean; *A. S.* *Aeg*, *Eg*, *Seeg*, sea; *Eag*, *Eah*, *Ea*, water, a river; *Ewe*, water; *Egor*, the sea, water. All these Anglo-Saxon words except *Seeg* appear to me to be picked up in Britain. After this we ought to judge the French *Eau* to be Gaulish; not a corruption of Latin *Aqua*, but of Celtic *Ege*. In Gilly's *Romaunt Version* of the Gospel of St. John, *Ayga* as well as *Aygua* stands for water. *Tripulium* is perhaps from Gael. *Tir*, earth; and *Put*, to push; so *Repudium* from *Pút*, of which the Latin form was *Pel. Pul.* *Ceremonia* seems to me to have come from a Sabine word *crem*, a cry, scream, or prayer. For we have in Gaelic, *Crabhach*, devout; *Cràbhadh*, devotion; in Welsh, *Cref*, a cry, scream; *Crefu*, to implore, to crave; *Crefydd*, devotion, religion; and many other words. Italian *m* is aspirated by the northerners into the *v* sound, just as in *Afon* for *Amnis*, *Rhufain* for *Rome*. *Faustus* is another augural word, that probably was Sabine. The termination *tus* or *stus*, indeed, is a Latin addition, leaving a root *Fan*, *Faus*, or perhaps *Faud*; as *Rastrum*, *Rostrum*, from *Rad* and *Rod*. Now in Welsh there is *Efa*, brilliant, splendid (cf. *φῶς*, *παρασῶς*); *Efawd*, happiness, good luck; *Efawdus*, fortunate, prosperous; *Efawg*, delight, pleasure.

Sors was in every respect so united to religion, that we natu-

³⁰ Dr. Stratton thinks that *Gallus* comes from *Coileach*, which would not be impossible if the first syllable were accented; yet I imagine it is pronounced *Quilaich*: if so, it might have

made *Quilecus*, but not *Gallus*. Are not *Gallus*, *Gallina*, the true old Latin, of which *ἑλίκτωρ*, *ἑλίκτρουαίνα*, are not more extreme Hellenic transformation than *ἑλίκτωρ* of *sol* and *(σ)ῆλιος*?

rally look to a Sabine source. I derive it from the French *sortir*,³¹ to come forth, to leap out; which, as it has no known origin in Italy or in Germany, must be presumed to be an old Gaulish word. Perhaps the Welsh *Sorth*, *sudden*, is of the same root. We greatly need some one to reconstruct out of the French a vocabulary of the Gaulish, which would be valuable, however fragmentary. But *allexa heteronymi lupae initial in jure* Lepsius, in the end of his treatise on the Umbrian and Oscan inscriptions, gives a list of all the words which ancient authors have marked as Sabine. They are in number 61, but 27 of these are names of deities, which we can seldom understand even in pure Latin or Greek. Many of them are stated to have been almost the same in Sabine as in Latin, and probably therefore passed through many Italian nations, especially Saturnus, Ops, Jupiter, Diana, Vortumnus. Yet Salus, Fors, Fides, Flora, Sol, Luna, Lucina, Terminus, Novensides, we distinctly understand; and eight out of the nine we can pronounce to give the same sense in Celtic as in Latin. Salus has already been noticed as Welsh. There is also Ffyd, *faith*; Gael. *Flur*, *a flower*, and probably once *Seul*, *the sun*; (for there is Solus, *light*; *Suil*, *the eye*; and Welsh *Heul*, *the sun*); likewise G. Luan, *moon*; W. *Elug*, *light*; Novensides or Novensiles evidently = *καὶνέσδοι*; where both elements are Celtic as well as Latin. As for *Terminus*, the Welsh is *Terfyn*; Erse, *Tearmann*; Gr. *τέρμα* or *τέρμας*. The Welsh have also *Term*, a term; *Termio*, to fix a term; perhaps from the Anglo-Normans. *Terfyn* (pronounced as *Ter-mhyn*.) is referred by some to *Tir*, *terra*, and *Maen*, *lapis*; and as *τερ* is not known as Greek, *τέρμα* and *τέρμας* bring no objection. But Benfey, Bopp, and Pott, refer *τέμας* to the Sanscrit *tri*, to finish. Of the remaining 34 Sabine words, six have been already noted as Celtic, if we overlook shades of pronunciation. Twenty-eight remain, of which I cannot explain more than six as Celtic: they are, *Catus*, *sharp*; *Cumba*, *a litter*; *Herna*, *a rock*; *Irpus*, *a wolf*; *Nero*, *strong, active*; *Terehus*, *delicate*.

³¹ Professor Key (I remark since writing the above) derives *Sors* directly from the Latin *Salire*, and then confirms his view by *Sortir*. I can hardly receive changes so great within the limits of Latin, and without mixture of

languages. Nor does *Salire* express the sense; we want *Exsilire*, *Exire*. It is the going out which is characteristic, and not the idea of leaping. *Ex ὁρᾷ*

κρίνεις κλῆρος, *Ex ὁρᾷ*

Catus, sharp, may be claimed as belonging to the Celtic *Ca-tau*, to cut.—*Cumba*, a litter, is so like the Latin *Cumbo*, *Cubo*, as to make us surprised to hear it called Sabine; especially since *Cubo* is $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\omega$. Yet the practical senses of *Cumbo* and $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\omega$ are not identical: what if *Cubo* itself was Celtic, although it was too old in the Latin tongue to be felt as foreign? The Gaelic has *Cub*, to crouch, stoop; *Cuba*, a bed; *Cuba-chuil*,³² a bed-nook, a bed-chamber.—*Garn* is a rock or a heap of stones; pl. *Cairn*. If this was sounded *Chairn* by the Italian Celts, the Latins might make *Herna* of it.—As for *Irpus*, there is in Gaelic *Arpag*, any ravenous creature [cf. Greek]; and in the Welsh Dict. *Arfaid* is given as a rare word for a wolf. But here the Anglo-Saxon aids us, which, when it is un-Teutonic, may be presumed to preserve old British words. It has *Eorþ*, a wolf; which is Sabine very closely. But *Erþ* is also Icelandic.

Nero rises out of Welsh *Ner*, a lord; W. and G. *Neant*, strength, power.—*Terenus* might have seemed to be Greek; but it is distinctly called Sabine, and the name *Terentius* referred to it. We find it precisely in the Welsh; viz. *Ten*, fine, refined; *Teru*, to purify; *Tirion*, gentle, comis or amoenus.

Neglecting those deities who may be said to have proper names, I find that of 41 words, 18 have been here made out as Celtic. *Vesperna*, *Trafere*, *Vefere*, *Alpus*,—for *Supper*, *Trahere*, *Vehere*, *Albus*, one may suspect to be mere Sabine modifications of the Latin. There remain chiefly the following, to explain which from Celtic would be desirable.

<i>Cascus</i> , vetus.	<i>Idus</i> , the <i>ides</i> .
<i>Creperus</i> , dubius.	<i>Scenisa</i> , (<i>cena</i>) <i>midday meal</i> .
<i>Cupencus</i> , sacerdos.	<i>Strēna</i> , health; (hence <i>Strē-nuus</i> .)
<i>Cyprus</i> , bonus.	<i>Tebae</i> , <i>collis</i> .
<i>Dalivus</i> , supinus, stultus, miser.	<i>Tesqua</i> , thorny wilds; (W. <i>Tesog</i> , parched by the sun: <i>Tes</i> , solar heat.)
(W. <i>Dall</i> , blind.)	<i>Trabea</i> , a striped robe: cf. Eng. <i>stripe</i> .
<i>Fasena</i> , arena. ³³ (<i>San.aranya</i> .)	
<i>Firci</i> , hirci.	
<i>Februum</i> , purgamentum.	
<i>Fors</i> , chance.	

³² Have we here the origin of the Latin termination *-culum*? *Cuil*, a nook, = $\kappa\alpha\iota\lambda\omicron\nu$.

³³ If the poetical use of *Arēna* is the

original one, it = $\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\epsilon\alpha$, and belongs to *Aro*, a verb found in very various and distant tongues.

LAR is a Latin and Sabine deity identified with *the hearth*,—the male Italian parallel of the female Greek Ἑστία or Vesta. In Gaelic there is *Làr*, the floor, the earth; *Làrach*, a site or abode; *Laoran*, *too fond of the fire-side*. No other root but *Làr* appears for the last: will any one conjecture that *Llaor* [Welsh *Llawr*] once meant the hearth? “Flatness” is certainly the leading idea in Floor and in Hearth, and Schwenck, in his German Dictionary, compares the German *Herd*, *a hearth*, with the Swiss *Herd*, “the ground.” Is the similarity of Earth and Hearth accidental? *Teallach* in Gaelic means the Hearth, and in Irish the Earth.

On the whole, if it be considered how much of the old tongues must have perished, more than enough seems to have been written in proof that the Sabine was a Celtic tongue. But I anticipate one more objection, that the Sabine *character* is too opposite to that of the Celts of Gaul and Britain, to allow the belief of this. Having no faith whatever in the unchangeableness of races, I find nothing here to refute. Yet it may be fair to remark, that among those who talked Hellenic, and understood one another, we find differences of national character as extreme as any in Europe: Spartans, Tarentines, Acarnanians, Athenians, Arcadians, Milesians, Boeotians,—are they not as unlike as Frenchmen and Spaniards, as Neapolitans and Englishmen? Grant that the Sabines were the Dorians of Italy: would the Irish³⁴ not deserve to be counted their Helots? As regards the manners of the primitive Sabines, there is one Gaulish trait which has been arbitrarily rejected by Niebuhr as poetical fable,—their wearing heavy bracelets of gold on their left arms. See the passages concerning the Gauls in Prichard, vol. III. p. 180.; add Virg. *Æn.* 660, *lactea colla auro innectuntur*. The poorer Germans sometimes wore a large iron ring; Tacit. Germ. Compare the Agathyrsi of Herodotus, who were χρυσοφόροι τὰ μάλιστα; and it will appear to be a genuine mark of boastful barbarism.³⁵

(3500 1802 25V)

³⁴ The ancient Gauls are often stigmatized for an unchasteness so gross and general as to be characteristic of them. I do not know whether M. Michelet is correct in announcing nearly the same fact of his own countrymen, and imputing it to their Celtic [Gaul-

ish?] blood: but the Irish Celts are as irreproachable in domestic purity as the best of the Sabines, and indeed may rebuke in this the self-complacency of the English.

³⁵ Not many years back, voyagers reported that the Californians hung about

This paper has already run to a great length; and I shall close it by some rather miscellaneous observations.

If it is conceded that I have established my point, it will follow that the Celtic tongues afford most new hope for the Eugubine inscriptions. For every old Italian tongue, the matter of first moment seems to be, — to reconstruct the Italian and Gaulish Celtic, as far as possible; for which the low Latin, the Patois of France, and the modern languages of Northern Italy, must afford, I should think, considerable materials. With Latin, old Celtic and Iberian, we should seem to have the ingredients of every thing except Etruscan. If we could clear the Latin of Celtic and Greek, so as to exhibit what may be called a fragmentary Siculian, it would still be proper to use other northern languages in explaining special words, which came in (it might be presumed) before the Sicilians entered Italy. I would venture thus to illustrate the *classes* of Servius Tullius. If *Classis* meant the whole *ἐκκλησία*, it would naturally be derived *a calando*, although its termination may seem more Greek than Latin. But as it is clearly in sense equivalent to *τάξις* or *κομπότης*, *calare* does not hit that which is distinctive of it. Now, the Icelandic has *Klasi*, *a union* or *collection* of things; which is just what we want. In fact, *Tax* seems to rise out of the northern root *Tack* or *Tag*, *nectere*; (cf. the Homeric *τάττω* and *τη*) which makes *Klasi* and *Tάξις* identical. The Icelandic has been kept pure from Roman influence, and does not use *Klasi* as the English and Germans use *Class*. — Yet *Klasi* itself must have some higher root; qu. that of *καλλῶ*? The French *Colle blue* implies that this was also Gaulish.

The word *Classis* goes along with *Censeo*; and both may be presumed to be words of the *Prisci Latini*. The manifest meaning of *Censeo* is *to reckon*; and upon comparing it with *πενταῖς*, I persuade myself that the old Latins said *Kensh* for Five, — between Sanskrit *Pandj* and Sabine *Quingo*. If it be conceded that much of Celtic has entered Latin, the comparison of the Erse numerals will make it highly probable that the whole numeral system was remodelled by the Sabines. Indeed, if we believe that Numa re-arranged the Roman year, or even reflect

their persons the copper articles which they had bought of the English ship.

One chief fastened a copper kettle to his hair as an ornament.

how the calendar was managed by a Sabine priesthood, such a result seems almost inevitable. The old Latin numerals are likely thenceforward to have been called Oscan.

As regards the Greek which has entered the Latin language, a very delicate problem is presented to us. So consistent and positive are the accounts of Greek colonies on the coast of Latium, before the historical age; so clearly Greek is the worship of Hercules³⁶ by the hereditary priesthood of Potitii and Pinarii at the Ara Maxima; so distinct is Pliny's testimony of a town called Antipolis on the Janiculum, when another called Saturnia was on the site of Rome;—so manifest is the powerful influence of Greece on Southern Etruria;—that I cannot doubt there was an Hellenic element in the oldest Roman population. From these may have come a positive importation of words into the Siculian. On the other hand, many words which the Greeks and Latins have in common, might properly be said to have been given by the Latins to the Greeks, viz., by such Siculian tribes as in their westward movement fell short of Italy. In fact, if the Pelasgians were Siculians, they must no doubt have imported to the Hellenic no inconsiderable dash of Latin words. At the same time these very words may have come to Greeks and Latins alike from a northern people, say Celtic. For instance, λέϊος, παλάμη; *lēvis*, *palma*, must be identified with the Welsh, *Llae*, an expanse, *Llaw* = Gaelic *Lamh*, a hand; which shew us the common source. Βούκολος is the Gaelic *Buachaille*, cowherd; Erse, *Buachail*; which O'Brien derives from *Cal*, to keep safe: and there seems no doubt that the word is not formed in the Greek. Τόραννος also, and Ψεωνός, are probably Celtic. In fact, as the law of movement was from north to south, and from east to west, it is reasonable *ceteris paribus* to look to the north as the origin, except where we find the same words in Asia also. If πειρημένος ποῦς late (καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ δὲ ὀρεῖται) to say the Learned Greeks flattered their own national pride in teaching the Romans that their language was *derived from* the Hellenic; and to this day they have propagated the unfounded notion, that whatever words are both Greek and Latin, must necessarily have come from Greece into Latium. Of this preju-

³⁶ Why Niebuhr and others are so incredulous about this, I cannot imagine. Haec sacra Romulus una ex omnibus

peregrina suscepit, Liv. i. 7. There is no greediness here to refer every thing to the Greeks.

dice we must disabuse ourselves, if we are to trace the currents of language correctly.

F. W. NEWMAN.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above was out of hand, I have been able to collate O'Brien's Irish Dictionary, which suggests the following additions:

The Erse has the form *Teallúr* (earth), nearer to the Latin than *Talamh*: also *Galia*, a helmet, *Astas* or *Astal*, a spear; [*Welsh*, *Aseth*, a sharp stick; *Asethol*, pointed like a dart, cf. *Hasta*, *Hastile*;] *Tall*, a cooper's adze; *Talla-im*, I cut; whence not only *Tall*, theft, robbery, despoiling, but *Teól*, a thief; *Teallam*, to steal; *Talca*, bravery; *Talam*, feats of arms. In *Talla*, I think, we plainly see the Celtic root of the Fr. *Tailler* and of the Anglo-Saxon *Till* (*Qata*, which in Arabic means *to cut*, in Berber is to fight, rob, or steal; so in Erse, *Gur*, *sharp*, also means *brave*: cf. *ὄξὺς*, *θόος*.) It is then not improbable that *Talamh*, (in Erse, *Talamh*, *Tealla*, *Teallach*, *Teallur*), is derived from *tilling*; and the English *Steal* also is seen in *Teallam*. There are also allied roots *Tola-im*, to pierce through; *Tollam*, to bore or penetrate.

Gall, a cock or a swan, is Erse; although the language likewise has *Coileach*, a cock. This justifies my regarding the two words as unconnected. *Carr* (*quiris*, a spear) and *Curadh* (*warrior*, *Quirite*) are also Erse. As the correlatives of *Jus* and *Jur*, the language exhibits *Deas*, order, propriety; *Dior*, meet, proper, decent; *Diorach*, equitable, &c. As for *Lex*, the Erse has only *Dligh-im*, I separate (*κρίνω*); *Dlighe*, *Dleacht*, law; *Dligheach*, lawful. Either the similarity of *Dlighe* with *Lex* and *Lagh* is accidental, or we must judge *Dlighe* parent of *Lex*, since we know of no tendency to change *L* into *DL*. In Gaelic, the root *Dligh* means *to owe*, not *to separate*.

Catapulta, (which seems to have been only borrowed by the Greeks, —thing and name,) may be fairly explained from the Erse as *Cat-tapalt*, battle-sling; from *Cat*, battle, *Tabhal*, sling. Cf. *Caterva*. An arrow in Erse is *Saighead*, *Saighiot*, or *Sciôt*; parents alike of the English *Shot* and of the Latin *Sagitta*? Milk is *Laith*, *Lachd*, *Bleacht*, (Gael. *Bliocht*; with *Bleagh*, to milk;) all which, with *γαλακτα*, *ἀμελγω*, *bleach*, and *λευκός*, may be referred to a Welsh (?) root *Llug* or *Lluc*, whiteness and brightness. Not a step of the process is defective. *Fionns* is the Erse for a fountain, nearer to *Fons* than *Fynnon* is; if indeed the final *s* of *Fionns* does not move suspicion that the word is ecclesiastical. *Eoin* is a bird, which shews that the termination *-ωνος* has not been added to *οἰωνός* within the limits of the Greek language. Indeed *Eun*, gen. *Eoin*, is Gaelic likewise.

Remarkable in the Erse is the group *Tore*, a hog (W. *twrch*), *More* or *Muc*, a pig; (W. *Moch*, swine), *Pórc*, a pig, *Ore*, a young pig. *Tore* and *More* remind one of *Tata* and *Mama*. At any rate, this family seems native to the Irish.

The three words *Porcus*, *Aper*, *Verres*, are probably modifications of the same root; which will denote confusion of tongues as certainly as *Lawful*, *Loyal*, and *Legal*. There is *Lat. Porcus*, W. *Porch*, A.S. *Berga* or *Bearh*, *gen. Bearges*, *Lat. Verres*, Eng. *Barrow-pig*, *Boar*, *Dutch Beer*, *Germ. Eber*, *Lat. Aper*. As *Beer* to *Aper*, so is *Bee* to *Apis*.

F. W. N.

XXV.

ON THE RELATION BETWEEN THE CONSONANTAL SYSTEMS OF THE ENGLISH AND SANSKRIT LANGUAGES.

PART I.

AFTER all that has been done, in comparative philology, for several languages of the Gothic stock, particularly in shewing their relations to the oldest and well-known branch of the whole Indo-European family, the Sanscrit, or simply to the Greek or Latin languages, and in determining the laws or rules, according to which those characteristic changes of sounds, more especially of consonantal sounds, take place from the older to the younger branches,—it is still an interesting study to undertake a separate comparison of the English with the Sanscrit. The English language will thus obtain the same advantage which, for instance, the Gothic and the High-German have had; it can be shewn, without any intermediate comparison of related languages, in what shape the Sanscrit presents itself in English forms, what changes have taken place in the roots, after three thousand years, and after wandering from the Ganges and Indus to the Thames and Forth, and by what laws those

¹ The mode of expressing Sanscrit letters in this Essay is according to Wilson's Sanscrit Grammar, 2d Ed. 1847.

The expressions *Anlaut* ("on-sound," i. e. "beginning-sound," letter or sound at the beginning of a word,) *Inlaut*, ("in-sound," letter or sound between two other letters of the same word,) *Auslaut*, ("out-sound," i. e. "end-sound," letter or sound at the end of a

word,) belong to Grimm's Terminology. I have retained them; they are short, expressive, and, says Chev. Bunsen, in his discourse read before the Ethnological section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Oxford, June 1847—(See the Report of that Association, p. 262.)—they have been found of decided use in the remotest parts of Ethnological inquiry.

changes are regulated. If it were necessary to prove the relationship of the English to the Sanscrit, we should be obliged to begin by establishing the identity of origin of their grammatical forms, structure, and construction; this relationship is now undoubted and fully proved. We, therefore, shall give our whole attention to the secondary inquiry, which relates to the material of the two languages, the roots and primitive words. In these roots, the consonants are the principal vehicles of their meaning. Our inquiry must therefore chiefly relate to the consonantism of the two languages.

It is generally taken for granted, that the English stands, in its consonantal structure, on the same level with the Gothic,² and that those rules which, in this respect, relate to the Gothic, may with equal force be applied to the English, in determining its relations and position among the whole tribe of the Indo-European languages. This conclusion may be considered true, when we speak in general, without distinguishing languages of the same stock, or the consonants of the different organs. But it is far from true, when one particular language, e. g. the English alone, is held up for comparison with the Sanscrit, and when the consonants of each organ are considered separately. What, in a general consideration of a great subject may appear an exception, may be the rule in some particular section of it. J. Grimm himself acknowledges this to be the fact in our case. It is but right to remember that he never intended to give, in his grammar, a detailed account of the consonantal relations of the language we are speaking of. His own words are (p. 590), *die lautverschiebung folgt in der Masse, thut sich aber nie im einzelnen rein ab* (the transformation of consonantal sounds is only observable *en masse*, but not so in all particular cases.) He then mentions several classes of exceptions, as Lat. *dis*, and Goth. *dis*, do; Lat. *dies*, and Goth. *lags*; Lat. *sedula*, and Old Sax. *sēdel*; Gr. *τίτθι*, A. S. *tit*. But these exceptions really corroborate his law. For the Lat. *dis* has its regular corresponding *t* in other languages of the Gothic stage, as in Saxon *tō*, Engl. *to*, which, in its last regular development, becomes

Grimm's well known law stands thus, (*D. Gr.* I. 584,) according to the

Gr.	P	B	F	T	D	TH	K	G	CH
Goth.	F	P	B	TH	T	D	(H.G.)	K	G
Old High G.	B (v.)	F	P	D	Z	T	G	CH	K

High-German zu, zer. In this case we see the English keeps to the law for the Gothic stage even more strictly than the Gothic itself. As for Lat. dies, the English does not present the required form "tag," but it is not more irregular than the Gothic dags. In the third example, the O. Sax. sēdel is irregular; as is also the Old German sēdel; the Goth. and E. sits and seat, and the Nhg. seszel, agree perfectly with Grimm's law. In Gr. τίθη; A.S. tit and E. teat, Ohg. tutto; the tenuis in anlaut has remained unchanged in all three stages, and it is only in the Nhg. zitze, that organic life is visible again.

But let us take the consonants of another organ, the Labials for instance. There Gothic and English p ought to correspond with a Sanscrit, Greek, or Latin b. When J. Grimm attempts to prove this by examples, he feels himself compelled to remark, (I. 585) "für den anlaut weisz ich keinen beleg, zur bestärkung meiner ansicht" (as to the anlaut, I do not know any example to corroborate my law.) For the anlaut he gives κάναβις, cannabis; Oldn. hanpr, (Engl. hemp); Ohg. hanaf, Nhg. Hanf); and three other examples which still seem doubtful to him, and which, therefore, cannot prove the rule; yet might corroborate it, if it were proved otherwise: Lat. turba, Goth. thaup (A.S. and Engl. thorpe); Ohg. dorof (Nhg. Dorf); Lat. stabulum, Oldn. stöpull; (A.S. stapel, ol, ul; Engl. staple); Ohg. staphol, al. (Nhg. Staffel, Stapel);—Lat. labi; Goth. hlaupan (Engl. leap); Ohg. loufan (Nhg. Laufen). The fact is, that the Sanscrit, which we shall prefer now to take as the representative of the classic languages or the first stage, has not one single b in anlaut, that would develope itself into a Gothic or Engl. p, and Hg. f; but all such Sanscrit b, though few in number, remain unchanged throughout the three stages. From this particularity of the labial media, and from other examples, like those above given by J. Grimm as exceptions, Graff³ draws a rule very different from Grimm's, viz., that the Sanscrit media remains unchanged throughout all the cognate languages. And moreover, while Grimm (I. 558,) pronounces those words to be of suspicious connexion and organization, in which only one consonant follows his law, and the other differs from it, Graff, (I. Pref. xiv.) by his own independent researches, has come, in opposition to Grimm and Bopp, to the conclusion, that *in perfectly organic formations one cannot conclude from a*

³ *Althochdeutscher Sprachschätz*, vol. I. pref. ix. Berlin, 1834.

Gothic tenuis to Sanscrit media, from a G. media to a S. aspirata, from a G. aspirata to a G. tenuis:

We fully agree with J. Grimm, when he says, (I. 588, obs. 1,) “die richtigkeit der regel überhaupt ist unverkennbar,” (the soundness of the rule in general is undeniable.) At the same time, we acknowledge and admire in Graff the profound learning, the independence, the indefatigable zeal, the devotion with which he worked out his great national work, the *Althochdeutscher Sprachschätz*, the work of twenty years of labour, (from 1821 to his death, 1841.) When, after thirteen years of studies and privations of every kind,—enmities on account of his independent opinions, his eyes were wearied almost to blindness, his health was injured,—he thought himself prepared to begin the printing, he found that there were no means of publishing his work. At the precise time when he was beginning to fear that the work of his life was lost, the then Crown Prince and present King of Prussia took him and his works under his especial care. He died after he had sent to press the 43d sheet of the 15th volume. The remainder of this and the 6th volume have been edited by H. F. Massman.

Graff strongly (I. pref. 8,) recommends, and strictly adheres to, the method of considering the consonants of each organ separately, and of developing for each the particular law of transformation. That, in his opinion, is the only safe way of avoiding an error Grimm has fallen into, viz., of supposing a regular exchange of letters where there is none; as, for instance, in “heart,” (Ohg. herza,) which, compared with Gr. καρδιά, and Lat. cor, changes, according to Grimm’s law, the tenuis k into the aspirate h. But the Sanscr. hrid (hard,) and the Lith. szirdis (the Lith. having no aspirate, presents sz or z’ instead of h,) shew that the Anlaut h has continued unchanged from the Sanscrit to the Gothic languages. Thus, καρδιά and cor, instead of being examples of the law on the mutes, are really exceptions to another still more general law, viz. that liquidæ and spirants of the older formations remain unchanged.

We see, then, that something is still to be done in this field of comparative philology, the highest authorities on it being so much at variance in the ultimate results of their researches. We shall begin with the *Labials*,—consider each letter of each organ separately,—the English being taken as the leading language, and the Sanscrit followed generally by two cognate

words, the one belonging to the Gothic, the second to the Hg. stage. We shall then draw the rule from the greatest number of examples bearing the same character.

1. *Labials.* English, P, F, B, V, W, M. Sanscrit, P, Ph, B, Bh, V, M. The English letters W and M (Sanscr. V and M.) the vocal beginning, and the nasal end of this series, will be considered, after the mutes, as Semivowels and Liquids, with the others of the same class. The English sound *v*, introduced only from the Romanic into the Middle-English, appears, in old-English words, as the weakened Inlaut of another Labial, most frequently of *f* (leaf-leaves.) As such, it will find its place according to its original value. 1. *P*, a favourite anlaut in English, has, in the Dictionary at least, as many words as F and B together. It is of much less frequent occurrence in A.S., of still less in Gothic. The greater part of the English words are of Latin or Greek origin, so are many of the inconsiderable number of A.S. and Gothic words. As P otherwise seems to be among the Teutonics a favourite sound in Inlaut and Auslaut, it is natural to ask why it is of rare occurrence as Anlaut. Benary and Pott, holding Grimm's law, explain it by the small number of B anlauts in Sanscrit. If, they say, there are only few labial Mediae in Sanscrit as anlaut, there can be only few labial Tenuis in Gothic. Graff (III. 319,) declares this explanation to be an error, necessarily arising from what he calls the false theory of Grimm. He explains it by saying, that the organic *p*, corresponding with Sanscr. Gr., Lat., Goth., O. Sax., A.S., and Norse tenuis had changed into F, already in the oldest German, (I. p. 8; **) for the oldest Runes have no P. The question will find its solution, I think, at the end of this chapter on the Labials.

(a.) *English P. anlaut corresponding with Sanscr. P.*

English.	Sanscr.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High-German.
Path	patha, m (via)	path, poeth, paad	pad; Pfad.
Pawn	pan (in ludum ponere)	Oldn. pantr	phant; Pfand.
pound ⁴	pan,	pund	phunt; Pfund.

⁴ "Pound" does not seem to have been borrowed from the Latin, though its consonants are the same in both Latin and Gothic. Cf. Lat. poena, A.S. pin.

English.	Sanscr.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High-German.
penny	pan	pening, pending, penig	pending, phenig; Pfennig.
pine	pid (dolore afficere)	pín	pina; Pein.
Pour	púr (implere)	see "to fill"	
pepper	pipali m (piper)	peppor, peopor	peffar, pheffar; Pfeffer.
(S)py	pas (videre)		spehon, spiohon; spähen.
(S)peak ⁵	práh (dicere)	spræcan, spæcan	spréhhan, sprechan; Sprechen.
pitch	pach (coquere)	pit	peh; Pech.
plight	prich (conjungere)	plightan	flehtan; flechten.

(b.) English P. inlaut and Sanscr. P.

English.	Sanscr.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High-German.
ripe	(s') rap-ayámi (faciout coquatur)	ripe	riñ; reif.
ape ⁶	(k) api (simia)	apa	affo; Affe.
hope	kup (irasci)	hopian, opian	hoffen.
scape	kshap (sternere)	sceapan, scepan, sceppan	Scafan; schaffen

(c.) English P. auslaut, and Sanscr. P.

English.	Sanscr.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High-German.
heap	cháp-ayámi (faciout colligatur)	hype heape, (cunulus)	hufo; Haufe.

⁵ Cf. Graff, *Alth. Sprachsch.* I. pref. xvi. "the Old German Sp. answers to Sanscr. Sp. perhaps in 'sprechan,' Sanscr. sprih (desiderare), if it is not to be derived from Sanscr. brú (dicere)." But Sprih is much more likely the Lat. Spero. (Bopp.) There is not one example by which we can prove from Sanscr. B to Goth. P, as that in "brú" to "spræcan, sprechan." Bopp's conjecture seems to be the right one, *Gloss.* p. 26, práh, (i. e. pra and ah,) dicere. "Fortasse cum eo cohæret nostrum Sprach, spreche, ita ut S euphonicum sit antepositum, cum S

sequenti p et facile se adjungat, quam ob rem Pott. Gothicum "stautan," nostrum stossen, ad radicem Sanscritam et Latinam "tud" apte reduxit."

⁶ Another remarkable example of this kind, where the Sanscr. K has been dropped, is Sanscr. Kam and Lat. am-o. Graff, Bopp. I beg to remark here, that whenever any word compared seems to require an explanation for any other letter but the labial in question, that explanation will be given when that other letter (a lingual or guttural) comes under consideration.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High-German.
hop	chup, chap (se movere)	hoppan	huphjan; hüpfen.
hip	chup	hipe; Goth, hups	huf; Hüfte.
help	klrip, kalp, (af- ferre)	helpan	helfan; helfen.
jump	jhampa, m (sal- tus)	Bp	
damp	tap (urere, cale- facere)		damf (vapor;) Dampf.
sleep	syap (dormire)	slapan, slæpan	slafon; schlafen.
slip	srip (ire, gradi)	slipan	slifan, sliphan; schleifen.
lip ⁷	lap (loqui)	lippa	lefs; Lefse, Lippe.
warp ⁸	kship (conjicere)	weorpan, verpan	werfan; werfen.

(d.) *English P. and some other Sanscr. letter.*

English.	Sanscr.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High-German.
play ⁹	kri (facere)	plegian, pleggan	plegan, pflegan; pflegen.
spite	sphunt', sphut' (deridere)	Norse, spott	spot (jocus, spot- ton (irridere); Spott, spotten.
speed	sphut' (dissilere, diffugere)	spædan (prosperare)	sputon (accele- rare.) sputen.
split (spilt)	sphant', sphat' (findere)		spaltan; spalten.
spit	sh' h'iv (spuere)	spivan, speovian	spiwan, spiuwan, spian; spein.

⁷ Graff, ii. 205, prefers Sanscr. labh (adipisci), Gr. λῆβη. The Lith lupa (labium) is against it. Lat. labium, labrum, and lambo, Gr. λαμβάνω, are connected with Sanscr. labh (admixi) not with "lap." Cf. Gr. λῆβη, and Eng. bill have the same meaning, but belong to different roots. See Bill. It is the same case with Lat. labi and Eng. to leap. See Leap, Note.

⁸ Bopp, *Gl. S.* 93, "fortasse etiam nostrum werfe, Goth. vairpa pro virpa. Gr. comp. 82. Huc pertinet, transpositis

e virpa pro hvirpa, cum hv pro Sanscr. K: sicut quis, Sanscr. Kas, Gr. comp. 388: Graff, i. 1026, hesitates between "kship" and "vap," (spurgere.)

⁹ Compare Sanscr. virka and Lat. vulpes, Gr. λύκος, or vice versa, Sanscr. pachi and Lat. Coquere. Consonants of the same degree may interchange and confirm the rule. We have here all three tenues p, k and t, in play-kri, up-ut of Sanscr. paktas, Gr. πᾶσις, Lat. coctus.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High-German.
up	ut (sursum)	upp	uf; auf.
reap	{ run'ch (evel- lere) lup (fin- dere, (rumpere)	hriopan (vellere)	raufan; raufen.
hemp	s'aûa (cannabis)	hænep	hanaf; Hanf.
leap ¹⁰	kram (ire)	hleapan	hlanfon, lonfan; lanfen.

The following table shews the results of our comparisons:—
English P. anlaut corresponding with Sanscr. P. in 11 examples.

...	...	...	K	in 1	...
P anlaut	...	...	P	in 4	...
Sp	...	...	Sph	in 3	...
...	...	...	shth	in 1	...
P auslaut	...	...	P	in 10	...
...	...	...	M	in 1	...
...	...	...	T	in 1	...
...	...	...	NCh	in 1	...
...	...	...	not expressed in 1.		

According to Grimm's law, Gothic P, as we have stated before, should answer to Greek, Latin, and Sanscr. B. We have not one example of the kind,—not one proof for the support of this law in respect to English and Sanscrit,—but there are twenty-five examples that follow (and therefore prove) the rule, that *English P. corresponds with Sanscr. P.*

2. *F as anlaut*, frequent in all Gothic languages, as Inlaut and Auslaut less so. Between two vowels, it changes in English, with very few exceptions, (life, wife, safe; but lives, wives, to save,) into v. This v-inlaut is therefore equivalent to F, and as such, to be considered in this paragraph.

(a.) *English, F anlaut, and Sanscr. P.*

English.	Sanscr.	Anglo-Saxon.	Old and New High German.
fill	púr, púl, pri (im- plere)	fyllan	fulljan; füllen.

¹⁰ "Leap" has lost the guttural in the beginning, as in "ape," Sanscr. kapi. The m at the end of "kram" changed into another labial, as Sanscr. mrîta, Lat. mortuus, Gr. βέβητος, Sanscr. mush ti Lat. pugnus, H.G. fust, Th. fusti. Grimm

(i. 585,) is not quite sure whether Goth. hlaupan is not to be compared with Lat. labi. This latter belongs to Sanscr. lamb, lab (labi, cadere), and is therefore in no way connected with Engl. leap, AS. hleapan.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Old and New High-German.
full	pūrna (plenus)	full . . .	foll; voll.
father	pitri (pater)	fæder . . .	fatar; Vater.
foot	pad, páda (pes)	fót . . .	fóz; Fusz.
feed	pá (servare)	foedan . . .	fótjan; füttern.
fetch	paksh (capere)	feccan, fetjan	
fowl	{ paksha (ala) pak shin (avis, alas habens)	fugul, fugl . . .	fogal; Vogel.
five	panchan (quin- que)	fif . . .	fimf; fünf.
feather	patatra (ala)	fether . . .	federa; Feder.
far	para (alius, remo- tior)	feor . . .	fer; fern.
from	paran (ultra, post)	fram, from . . .	fram.
for, be- fore ¹¹	puras (ante, co- ram)	fora, fore . . .	fora, furi; vor.
fallow	palita (canis ca- pillis præditus)	fealu, falewe	falo, falaw; falb, fahl.
flesh (felsh)	pala (caro)	flesc, flæsc . . .	fleisc; Fleish.
foul	puy (putrescere)	ful . . .	ful; faul.
foal ¹²	pota (pullus)	fola . . .	folo; Fohlen.
fat ¹³	pyai (pinguescere)	fatt . . .	feizt; fett, feist.
friend	prí (exhilarare, amare)	freond, friend	friunt; Freund.
freeze	prush (pra-ush, urere)	frysan . . .	friusan; frieren.

¹¹ *For* Prefix A.S. "for" Anc. and Mod. High Germ. "far, fir, ver." *For* Preposition A.S. "fora, fore, for," Anc. and Mod. High G. "fora, furi; vor, für." Bopp connects the former with Sanscr. pará, Prep. insep. (retro), and refers to Grimm, III. 256, 4. c. the latter with Sanscr. pari Præp. insep. (circum.) Graff, III. 664, thinks Goth. fair and four, (Engl. for and fore) rather connected with Scr. para (alius) and param (all. neutr. ultro); he refers Goth. fra and fram to Scr. pra, Prep. insep. (pro), and in some way to Scr. puras (ante, coram.)

¹² Graff, III. 476, "Folo, m. fuli, fulin of Sanscr. pal neben pá; oder sollte Sanscr. bála (puer) zu vergleichen seyn?" Bála is hardly admissible; it would be, among more than forty examples, the only one of the kind.

¹³ Graff, I. Pref. xvii. "feizit (fat), Sanscr. mid (pinguem esse)"; further, fiugan (to fly) and Scr. dí (abire, evanescere); fiuhan (to flee) and Scr. dru (currere, fugere; feder (feather), and Scr. chhad (tegere), chhada, m. folium, ala.

English.	Sanscr.	Anglo-Saxon.	Old and New High German.
flow } float }	plu (natāre, volāre, flare)	fleotan, fleowan	flūzan; fliebon.
fly	id	flīogan	flīogan; fliegen.
first	parama (summus)	fyresta	furisto; Fürst, (princeps.)
fire	pāvaka (ignis)	fyr	fiur; Fewer.

(b.) *English F inlaut and Sanscr. P.*

reave	lup (rumpere)	reafjan	raubon; rauben.
over	upari (super)	ufa, ofer	ubar; über.
weave	vap (texere)	vefan	weban; weben.
nephew (nefēw)	napvrē (nepos)	nefa	nefo; neffe.
after	apara (alius)	æfter	aftar; after.

(c.) *English F auslaut and Sanscr. P.*

of	apa (de, ab)	of	aba, ab; ab.
loaf	srap-ayami (facio ut coquatur)	hlaf	hlaib; Laib.

(d.) *English F and some other letter.*

foam	phena (spuma)	fœm	feim; Feim (schaum.)
fall	chal (vacillare, recedere)	feallan	fallan; fallen.
fair	chāru (pulcher)	fæger, fægr	fagar.
fruit ¹⁴	bhuj (edere, frui)	n. frukt	frucht; Frucht.
fight	jaj (pugnare)	fihtan, feochtan	fehtan; fechten.
hoof	japha (ungulo equi.)	hóf	huof; Huf.
stiff	stabh, stambh (fuleire)	stíf	stif; steif.
staff	id stabdha (rigidus)	staf, stæf	stab; stab.
wolf	vrika (lupus)	vulf	wolf; wolf.
fish	jhasha (piscis)	fisc	fisc; fisk, Fisch.
four	chatur (quatuor)	feover	fior; vier.
fare	char (ire, ambulare)	faran	faran; fahren.

¹⁴ Graff, III. 819, "Fruht, frukt, frucht, kann auch deutschem Boden entsprungen seyn."

English.	Sanscr.	Anglo-Saxon.	Old and New High German.
foe } friend }	bhī(timere, Cauf. terrere)	fian(odisse);fiend, fiond . . .	fiēn (odisse) fiant, Feind.
fear	idbhīru(timidus)	ferht (timor)	forhta; Furcht.
fist	mushtī(pugnus)	fyst . . .	fúst; Faust.
drive, v.	drav ayāmi (facio ut aliquid cur- rat, r. dru)	drifan . . .	triban; treiben.
liver, s.	yakrit (jeiur)	lifr, lifer . . .	libara; Leber.
leave, v.	rich (relinquere)	lifan, leofan, læ- fan . . .	liban, biliban; blei- ben.
raven, s.	kārava (cornix)	hræfn, hræm	hraban, hram; Rabe.
love, v.	lubh (desiderare)	lufjan, leofjan	liubjan; lieben.
live, v.	jīv (vivere)	leofjan, lifjan . . .	liban; leben.

The following table shews the results of our comparisons.

Eng. F anlaut corresponding with Sanscr. P in 23 examples.

...	...	...	Ph in 1	...
...	...	...	Bh in 3	...
...	...	...	M in 1	...
...	...	...	Ch in 4 ¹⁵	...
...	...	...	j in 1	...
...	...	...	Jh in 1	...
F—inlaut (v.)	...	...	P in 5	...
...	...	...	Bh in 1	...
...	...	...	V in 3	...
...	...	...	K in 1	...
...	...	...	Ch in 1	...
F—auslaut	...	...	P in 2	...
...	...	...	Ph in 1	...
...	...	...	Bh in 1	...

According to Grimm's law, Gothic F ought to answer to Greek, Latin, and Sanscr. P. The majority of our examples proves this to be the fact also in respect to English and Sanscrit. General Rule: *English F corresponds with Sanscr. P.*

¹⁵ There will be about 130 words compared of the Labial Class, 13 of these answer to Scr. Gutturals or Palatals, 3 only to Linguals. These numbers seem

to indicate that there is a more intimate organic connection between the Labials and Gutturals or Palatals than between the Labials and Linguals.

3. *B*, in English, frequent as Anlaut, much less so as Inlaut and Auslaut. In Gothic, it is of rare occurrence as Auslaut (Grimm, I. 55,) but regularly after liquids (e. gr. halb, dumb); preceded by a vowel, it changes into *f*, e. gr. geban, imp. gif. In A. S. it is of rare occurrence in both Inlaut and Auslaut (Grimm, I. 247.)

(a.) *English B. anlaut, corresponding with Sanscrit Bh.*

English.	Sanscr.	Anglo-Saxon.	Old High and New High-German.
bite	bhid (findere)	bitan .	bizan ; beiben.
bitter	id. ut supra	biter .	bittar ; bitter.
bill	bhil (findere)	bile .	bihal, bial; Beil.
be	bhú (esse) .	beon .	bim ; ich bin.
bower	bhavana (domus)	bur .	bur (habitatio) ; Bauer, (a cage.)
bear ¹⁶	bhri, bhar (ferre)	beran .	beran ; bären (ge) bären.
bring	id. .	bringan .	bringan ; bringen
birth	id. .	byrd, byrde	Burt ; Geburt.
burden	id. .	byrdhen .	burdi ; Bürde
bury	id. .	byrgan, birian	bergan ; bergen
brew	bhrí (frigere, affare)	brivan .	briuwan ; branen.
burn	bhran (sonum edere)	birnan .	brinnan brennan.
bright	bhráj (splendere)	beorht .	berht (splendidus) ; Pracht.
blink	bhlás' (id.)	blican .	blinchan ; blinken (splendor.)
bleach } bleak }	id. .	blac, blæc, bleac	bleih ; bleich.
brother	bhrátri (frater)	brodhor, bredher	brodar ; Bruder.
brow	bhrú (supercilium)	brœve, bruva -	brawa ; Braue.

¹⁶ Graff, III. 191, gives "bringan, Th. brah" under the root Bar or Sanscr. bhrí. But at the same time he leaves the choice between this and the following roots : *bhaj* (offerre, dare), if it does really exist. Or Sanscr. rah (relingere) with the præfix bi, which may change

the meaning to the contrary, brah (afferre.) Or Sanscr. rah, rauh (se'movere.) Or "barh (dare), brih (adniti.) Or Sanscr. grah (capere, sumere,) causat. offerre. B changed into G, as in Sanscr. gavas, Lat. boves.

English.	Sanscr.	Anglo-Saxon.	Old and New High German.
bow (arcus)	bhuj (flectere)	beogan (flectere); boga, s.	bogo; Bogen.
berry	bhaksh (edere)	beria (bacca)	beri; Beere.
break	bhanj (frangere)	breacan	brechan; brechen.
by	(a) bhi (ad, ad-versus)	be, bi	bi; bei.
both	(u) bha (ambo)	bu, batva, butu	beide; beide.
bake ¹⁷	bhaj (coquere, torrere)	bacan	bachan; backen.
bread	bhraj s. bhrasj, (coquere, frigere)	bread, breod	brót; Brot.
birch	bhúrjja (betula)	beorce	bircha; Birke, Gf.
better, best	{ bhad (gaudere) bhad, adj. (lætus, felix, optimus)	{ bet, better,	baz, bezir; better.
(b.) English B inlaut and Sanscr. Bh.			
(c.) English B anlaut and Sanscr. Bh.			
grub } grave }	jribh (aperire, os-citare)	grafan; Goth. graban	graban, grubilon; graben, grübeln.
(d.) English B and some other Sanscr. letter.			
bleat	balk, s. bark (ré-sonner, Eichh.)	blatan	blazan; blöken, bölken.
bind	band, bundh (ligare)	bindan	bindan; binden.
beam, boom	bah, bad (crescere)	beam; Got. bagms; N. badmr	baum; Baum.
bathe	bad (lavare)	bathian	badon; baden.
bold	bala (robur)	bald	bald, baldi (strenuus, fortis.)
bid	vith (desiderare)	biddan	bitjan; bitten (petere.)
beer	pí (bibere)	beor	bior; Bier.
bee	id.	beo	bia; Biene.

¹⁷ Graff, III. 24. hesitates to decide between Sanscr. pach (coquere); bhrij, bháj (torrere, coquere), and bhá (lucere), yet "pach" seems to him the less probable. Bopp s. v. "pach," decidedly refers, Lat. coquo, to Sanscr.

pach, and German backen, to Sanscr. bhrij, bhaj, cf. Sanscr. paras'u (securis, ascia), and Gr. *πίλινος*, while Germ. Beil (securis, ascia; Engl. bill) is connected with another Sanscr. root, bhiil (findere.)

English.	Sanscr.	Anglo-Saxon.	Old and New High German.
back, s.	pas'chima (posticus)	bae, bæc	bacho.
bare	pû (purificare)	bare	bar ; baar (purus, nudus.)
broad	prithn (latus)	broed	breit ; breit.
boat	pota (navicula)	bate, boet	Boot.
bride	prandhá (sponsa)	bryd	brut ; Braut.
bloom	phull (florescere)	blowan	bluon, pluon ; blühen.
buck	chhaga, chhága (caper, capra)	bucca	boch ; Bock.
ban } bane }	han, ghan (occidere)	bana	bano ; Bann.
blow	dhma (flare)	blawan	blajan, blahan, blasan ; blasen, blähen.

The following table exhibits the results of our comparisons :

Eng. B anlaut corresponding with Sanscr. Bh			in 27 examples.	
...	...	...	B	in 5 ...
...	...	...	V	in 1 ...
...	...	...	P	in 6 ...
...	...	...	Ph	in 1 ...
...	...	...	Chh	in 1 ...
...	...	...	Dh	in 1 ...
...	...	...	H. Gh	in 1 ...
Eng. B auslaut	...	...	Bh	in 1 ...

According to Grimm's law, Gothic B is to answer to Gr. φ, Lat. f, and the Sanscrit labial aspirates. There are two: Ph and Bh. The true aspirate of B can only be Bh, which accordingly appears in the majority of the examples. Besides Sanscr. Ph is rather of rare occurrence in Anlaut, as well as in Inlaut and Auslaut. Grimm, (i. 585,) says that both these aspirates appear promiscuously in Greek φ and Lat. f and b. For the Anlaut Ph, there is only one example where a Sanscrit root has its correspondent in Greek and Latin; it is "phull, se expandere (de floribus,) florescere:" Gr. φύλλον; Lat. fol-ium; flo-s instead of fol-s, ful-s, vide Bopp, s. v. We have then to state, as a *general rule, that English B answers to Sanscr. Bh.*

But there is another fact which we must not pass by unnoticed. The Sanser. B remains unchanged, not only in English, but in all the cognate languages. The Sanscrit examples are not very numerous, but they are without exceptions. English B then answers in general to Sansc. Bh; Sanser. B always answers to an English B. From former inquiries and comparisons, we know that Sanser. P answers to an English F; and English P almost always to Sanser. P. Remembering now that P and F are Surds, B and Bh Sonants, we cannot help acknowledging this to be a general law, *for the LABIALS of the English and Sanscrit languages, "that Surds answer to Surds, Sonants to Sonants."*¹⁸

There is only one Sanscrit Surd letter of consideration (P,) answering to the two common English Surds, (P and F); there is only one English Sonant letter, (B,) answering to the two common Sanscrit Sonants, (B and Bh.)

B. GÄBLER.

(To be continued.)

XXVI.

ORDEALS AMONG THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.

OUR age aims at tracing the spirit of classical antiquity in all departments of archæological science. In addition to the advantages immediately derived from this practice, there is one very closely consequent on it, on which we wish to say a few words. Classical antiquity can no longer stand as something

¹⁸ Or exhibited in a Table:—

	Engl.	Sanser.	Whilst Grimm has:—
Surds,	{ P } { F }	P	Engl. Sanser. F P
Sonants,	B	{ B } { Bh }	P B B Ph, Bh.

¹ Translated from the *Philologus*, II. 3. p. 385–397. By Robert Johnston.

isolated, but must gradually become more intimately connected with the great whole of the history of human civilization. The particular must find its relation to the general, individuality and nationality to universal humanity.

Our age casts on the study of antiquity the reproach of standing a dead and solitary department of knowledge, in no connection with the present, and with our own age and nationality. This is not the place to discuss the subject at length. But can classical philologists look with equanimity at this fact, that their efforts meet, amongst the great mass of educated persons, with infinitely less sympathy than those of such men as employ themselves in the study of their own language, history, or natural science? In this instance Horace's "satis est equitem mihi plaudere," gives but slight consolation. Can our philologists not do more to bring the subject of their study into greater respect among those beyond their own circle? The attacks on classical studies are directed, not only against the system pursued in the schools, but against Philology itself, and shew that its importance is either questioned or entirely unknown. Philology has long had a practical influence on education; its association with our national character and institutions also would, we think, be in a very high degree useful. That we cannot study philology exclusively with this view, is self-evident, for otherwise it would lose its character and independence. But something might be done, and philological societies ought certainly to direct their attention to the subject.

We find in the *Philologus*, pp. 340-343, a short essay by Jacob Grimm, "Vom Singen der Schwerter und Pfannen," in which the German and classical customs are discussed, and which proves that even such trifles can be made interesting. A similar association of the old German with the old classical, presents itself in very many points in the same distinguished author's *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*. Many subjects which are in that work only casually alluded to, might give occasion for the most beautiful comparisons. We offer the present article on *Ordeals*, not because we expect to bring forward new or even complete materials; but merely as an attempt to show whether what was briefly spoken of by Grimm in regard to the Greeks and Romans, can be carried out further. If this contribution lead to similar investigations, we can wish for no more.

Besides the assistance afforded by Grimm, we have in Beck-

er's *Charicles*² useful materials. The article "Ordalien," by W. E. Wilda, in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyklopädie*,³ has principally reference to German ordeals. Other literary aids are not at our command. Grimm⁴ says that such trials as the ordeals of the Germans are so consonant to the childlike and rude character of antiquity, that it would be wonderful if we did not meet with them among other nations also. What he and Becker bring forward in proof of the existence of similar customs among the Greeks and Romans, has been taken proper advantage of in the following remarks.⁵

Wilda and others say that most authors, even Grimm, have committed an error, in omitting the *lot* amongst ordeals. Wilda himself mentions it first, and thinks it ought to be reckoned one of the most ancient and really national ordeals of the Germans; nay he says (p. 469,) that the *lot* is in some measure the purest ordeal, for the result of it, if every thing be done regularly, cannot in the least degree be foreseen by human judgment. Some say that in employing the *lot*, man, renouncing entirely his own power of decision, commits his cause to *blind chance*. But how can this be, if divinity directly interfere, and if the benevolence and mercy of God afford man ground for the hope of finding in the *lot*, not an instance of unregulated chance, but an exercise of Providence? Antiquity evidently saw in the decision by *lot*, an indication of fate; and we in modern times are not indisposed to the same opinion. And in this manner we have in it a kind of oracle, a prognostication of the dark future. That the Germans too had a

² ii. pp. 282-285 of the original.

³ Section 3. vol. 4. pp. 453-490.

⁴ P. 933, of the first edition.

⁵ Regarding the connection between the ordeal and the oracle, we refer to Wilda, (p. 453). The single combat plainly served both purposes. As amongst the Germans, (Tacit. *Germ.* c. 10; comp. Grimm, p. 928,) it gave a prophetic decision, so also in the fight between the Gaul and T. Manlius. Livy, (vii. 11,) says: "Et hercule tanti ea ad universi belli eventum momenti dimicatio fuit, ut Gallorum exercitus proximâ nocte relictis trepide castris, in Tiburtem agrum transierit." Besides

those in which there was a direct appeal to heaven, other decisions of a judicial nature, among different nations and in different ages, exhibit the same leading idea: for instance, the settlement of a quarrel regarding boundaries between Carthage and Cyrene, (Sallust. *Jug.* 79,) and between the Swiss Cantons of Uri and Glarus (Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, 287) by a race. Grimm (*Rechtsalterth.* p. 935) is probably right in classing such a mode of settlement with that by ordeal, though it may be granted that in the case of the race, the belief in an exertion of divine power is less prominent than in the ordeal.

"*divinatio per sortes*," is known from Tacitus (*Germ.* c. 10). With his remarks in that passage, may be compared what Herodotus says of the Scythians.⁶ No discussion is required to show that Pindar's "μάντις ὀρνίχεςσι καὶ κλάροις θεοπροπέων ἱεροῖς,"⁷ refers to this kind of "*divinatio*."⁸ What Wilda brings forward, appears to us sufficient to prove, that when persons were accused of theft, and when it was wished to discover the murderer of an individual killed in a riot or fray, an ordeal "*per sortes*," as the Latin legal phrase has it, which reminds us of Tacitus's "*divinatio per sortes*" among the Germans, was resorted to, though it may neither have been generally nor long employed. As Wilda himself admits, history gives no specific instance of its being used.⁹ Nothing of the kind among the Greeks and Romans of the later ages is known to us; but we think it may safely be asserted, that the idea of recognizing in the decision by lot a decision of heaven, was not foreign to the Homeric age. Hector, on one occasion, in the *Iliad*,¹⁰ challenges to single combat any one of the Greeks who dares to fight with him. Menelaus wishes to accept the challenge, but is restrained by the remonstrances of his brother. Nestor's angry speech puts the dilatory and trembling princes of the Achæans to shame; nine rise, ready to meet the dreaded foe. The question now is, which of them shall obtain the honour. Nestor's advice is to let the lot decide. This counsel is followed: the nine heroes mark their lots, and throw them into the helmet. Then the poet continues, v. 177, foll.:—

λαοὶ δ' ἠρήσαντο, θεοῖσι δὲ χεῖρας ἄνεσχον ·
ὧδε δέ τις εἶπεσκεν ἰδὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν ·
Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ Αἴαντα λαχεῖν, ἦ Τυδέος υἱόν,
ἦ αὐτὸν βασιλῆα πολυχρύσοιο Μυκῆνης!

The lot falls upon one of the three chiefs named; on him indeed, whom the army had prayed for first, viz. Ajax;

Ὡς ἄρ' ἔφαν' ἀλλῆλεν δὲ Γερήνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ·
ἐκ δ' ἔθορε κλῆρος κυνέης, ὃν ἄρ' ἤθελον αὐτοί,
Αἴαντος.

⁶ iv. 67.

⁷ Pyth. iv. 190.

⁸ The article "*Divinatio*," in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, affords rich materials, which, however, do not lie in our way at present.

⁹ We may lastly refer to Du Cange's *Glossarium*: *Sors*, *judicium Dei*, *purgatio vulgaris*; where the same passages are cited as in Wilda.

¹⁰ vii. 67, foll.

Let us now turn to what appears to have more of the peculiarities of the *ordeal*, as it existed among our own ancestors; and in so doing we shall look first at the trial by single combat, as that mode of obtaining a decision of God, which seems to be most suited to warlike character.

The issue of every battle may be regarded as a divine decision, and in this sense Chaereas is right, when he says: ¹¹ Σὺ μὲν ἔμελλες τὴν δίκην κρίνειν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἤδη νενίκηκα παρὰ τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ δικαστῇ · πόλεμος γὰρ ἄριστος κριτὴς τοῦ κρείττονός τε καὶ χείρους. In some contests, however, this is more the case than in others.

Strabo ¹² calls it an “ἔθος τι παλαιὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων,” to seek a decision by single combat. Wachsmuth ¹³ considers the principle which originated the settlement of national quarrels by single combat, according to a public agreement, to have been the idea of a representation of the two states. This idea appears to us too abstract for that age; our opinion is that these single combats were fought, in order that the lives of the soldiers, who were less interested in the contest, might be spared. Schömann, in his *Antiquitates juris publici Græcorum*, expresses an opinion similar to ours. This view is confirmed by the words of Menelaus, *Iliad* III. 98:

Κέλυτε νῦν καὶ ἐμεῖο · μάλιστα γὰρ ἄλγος ἱκάνει
θυμὸν ἐμὸν · φρονέω δὲ διακρινημέναι ἦδη
Ἀργείους καὶ Τρῶας, ἐπεὶ κακὰ πολλὰ πέποσθε
εἶνεκ' ἐμῆς ἔριδος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκ' ἀρχῆς.
ἡμέων δ' ὅπποτέρῳ θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα τέτυκται,
τεθναῖη · ἄλλοι δὲ διακριθεῖτε τάχιστα.

Our opinion is strengthened also by the words of the Alban leader to the king of Rome, in the case of the combat between the Horatii and Curiatii: ¹⁴ “ineamus aliquam viam, qua, utri utrius imperent, sine magna clade, sine multo sanguine utriusque populi decerni possit.” We may compare also the words of Hyllus in Herodotus: ¹⁵ ὥς χρέων εἶη τὸν μὲν στρατὸν τῷ στρατῷ μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα.

The *motive* then seems clear. The *character* of the ordeal becomes apparent, when all the other soldiers retire, and those

¹¹ Chariton, VIII. 47.

¹² VIII. p. 357.

¹³ *Hellen. Alterthumskunde*, I. p. 140, comp. p. 184.

¹⁴ Livy I. 23.

¹⁵ IX. 26.

who are most interested, that is, the leaders of the hostile armies, alone undertake the decisive contest. Thus in Homer, Menelaus and Paris. The solemn sacrifices which precede the battle do not refer directly to the combat itself, but to its consequences. They serve to place whatever advantages may result from victory to either party, under the protection of heaven, and to secure them by an appeal to the gods. For this purpose also Menelaus demands the presence of Priam, as a prudent, pious, old man. Thus these sacrifices are important, although they do not of themselves constitute the battle an ordeal. The idea of an ordeal, of an appeal to heaven to decide the quarrel and defend the just cause, is seen in the words of Menelaus :

ἡμέων δ' ὀπποτέρῳ θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα τέτυκται,
τεθναίῃ.

And in those of Priam :

Ζεὺς μὲν που τόγε οἶδε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι
ὀπποτέρῳ θανάτῳ τέλος πεπρωμένον ἐστίν.

The idea is still more apparent in the prayers of the Achæans and Trojans :

Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἰδῆθεν μεδέων, κύνιστε, μέγιστε !
ὀπποτέρος τάδε ἔργα μετ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔθηκεν,
τὸν δὲς ἀποφθίμενον δύναι δόμον Ἀἴδος εἶσω,
ἡμῖν δ' αὖ φιλότῃτα καὶ ὄρκια πιστὰ γενέσθαι.

And Menelaus prays :

Ζεῦ ἄνα, δὲς τίσασθαι, ὃ με πρότερος κακ' ἔοργεν,
δῖον Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἐμῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶ δάμασσον .
ὄφρα τις ἐρρίγησι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων,
ξεينوδόκον κακὰ ῥέξαι, ὃ κεν φιλότῃτα παράσχη.¹⁶

Conscious of the justice of his cause, he has expected the assistance of the gods. And when his sword is broken, and he has thrown his lance at his opponent without effect, he thus expresses his anger at the conduct of Zeus :

Ζεῦ πάτερ, οὔτις σεῖο θεῶν ὀλοώτερος ἄλλος !
ἦ τ' ἐφάμην τίσεσθαι Ἀλέξανδρον κακότητος, κ. τ. λ.

¹⁶ The petition contained in these prayers, namely, that Zeus would grant victory to him who had justice on his

side, distinguishes them from such as those in *Iliad* vi. 305, vii. 202, xvi. 233.

The declaration of Eteocles, in the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides,¹⁷ that he wished to decide by single combat his quarrel with his brother, and the prayer of the two, as well as the description in the twelfth book of the *Æneid*, of the fight between Turnus and Æneas, are evidently modelled after Homer. We may compare, further, the challenge given by Hyllus, the leader of the Heraclidæ, to the bravest in the hostile army, in order that the claims of himself and his companions to their ancestral possessions might be decided;¹⁸ also the fight between Phrynon, as champion of Athens, and Pittacus, as champion of Mitylene, about the possession of Sigeum.¹⁹ The case is similar to these, when out of each of the hostile armies a single combatant is chosen. In some instances, several individuals were selected from each host, men equal in strength. In such a case, physical power could not decide the victory for either party, unless consciousness of a good cause inspired trust in the protection of heaven; or rather, unless the gods themselves, by giving victory, defended the right. The fight between three hundred chosen Spartans and Argives about Thyrea,²⁰ and the choice of trigemini in the war between Tegea and Pheneos,²¹ are examples. Every one will, in connection with the last instance, immediately think of the combat between the Horatii and Curiatii, (trigemini fratres, nec ætate nec viribus disparet,)²² which is likewise compared by J. Grimm. There are other two well known duels somewhat similar, viz., that between the Gallic giant and T. Manlius,²³ and that between a Gaul, likewise of gigantic proportions, and M. Valerius.²⁴ In these cases, there is indeed no evidence that the champions were chosen by their respective armies, or that there was any public agreement to accept the issue of the duel as a settlement of the quarrel. But in the first case, the similarity to an ordeal consists in this, that the Gaul, in giving his challenge, says: "quem nunc Roma virum fortissimum habet, procedat agendum ad pugnam, ut noster duorum eventus ostendat, utra gens bello sit melior;" in the circumstance that the Roman dictator dismisses Manlius with the

¹⁷ Vers. 1230, foll.

¹⁸ Herodot. ix. 26; Pausan. viii. 45.

¹⁹ Strabo, xiii. p. 600; Diog. Laert. in Pittac. i. p. 50, ed. Hübner; Herodot. v. 95.

²⁰ Herodot. i. 82; Pausan. ii. 38, ed. Didot.

²¹ Plutarch, *Parallel. Græc. et Roman.* iii. p. 380; Stobæus ap. Schömann, l. c. p. 369.

²² Livy, i. 24.

²³ Livy, vii. 9. foll.

²⁴ Livy, vii. 26. foll.

words :—"perge, et nomen Romanum invictum, juvantibus diis, præsta ;" and finally, in the consequence of the fight, namely, the hasty retreat of the Gauls on the night after the fall of their champion. As to the battle of M. Valerius, it is represented by Livy as having been completely under the sanction of the gods.²⁵ The raven, which assists the Roman, is in this case not without importance.

Of the particular usages of the Greeks and Romans at such duels, nothing is stated, except what is mentioned by Homer respecting the necessary preparations for the combat :²⁶

Ἐκτωρ δὲ Πριάμοιο πάϊς καὶ διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς
 χώρον μὲν πρῶτον διεμέτρεον, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
 κλήρους ἐν κυνέῃ χαλκῆρεϊ πᾶλλον ἐλόντες,
 ὀπότερος δὴ πρόσθεν ἀφείη χάλκεον ἔγχος.

Hector and Odysseus act here somewhat in the same manner as the northern shield-bearers, (*Schildhalter*,) or the German *Greismantel*, who divided equally wind and sun, light and shadow, &c.

We find traces among the Greeks and Romans of something like the "judicium offæ," (*geweihter Bissen*,) mentioned by Grimm.²⁷ It is well known that bullocks' blood was in ancient times considered poisonous.²⁸ When the Egyptian king Psammenitus, after being conquered by Cambyses, had been detected in exciting his countrymen to rebellion against their new master, he is said to have drunk bullocks' blood, which instantly killed him.²⁹ Now Pausanias, in mentioning a temple Γαῖον in Achaia, says :³⁰ Γῆς δὲ ἱερόν ἐστι τὸ Γαῖον ἐπὶ κλησὶν Εὐρουστέρνου · ἔσανον δὲ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὁμοίως ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον. γυνὴ δ' ἢ αἰετὴν ἱερωσόνην λαμβάνουσα ἀγιστεύει μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ πρότερά ἐστι πλέον ἢ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς εἰς πείραν ἀφιγμένη · πίνουσαι δὲ αἶμα ταύρου δοκιμαζόνται · ἢ δ' ἂν αὐτῶν τύχη μὴ ἀληθεύουσα, αὐτίκα ἐκ τούτου τὴν δίκην ἔχει. The drinking of bulls' blood was thus a test of moral purity, as Becker has justly remarked.

²⁵ We refer chiefly to the words :—"minus insigne certamen humanum numine interposito deorum factum ;" further :—"Camillus lætum militem victoria tribuni, lætum tam presentibus ac secundis diis ire in prælium jubet ;" lastly :—"dii hominesque illi affuere pugnae."

²⁶ *Iliad*, III. 314. foll.

²⁷ P. 931.

²⁸ Aristoph. *Equit.* 83 ; Plutarch, *Themist.* c. 31 ; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* XI. 90, and XXVIII. 41 ; Compare Niebuhr's *Vorträge über alte Geschichte*, vol. I. p. 434.

²⁹ Herodot. III. 15.

³⁰ VII. c. 25.

Regarding the “*eagle stone*,” (ἀετίτης,) we can only repeat what Grimm brings forward, since Dioscorides³¹ is not at our command, and neither Pauly’s, nor Ersch and Gruber’s *Encyclopædie* furnishes any information on the subject. Whether, however, in the fact stated by Grimm, that this stone, baked up in food, was sometimes given to one suspected of a theft, we find the proof of a wide spread or ancient belief among the Greeks, the evidence adduced is insufficient to enable us to decide. The Scholium of Acron on Horace’s *Epist.* i. 10, 9, viz. “cum in servis suspicio furti habetur, ducunt ad sacerdotem, qui crustum panis carmine infectum dat singulis, quod cum ederint, manifestum furti reum asserit,” is very indefinite. The words of the poet, however, on which the Scholium is founded, are not at all to be explained in this manner. These words are :

Utque sacerdotis fugitivus liba recuso ;
 Pane ego jam mellitis potiore placentis.

The commentators justly remark, that “fugitivus” has not here the general meaning of “servus,” or “servus nequam,” and most of them, such as Schmid, Orelli, Dillenburger, understand the passage correctly.

Another instance of similarity between the customs of the ancient Germans and those of the Greeks and Romans, is to be found in the traces of ordeal by fire. Herodotus has an anecdote regarding the early Scythians which illustrates this point, and which, though it does not relate either to Greece or Rome, we think may not improperly be introduced here. In relating a current tradition regarding the origin of that nation, he mentions three brothers, and tells³² that ἐπὶ τούτων ἀρχόντων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερόμενα χρύσεα ποιήματα, ἄροτρον τε καὶ ζυγὸν καὶ σάγαριν καὶ φιάλην, πεσέειν ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν καὶ τῶν ἰδόντα πρῶτον τὸν πρεσβυτάτην ἄσπον ἵεναι, βουλόμενον αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ἐπιόντος καίεσθαι· ἀπαλλαχθέντος δὲ τούτου προσιέναι τὸν δεύτερον, καὶ τὸν αὐτίς ταῦτά ποιέειν· τοὺς μὲν δὴ καίόμενον τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπώσασθαι, τρίτῳ δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ ἐπελθόντι κατασβῆναι, καὶ μὴν ἐκείνον κομίσαι ἐς ἑωυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀδελφεοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα συγγρόντας τὴν βασιλῆην πᾶσαν παραδοῦναι τῷ νεωτάτῳ. Is this not an ordeal? Guilt or innocence, indeed, is not to be proved ; but the fact that the golden articles which have fallen from heaven, glow, when the

³¹ περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς, 5, 161. Comp. Henr. Stephan. *Thesaur.*

³² IV. 5.

elder brothers touch them, but are quite cold, when the youngest seizes them, indicates that the youngest is, by the will of the gods, appointed to the kingly dignity.

There is a well known passage in the *Antigone* of Sophocles,³³ in which the sentinel appointed to prevent the interment of the body of Polynices asserts his innocence, when the body has disappeared, and says,—

ἦμεν δ' ἑτοιμοὶ καὶ μύδρους αἶρειν χερσὶν
καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν καὶ θεοὺς ὀρκωμοτεῖν
τὸ μήτε δρᾶσαι μήτε τῷ ξυνειδέναι
τὸ πρᾶγμα βουλευσάντι μήτ' εἰργασμένῳ.

These words point so plainly to the sentinel's offering to prove his innocence by holding red-hot iron, and walking through fire, calling on the gods (θεοὺς ὀρκωμοτεῖν,) that any other explanation, such as making the sentinel allude to torture, or offer generally to endure the severest pain, appears to us incorrect. The Scholiast remarks on this passage εἰώθασι δὲ αἱ ὁμνούντες καὶ πίστει διδόντες μύδρους βαστάζειν καὶ πῦρ ὑπερβαίνειν . τοὺς γὰρ μή ἐνόχους τῷ ἁμαρτήματι ὄντο καὶ ἐν τούτοις μὴ ἀλγεῖν.³⁴ Grimm brings forward from the late Byzantine period another

³³ 264. foll.

³⁴ Hermann, in his *Lehrbuch der gottesdienstlichen Alterthümer der Griechen*, § 23, 10, acknowledges the allusion in Sophocles to ordeal by fire. Erfurdt, in his Note on the passage, refers to the Commentators on Horace, *Epod.* xvi. 17, foll. There the poet says,—

Phocæorum

Velut profugit execrata civitas
Agros atque Lares proprios habitandaque fana
Apris reliquit et rapacibus lupis, &c.

The story here alluded to is to be found in Herodot. i. 165. The Phocæans having resolved to emigrate from their homes, uttered dreadful curses against all who should remain, and threw masses of iron into the sea, swearing that they would not return to their fatherland before that iron should again come to the light of day. Thus Horace uses it

in verse 25, foll. There is no similarity between this story and the passage in Sophocles, and we do not see why Erfurdt referred to it. We find in it a symbolical action, but no ordeal. The *μύδρος σιδηρεὺς* serves there a different purpose, and is not red-hot. In Plutarch's *Aristides*, c. 25, we find only a confirmation of an oath, as is justly remarked by a scholiast on the passage in Sophocles. In the *Æneid*, xi. 784, foll. Aruns prays,—

Summe deum, sancti custos Soractis
Apollo,
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor
acervo
Pascitur, et medium freti pietate per
ignem
Cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna,
etc.

The whole extract proves that this is no ordeal. The worshippers of the god walk, trusting in his protection, over

instance of trial by the *μύδρος*. Heliodorus's story³⁵ of an altar, by which youthful chastity was proved, inasmuch as, if unchaste persons approached it, flames burst forth, is justly classed by Becker among the ordeals.³⁶ It proves, however, nothing for Greece.

Lastly, we find among the Greeks traces of the ordeal by water. The best known instance of this kind is that of the "lacus," "*κρήνη*," or two "*κρατήρες*" of Sicily, which had the name of "*Παλικοί*." We obtain little information from Strabo³⁷ regarding these, somewhat more from Diodorus,³⁸ who mentions the ancient sanctity of the temple of the Palici, and speaks of the water bursting forth "*ἐξ ἀμυθήτου βυθοῦ*" with great force, and to a great height. Macrobius too (*Saturn.* v. 19.) says something on the subject. Diodorus says: *τοιαύτης δὲ θεοπρεπείας οὔσης περὶ τὸ τέμενος, οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν ὄρκων ἐνταῦθα συντελοῦνται, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιπορήσασιν σύντομος ἡ τοῦ δαίμονιός κόλασις ἀκολουθεῖ· τινὲς γὰρ τῆς ὁρασέως στερηθέντες τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τεμένους ἄφοδον ποιοῦνται.*³⁹ This is certainly brief enough. The following is equally unsatisfactory: *μεγάλης δὲ οὔσης δεισιδαιμονίας, οἱ τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις ἔχοντες, ὅταν ὑπὸ τινος ὑπεροχῆς κατισχύωνται, τῇ διὰ τῶν ὄρκων τούτων ἀναίρεσει κρίνονται.* Thus we see that the decision of disputes also was referred to the Palici, when any one, being opposed to a wealthy or influential person, expected neither aid nor justice from any earthly tribunal. Macrobius relates: *cum furti negati vel ejuscemodi rei fides quæritur, et jusjurandum a suspecto petitur, uterque ab omni contagione*

glowing coals. This appears to have been a mere piece of priestcraft. Becker has justly observed that Brunck ought not to have compared the *θαιμαστή ἱεροτομία* of the Hirpi with the words of Sophocles.

³⁵ *Æthiop.* x. c. 3.

³⁶ Ordeals for virgin purity are known to have existed among many nations. Grimm mentions several. Becker mentions, in addition, a grotto of Pan near Ephesus, (*Achill. Tat.* viii. 6,) and a dragon's den near Lanuvium, (*Aelian Hist. Animal.* xi. 6,) where similar ordeals were employed. *Vide* Böttiger's "*Kleine Schriften*," edited by Jul. Silig, i. 5, pp. 178-182; *Comp.* p. 129.

³⁷ vi. p. 275.

³⁸ xi. 89.

³⁹ Solinus, in his description of the curiosities of Sardinia, mentions springs possessed of salutary properties in cases of disease of the eye, and adds, *Sed qui (fontes) oculis medentur, et coarguendis valent furibus. Nam quisquis sacramento raptum negat, lumina aquis attrahat. Ubi perjurium non est, cernit clarius; si perfidia abnuat, detegitur facinus caecitate, et captus oculis admissum tenebris fatetur.* With this may be compared the description of the *ἵδωρ ὄρειον* near Tyana, given by Philostratus, *vit. Apollon.* i. 6, *comp.* *Amnian. Marcellin.* xxiii. 6, and that of the *φοῖα* *ἐλίγχου* in Philostratus, l. c. iii. c. 14.

mundi ad crateras accedunt, accepto prius fidejussore a persona, quae juratura est, de solvendo eo, quod peteretur, si addixisset eventus: illic invocato loci numine testatum faciebat esse jurator, de quo juraret. *Quod si fideliter faceret, discedebat illaesus, si vero subesset mala conscientia, mox in lacu amittebat vitam falsus jurator.* We are informed by Polemo, περι τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ θαυμαζομένων ποταμῶν, cited by Macrobius, that the "jurator" stepped to the "κρατήρ," θαλλὸν κραδαίνων, ἔστεμμένος, ἄζωστος, καὶ μονοχίτων. Finally, we may compare Stephanus Byzantius under Παλική: ἔστι δὲ καὶ κρήνη τις ἐν Παλικοῖς τῆς Σικελίας δεκάκλιμος· αὕτη δὲ ἀναρρίπτει ὕδωρ εἰς ὕψος ἕξ πήχεις, ὥστε ὑπὸ τῶν θεωρούντων νομίζεσθαι κατακλυσθήσεσθαι τὸ πᾶν, καὶ πάλιν εἰς ἑαυτὸ καθίσταται· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὄρκος ἅγιος αὐτόθι· ὅσα γὰρ ὁμνύει τις, εἰς πινάκιον γράψας, βάλλει αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐὰν μὲν οὖν εὐόρκῃ, ἐπιπολάζει, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εὐόρκῃ, τὸ μὲν πινάκιον ἀφανίζεται, αὐτὸς δὲ πίνεσθαι.

The Στυγὸς ὕδωρ near Nonacris in Arcadia was another ὕδωρ ὄρκιον.⁴⁰ It was ice cold, and so powerful a solvent, that nothing but the hoof of a horse or an ass could resist its influence. Its effect was considered fatal.⁴¹ That it was a ὕδωρ ὄρκιον is clear from Herodotus, vi. 74. Probably the confirmation of an oath was obtained in this way,—that the person who had sworn was made to drink of the water, which operated fatally if he had perjured himself, but had no injurious effects upon him if he had sworn truly.

Achilles Tatius⁴² mentions this tradition, but places the well in a different locality. He considers the well also as an ordeal of virginity. He says: ὅταν τις αἰτίαν ἔχῃ ἀφροδισίων, εἰς τὴν πηγὴν εἰσβᾶσα ἀπολούεται· ἢ δ' ἐστὶν ὀλίγη καὶ μέχρι κνήμης μέσης· ἢ δὲ κρίσις· ἐγγράψας τὸν ὄρκον γραμματεῖω μηρίνθω δεδέμενον περιεθήκατο τῇ δέρῃ· καὶ μὲν ἀψευδῇ τὸν ὄρκον, μένει κατὰ χώραν ἢ πηγῇ· ἂν δὲ ψεύδεται, τὸ ὕδωρ ὀρίγεται καὶ ἀναβαίνει μέχρι τῆς δέρης καὶ τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐκάλυψεν. A fountain sacred to Artemis, of similar power is mentioned by Eustathius.⁴³

Although, from what we have here collected, we cannot as-

⁴⁰ Pausan. viii. c. 17, 18; Strabo viii. p. 389; Plin. Nat. Hist. ii. 106, xxxi. 19.

⁴¹ Pausan. xiii. 18. Comp. Niebuhr's Vorträge, l. c. i. p. 435.

⁴² viii. 12.

⁴³ De Ismeniacis et Ismenes Amor. xi. pp. 494, 512, 518. ed. Teucher.

sert that ordeals were as common among the Greeks and Romans, and as deeply rooted in their feelings, or as much a kind of judicial usage as, according to Grimm, they were among the Germans and in India, yet we think we have shewn that it would be very rash to say that the idea was entirely foreign to them.

K. H. FUNKHÄNEL.

XXVII.

HOMER, HIS ART AND HIS AGE.

THE highest productions of genius, as they are in themselves objects of the greatest interest, and sources of the best enjoyment, so they form the great centres and turning points of historical disquisition. Mighty causes, whatever their class, they exert a predominant influence on contemporary and succeeding generations, and the scrutiny of their relation to anterior times, engages the student by every motive of instruction and curiosity.

In the most perfect works of genius, history culminates, but when the most perfect are at the same time, by the accidents of ages, the earliest preserved, the difficulty and interest of the inquiry are enhanced together, and the elucidation of their origin taxes all the resources of the most refined analysis.

Such, and so situated in history, are the Homeric Epics; monuments of human progress, at a stage where progress was most momentous, and its conditions most obscure, they are at once the earliest and most perfect poetic compositions bequeathed to us by antiquity. It is not too much to say, that the people capable of producing and appreciating such works was, by the genial originality and capacity of education so evinced, equal to any career, to the achievement of any step in civilization, since made by the race. At the date of these poems, in one section of the species, all the preliminary work for the discipline of the independent and adult intellect of man had been successfully gone through, and the fortunes of progressive humanity were finally assured. Here, then, lies the great problem

of the history of Greece; the Homeric poems and their conditions assumed, no difficulty of consequence remains in accounting for all forms and stages of Greek development, and its consequence,—the abiding manifestation of the civilized elements of society as distinguished from, and dominating, the merely barbarian. The Greek historian, therefore, is bound not to assume, but to apply himself to the task of accounting for, these crowning productions of imaginative and intellectual activity and moral experience.

This is not the work of one man, nor of one generation; directly and indirectly it has been advanced by a vast application of industry and sagacity, but opinion approaches unanimity but tardily, and students who have rendered best service at one point, have frequently done damage by discrediting the acquisitions of competitors at others; for the rest, as the discussion is now left, there is perhaps more excuse for recurring to it than there would be had either more or less been settled.

Isolated as the poems stand in time, with a chasm between them and the utmost verge of history, and dark chaos beyond, our first chance of obtaining some glimpse of the form and nature of the materials of the poet, and thus the antecedent stages by which he and his audience had been advanced so far, is the examination and comparison of various parts of the poems themselves, which, from variety of subject and extensive plan, may well lead us to hope for decisive indications. And few critics have denied that such are not entirely wanting,—that, notwithstanding the power of poetical genius in using and metamorphosing its adopted materials, vestiges of an earlier creation and fragments of anterior formations remain detectable by contrast of character, or incongruousness of structure, from whatever cause admitted by the poet, whether in carelessness, indifference, or by design.

These incongruities, however, thus assumed as instructive, are, it must be said, open to another construction; they may be interpreted, and have been, not as relics of an earlier, but intrusions of a later age, confounded with spurious interpolations or completions of another hand. To such liabilities all ancient literature is exposed, and the most ancient can scarcely claim exemption; the two classes must, therefore, be characterised, and their limits ascertained. This is no easy task in itself; and in a short time the extension of the charge of spuriousness

seriously compromises the individuality of the authorship of the poems, and this given up, their historical relations are shifted at once. Thus is opened the vexed question of Homeric unity. Are the two poems the work of the same author? Is each poem the work of a single author, or of more than one, and if of more than one, by what plan of co-operation, or at what intervals of succession?

Vexed as these questions have been, they can no more be avoided here; my special purpose will explain the necessity of abbreviation, but something must be attempted to establish a few defensible positions as a base of farther operation. As regards the general discussion, nothing less is in question than to decide whether the Homeric Epics are in reality works of art or haps of accident; do they indeed represent an epoch, or are they the common heritage of undefined ages?

There is nothing in questions as to the mode of preservation of the poems from the earliest assigned age, it may now be said to be admitted, that is inconsistent with individual authorship; they may have been preserved in writing from the first, for anything that can be shewn to the contrary; and, for anything that can be shewn to the contrary, it is quite within the limits of possibility, that they were composed in the first instance, and preserved, and transmitted for centuries, quite independently of the art. The historical authorities, again, once much relied on in evidence for the earliest form of the poems, may be said now to be quite discredited, and by common agreement set aside.

The multifarious hypotheses of mixed authorship range under one or other of two leading types. According to the first, the epics were constructed at a late period,—even it may be as late as Peisistratus,—out of a number of earlier disconnected lays; according to the second, an early poet gave the outline and plan of the poems in short compositions, which were afterwards enlarged by a succession of poets till they reached their present dimensions.

The objection to the first view is, that the uniformity of poetic style throughout the poems is marked to such a degree, and the relevance of the parts to a general scheme is so decided, that it is inconceivable how poets of such equal merit composing without concert and at distant intervals, should furnish materials capable of being put together coherently—of

of being brought, by simple arrangement, into consistent harmony with the very restricted section of the Trojan war actually presented. The rival view has equal difficulties. No supposition of mere enlargement by addition and interpolation, will account for the phenomenon. The proportions of the poems have the completeness and symmetry that result from vital growth; the removal of the sections that appear most separable, will be found at once to destroy the balance of parts among what remains, and it is precisely in those portions of which the preservation is indispensable, that we find a scale of treatment, and standard of mass and movement, only compatible with a general scheme of the most magnificent extent.

Neither of the parties who hold these conflicting views in various forms, is bold enough to deny the ever unrivalled perfection of the Epics as they exist; and admitting this, they are alike open to the objection, that in all their speculations they ignore or exclude the one indispensable condition of such perfection in all works of art of most enduring popularity, the predominant and pervading impress of individual and incommunicable genius. To assign the two poems to two authors, is an elucidation that more than doubles all the difficulties; and what then shall we say to the explanation, that the parts of each were written by several poets, every one of whom, from his production, must have been capable of writing the whole, and that the combination of these parts, the very architectonic function of the epos, was the work of several others? Greece itself, with all its feracity of genius, could scarcely have supplied the wondrous troop; certainly the varied series of her poetical history furnishes no parallel to their supposed performance. The more extensive, perfect, and uniform in plan and finish a work of art, the stronger is the presumption against plural authorship, even by contemporaries; and in none of these respects can the best authentic instances of mixed productions be brought for a moment into comparison with the Homeric Epics.

This leading point—the moral necessity of assuming, not merely a principal, but a pervading and predominant agency of individual genius—must be kept steadily in view in estimating the significance of the discrepancies and incoherencies on which the hypotheses of the *Chorizontes* are now mainly based. Abrupt transitions, false reckonings of time, conflicting mythologies, inequalities of style and differences of tone and manner, have

been diligently collected, and it must be admitted, in numerous instances established. No ingenuity, for example, can synchronise the movements of Ulysses and Telemachus in the *Odyssey*. Aphrodite is the wife of Hephaistos in one Epic, and Charis in the other; Sarpedon, desperately wounded in one conflict, reappears at no long interval whole and active, and no account is rendered of his recovery, and so forth. A large crop of such inconsistencies is, however, perfectly compatible with single authorship. How many pearls of price to the finders are at once valueless, when the clear rule is recognised, that the best poets will, and do, and are allowed to treat as unimportant, discrepancies of any kind that do not interfere with poetical effect; therefore all those which, masked by the interest of associated beauty to the imaginative reader, are only revealed to the cold critic; and still farther, even those which it is impossible for any one to overlook, but that are conditions of beauties that more than compensate for the discord,—a class that cannot but be numerous in all poems of mythological and supernatural machinery.

Then we must allow for the poet's own lapses and inequalities, for his negligencies especially, and this is most important, in the adaptation of earlier poetical materials; in long works we may even be called on to take into consideration the changes dependent on his advancing age; and lastly, there is the possibility that every part of his work may not have received his last touches and retouches, that his latest modifications and views of improvement, perhaps of considerable range, may have been left half accomplished.

But a large proportion of the inconsistencies and false concatenations so boldly brought in charge against the integrity of Homeric authorship, may be challenged still more peremptorily, by impugning their veritable existence. Even numerous technical objections of no slight authority, have turned out on examination ludicrously unfounded. What errors then may not be expected when a rash critic assumes the all but irresponsible censorship of the æsthetic!

Poetic coherence does not submit itself readily to analytical examination; and in a poem this is the principle of coherence that is paramount to all others, to which all others will be made occasionally to give way. Let us remember how æsthetic criticism is still exercised on such problems as the poetical

dependence of incidents and characters in many of Shakspeare's most finished dramas ; through what difficulties, but at last how certainly where it has succeeded, it has conducted to the point from which the instinctive sympathies of the uncritical set out. Those who please, may disallow the poetical effect in question either in Homer or Shakspeare ; but the case founded on the objection for complexity of authorship, is no whit stronger in one case than the other. With as good reason as Mr. Grote and Mr. Lachmann dissect away their segments of the *Iliad*, half the characters and half the incidents of any one of Shakspeare's best plays might be sacrificed, and the tale go on all the more fluently as a matter of business-like despatch, and with no farther damage than the entire loss of poetical force and beauty, as theatrical representations too perseveringly testify.

Thus the most serious imputation on the genuineness of a section of the poem, is not the most glaring technical incongruousness, but a slur on its poetical title to its position ; in the first place, as unworthy in execution, and then as not only independent of its context, but positively detrimental. To bring forward objections of this class on a large scale, is to controvert the applauding echoes of admiring ages—perhaps on that account is more praiseworthy in those who entertain them ; their mistake, however, I believe to be in all the more important cases decided and demonstrable, and that the incongruity challenged exists ordinarily no where but in the misapprehension of the critic. This I would confidently undertake to make good on the body of an imputation lately elaborately stated against the proper genuineness of a large consecutive portion of the *Iliad*, and the distinguished merits of the history in which it is put forth, forbid me to pass it over entirely here, though it must be touched but briefly.

Mr. Grote is satisfied that in an original Achilleis, the eighth and eleventh book of the *Iliad* as we possess it, followed in immediate succession to the first ; the intermediate books, together with the twenty-third and twenty-fourth, being additions by other poets of the same age ; the ninth book is “an unworthy addition,” and the tenth is treated as harshly. This is merciless mutilation, and as rashly justified by passages cited as inconsistent ; among these is the commencement of the fourth book,—yet here how read we ?

When the issue of the combat of Menelaus and Paris seems

about to frustrate the engagement of Zeus to Thetis, by concluding the war, the god provokes a discussion in Olympus on the course matters are taking, the result of which is, that the truce is violated by the instrumentality of the goddesses who favour the Greeks, the action proceeds, and the promise to Thetis, involving Greek disaster, is again open to fulfilment. Besides compassing this end, the deep-counselled son of Kronos, by affecting (παραβλήδην ἀγορεύων, v. 6,) indifference in the first instance, and then unwilling consent, assumes the merit of a concession, and exacts a concession in return from the passion-blinded Here, of great historical significance. The poet, however, could scarcely have expected his commentators to fall into the trap as unsuspectingly, yet it is thus that Mr. Grote interprets the scene, in all good faith and candour, and after attentive comparison:—

“We find Zeus completely putting Achilles out of the question at the beginning of the fourth book. He is here the Zeus of the *Iliad*, not of the *Achilleis*. Forgetful of his promise to Thetis, in the first book, he discusses nothing but the question of continuance or termination of the war, and manifests anxiety only for the salvation of Troy, in opposition to the Miso-Trojan goddesses, who prevent him from giving effect to the victory of Menelaus over Paris, and the stipulated restitution of Helen; in which case, of course, the wrong offered to Achilles would remain unexpiated.”—Vol. II. p. 252.

This is criticism of which I do not care to affect to dissemble my opinion, at the risk of a charge of complicity, and there is too much more on the same side, as open to question. At present, however, I turn to another instance elsewhere, of rashly assumed disconnection and discrepancy, as more within compass, and leading more directly to the points I desire to elucidate of the Art and the Age of Homer. I shall be happy if, in pursuing this, I can, in one capital instance, counteract the rage of dismemberment, whether I succeed or not in inducing future critics to temper their proper enthusiasm with reverence for the poet, and at least—to

“Carve him as a dish fit for the gods,
Not hew him as a carcase for the hounds.”

I allude to the eighth book of the *Odyssey*, and the lively song in which Demodocus, bard of the Phæacians, relates the intrigues of Ares and Aphrodite, and the rage and revenge of the

injured Hephaistos ; the light legend has been denounced as a scandal by Pagan and Christian, modern and ancient, and the scandal is scarcely lessened by the proofs that have been adduced for that purpose, that the incident in its origin had a mystic significance. To whatever extent this may have been the case, and there is certainly strong presumption in favour of an allegorical sense attached to the union of the great principles of nature and the net of the demiurgic fire-god, it is sufficiently clear that the mystic moral, if known to the poet, was chiefly valued as heightening the point and piquancy of the love story ; and we shall better defend him by supposing the mysticism had long ceased to be impressive, and had thus become fair booty as material for the amusing.

But leaving apart the moral justification of the poet, let us consider how far we can establish an æsthetic. Is the tone and subject of the song appropriate to its occasion, and has its drift or purport such connection with the progress of the story as to vindicate its genuineness from the imputations to which it has been exposed,—not from any inferiority of execution, which all admit to be worthy of the genius of Homer, but from the supposed lack of such appropriateness, and the occurrence in it of certain ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, that are marked as suspicious. “It is clear,” says Müller,¹ “that the plan of the *Odyssey*, like that of the *Iliad*, offers many opportunities for extension by means of interpolating new passages, and many irregularities in the course of narration, and a prolixity that is here and there observable, may be accounted for in this way. The latter, for instance, is apparent in the amusements offered to Ulysses during his stay with the Phæacians, and even many ancients doubted the genuineness of the account of the dance of the Phæacians, and the song of Demodocus on the loves of Ares and Aphrodite. So Ulysses’ account of his adventures contains numerous interpolations,” &c.

The strongest statement of these imputations will be found in the annotations of Nitzsch, who considers the passage a compound interpolation ; an addition to an addition to the original *Odyssey*. Welcker,² on the other hand, furnishes a defence, which, as far as it goes, appears to me unimpeach-

¹ *History of Græc. Lit.* cap. v. p. 103.

² Die Homerischen Phäaken und die Inseln der Seligen, *Rhein. Museum*, f.

Philol. 1832 ; and *Kleine Schriften*, p. 1, vol. II. 1845. Bonn.

able; the wanton love story, he says, comes in to heighten the liveliness of the Phæacian festivity; it harmonizes with the devotion of the race to the luxuries of feasting, dress, and baths, to dancing, games, and ball-play and song. This explanation is not only found in the *Scholia*, but is still better expressed by Plutarch, (*De audiendis poetis*,) who recognizes in the frivolity of what we may call the literature of the Phæacians, the reflection of their general character.

Furthermore, observes Welcker, Demodocus, who is represented as singing three times in the same day, could scarcely be cut off from one example of his art at length, without an appearance of a striving for abbreviation quite at variance with the spirit of the epos. His other songs referring to the Trojan war had little national colour; this is admirably supplied by the inimitable masterpiece which takes such liberties with the gods for the amusement of the Phæacians, who boasted indeed their familiar intercourse with the divinities.

As far as this explanation goes, it appears plausible, and would even be satisfactory, were it not that sacrificing the character of Demodocus, it compromises the dignity of a bard with whom Homer himself appears to have exhibited a touching sympathy, if he did not, as has been supposed, endow him with some of his proper circumstances and characteristics. The character and office of the bard are especially magnified in the *Odyssey*; in the instances of Phemius, of the earlier adviser of Clytemnestra, in other allusions, as to the renown in song of the truth of Penelope, but above all, in the art and honours of Demodocus.

From the delicacy with which his character is touched, I cannot bring myself to regard his song as the simple exponent of the vitiated taste of an idle race, if not a corrupt one; I should hesitate to do so, were there no traces, as I believe there are, of as subtle a significance of the mythical subject he so marvellously embellishes, as ever was conveyed by Pindar in his happiest combinations of personal circumstances and legendary associations.

The eighth book of the *Odyssey* is occupied with the feast given by Alcinous to the Phæacians in honour of his majestic guest, whose name and country are still unknown, but whose infallible convoy home to his native land, wherever it may be, is already assured to him. By direction of the king, a herald

is despatched for the bard Demodocus, whose song is alluded to as the chief grace of the entertainment, and is described as the effect of spontaneous impulse, or the direct suggestion of the muse. He is present at the feast, a guest, on equal terms with the princes, and received and placed with honours and attentions that are particularly described, and especial prominence is given to his figure throughout the book; he is kept constantly before us, and is brought into distinct relation to Ulysses, first, by the affecting reminiscences of his song, describing the dispute of Ulysses and Achilles; and, lastly, by the lay of the Trojan horse, which, sung at the request of the hero himself, leads to the discovery of his name, and introduces the narrative of his adventures. The intermediate lay—the divine comedy of the revenge of Hephaistos—we shall find has an equally direct reference to Ulysses, and merits the return of the compliment the bard receives from him.

The ideal character of the bard is not a little heightened by his blindness, and also by the circumstance that he is never introduced as conversing; compliments and attentions he alike receives in silence, he is “gratified in mind,” but his feelings and impressions find vent and expression exclusively in song.

Alcinous observes that Ulysses is affected by the first Trojan lay, and with delicate feeling, relieves him unnoticed, by proposing the commencement of the games, that their guest returning home may report to his friends “how far we excel others in boxing, wrestling, leaping, and the race.”³ Contests of feats of agility and strength ensue between the Phæacian youth, until Laodamas, son of the king, proposes to Ulysses to take part in the exercises. On the hero declining on the ground of his misfortunes and position as suppliant, Euryalus, one of the victors in the contests, who had encouraged Laodamas, turns the invitation still more distinctly into a challenge, and slightly reflects on his labours in voyaging as encountered for sordid objects, the casualties of mercantile greed, not of heroic adventure, (vv. 158–164.)

Ulysses is roused, and replies in spirited and most remarkable terms; he repels the insinuation as presumptuous and insolent. The gifts of the gods in fine growth, intellect, utterance, are variously distributed. The most deficient in personal

³ *Odys.* VIII. 103.

advantages has divine grace in his words, and enjoys popular admiration and influence (compare with this passage a parallel description in Hesiod.) Another, who is like the gods in appearance, has none of the graces of speech. These observations, while they most immediately reflect on the incongruity between the unbecoming language of Euryalus and his faultless form, must be understood as at the same time a claim on the part of Ulysses to the excellence he denies to his attacker. They anticipate the later protests, not unmixed with jealousy, of philosopher and tragedian, against the inordinate estimation of the glory of the victorious athlete. Beyond this how profoundly Hellenic in the contrast of mental and bodily perfections, are the assumptions, that personal beauty implies athletic capability, and that mental superiority is accompanied of course with power of utterance and persuasion! Thus, thou, he pursues, art in person distinguished, a god could form no otherwise, but in mind thou art vain and empty. He then vindicates himself from the imputation of unfamiliarity with manly exercises—though had it been just he might have excelled equally in another way—hurls an enormous discus far beyond the farthest cast of the Phæacians, and then proudly challenges the Phæacians generally, who had cowered at the rushing rock, to contend with him in other exercises, excepting only Laodamas, eldest son of the king, on the grounds of the relation between guest and host, by insisting on which he seems to reflect on the breach of the duties of that relation, committed in the rudeness of Euryalus. He is only reluctant to contend in speed, from the condition of his limbs, out of practice and cramped by long continuance on ship-board.

Silence ensues; Alcinous alone tenders an acknowledgment of his powers, and an implied apology for the uncourteousness he had been subjected to, assuring him of the esteem of the reflecting and judicious. At the same time, with a view to re-instate his people in the esteem of the stranger, by exciting his admiration of their performances, he directs them to dance to the lyre of Demodocus, that their guest may celebrate hereafter and elsewhere the qualifications they excelled in—not as he had before enumerated them, beginning with boxing and wrestling, but distinctly excepting these,⁴ the very exercises in

⁴ ὅσων περιγυγνόμεθ' ἄλλων
 πύξ τε παλαιμοσύνη τε καὶ ἄλμασιν ἥδη
 πείθεσιν.—v. 102.

Compared with—οὐ γὰρ πυγμάχοι εἰμὶν
 ἀμύμονες οὐδὲ παλαιοσται.—v. 246.

which the offending Euryalus and Laodamas had conquered,⁵ he claims for them swiftness of foot, precisely the power in which Ulysses had admitted his deficiency, and therefore likely to make an impression on him, and the excellence of their ships—an excellence which, from its nature, did not imply those hardy habits that belonged to Greek navigation generally; besides this, he rests their glory on their attachment to the feast, the lyre, choruses, fresh apparel, and warm baths and couches. Such are the perfections, by dwelling on which, Alcinous reinstates his self-complacency somewhat dashed by the superiority of his undervalued guest in athletic force—perfections which justify the character assigned by Horace to his people, the ideal of a careless community.

——— Alcinoïque

In cute curandâ plus æquo operata juvenus,
Cui pulchrum fuit in medias dormire dies, et
Ad strepitum citharæ cessatum ducere curam.

The dance to the song is followed by another combined with ball-play, again at the instance of Alcinous, who is now gratified by the approval of his guest, expressed with brevity and force, as if prompted by admiration of an impressive spectacle. The response is immediate in the mind of the sincere and simple-minded king; he evinces his satisfaction by immediately proposing a present from each of the twelve princes, as well as himself, to their guest, who exhibited so much good sense; and true to the gentlemanly feeling that pervades his character, he enjoins Euryalus to add to his present a verbal apology for the impoliteness he had been betrayed into.

This is the scene of which Demodocus was witness, and it was between the offence of Euryalus and his apology; it was immediately after the indignant retort and challenge of Ulysses, and the diversion of Alcinous, that he chose, as an accompaniment to the dance, the lay of Ares and Hephaistos, with what significance we may after this preparation have little difficulty in discerning.

The tone of the lay harmonizes no doubt with the luxurious character Alcinous has just claimed for his Phæacians, and with the featy sports to which he is now content to restrict their claims to admiration; but there is more below, intended by the poet, and recognized by Ulysses, though not by his en-

tertainers, who are depicted with a *naïve* simplicity of soul that would verge on credulity, were it not that even the close-counselled Ulysses seems infected with their sincerity during his stay among them, and if he sometimes plays on their trustfulness amusingly, never does so to an extent to render them ridiculous.

Demodocus, in recounting the intrigue of Aphrodite and the soldier god, the capture of the pair in inextricable toils by the injured Hephaistos, the amusement of assembled Olympus, and the successful solicitude of Poseidon to put an end to the scandal, gives such a turn to the story, that it becomes in fact a mythical illustration of the incident that had just threatened to disturb the harmony of the revelling Phæacians and their guest. He points his moral and adorns his tale with the same contrast of mental and bodily powers, of personal beauty and moral graces, which give force and aptitude to the retort of Ulysses to Laodamas, "the most beautiful of the Phæacians,"⁶ and Euryalus "faultless in form, and likened to the immortals"—the flower of the people, whose glory it was to excel in exercises requiring agility of feet, in dancing and racing.

Piteously enough Hephaistos bewails the preference of his wife for Ares, handsome and sound of foot,—he himself is maimed and halting,—

"Alack! his parents more in fault than he;"—

but for once he has them at advantage, and her parent shall refund the dower he received for the shameless bride,—

"For fair his daughter, but her passions wild."

The significant contrast strikes the fancy of the beholding gods, "dispensers of all good," and thus it is repeated from one to another amidst unextinguishable laughter;

"Thriftless are evil deeds; the tardy catches the swift one,
So even now Hephaistos the tardy has captured Ares,—
Swiftest among the gods tho' he be, who inhabit Olympus,—
He the lame by his arts."

The light man-about-town tone assumed on the occasion by Apollo and Hermes, representatives of young Olympus, is contrasted with the concern of Poseidon for the compromised dignity of

⁶ *Odys.* viii. 115-118, and v. 177.

the sky, and the liberality of his offer to bail the offender, and the unhesitating reliance of Hephaistos on his pledged honour, are brighter traits of the social relations of the gods, which reflect not unworthily the dignified interposition and apology of Alcinous.

An exact application of the fable as a parallel is not to be thought of; neither is Odysseus the toil-cramped, but wise and experienced, precisely in the position of the artful, though halting Hephaistos, nor the active and handsome Euryalus, of Ares, the swift seducer, though Homer prepares for the application of the moral, by likening him to this particular god.⁷ Exact parallelism is tame, and contrary to the spirit of Greek poetry, as evinced both in the mythic enrichments of the odes of Pindar, and so remarkably in the similes of the epics, where the compared incident approaches and recedes from the prototype in every variety of degree and movement, and in some cases contrast seems to contribute as much as similitude to the general effect of illustration and definition. The real parallel aimed at is the ethic and moral; that of incidents, circumstances, and situations, is subordinate almost to indifference, and is held lightly in hand, or sometimes thrown off entirely, as the completion of the chief impression admits or dictates.

"Thus sung the bard, and Ulysses listening was gratified in his mind, and so also were the Phæacians, men ship-renowned." We are left to form our own estimate of the consciousness of the Phæacians from their general character, but that of Ulysses appears to be evidently intimated in the compliment he pays to Demodocus at the feast in the evening, by sending him a portion from his own dish, an acknowledgment of his sympathy, as well as of admiration for his genius, and to introduce a new story of Troy.

Relying on this elucidation, the lay of Ares and Aphrodite appears to me an integral portion of the eighth book of the *Odyssey*, indispensable to the elucidation of its progress, as it would itself lose its better effects if presented independently; and as good a justification, I doubt not, is to be found for other sections of the poem that have been condemned with equal positiveness. The peculiarities of language observed in the song may, as Welcker remarks, be antiquated forms quite as proba-

⁷ ἂν δὲ καὶ Εὐρύαλος, βραστολογῇ Ἰσος Ἀρηί.-VIII. 115.

bly as neoteric. They are judiciously employed indeed to distinguish the song within a song, the picture of a picture, and answer to the artifice by which Shakspeare places the declamation of his player in the same relative position with respect to Hamlet's that Hamlet bears to nature.

A few words may be allowed in hasty vindication of the eighth book at large, which equally lies under the imputation of intrusiveness. There is no reason, it has been said, why the narration of adventures should not have been introduced by the first instance of emotion betrayed by the hero at allusion to Troy, instead of being deferred to a second, and that provoked by himself, and after the interposition of the supposed irrelevant games and song. But let it be observed how the relative position of Ulysses and his host alters after these subsidiary incidents: previously the misfortunes of the suppliant had formed rather a humiliating contrast to the wealthy prosperity of the self-complacent king and people; but these incidents not only become an occasion for presents in profusion, which are to send him home with more than his share of Trojan spoil, a result on which the poet is resolutely bent, but the opportunity for the actual exhibition of his heroic prowess, at once excites the awe and admiration of the Phæacians, and invests the stranger with such dignity, that his avowal of his name and recital of astounding adventures, are at once carried above the suspicions that would attach to the tale of an unaccredited vagrant.

The fallaciousness of assuming that inconsistent traditions are proof of spurious interpolation; that the most archaic forms have the best title to genuine Homeric origin; and that traditions and facts not alluded to by the poet are of later origin, or at least were unknown to him, becomes at once apparent when we consider either the laws of the poetic temperament, the circumstances of the genesis of other national epics, or simply collect the indications in the poems themselves of the varied forms of poetic composition, and the rich fund of lay and legend, the luxuriant growth of tradition and song, that are alluded to and assumed in them. Song accompanies the feast, the games, the dance, the festivities of marriage, and the vintage; song forms part of the celebration to propitiate the gods; the warrior celebrates his victory by a pæan, as he returns to the camp, or cheers his leisure in the tents by singing to the lyre the deeds of heroes. Song is an honoured profession; Phemius and De-

Demodocus heighten the pleasures of the revels of the princes of Ithaka and Phæacia, as Pindar with his fellow and rival bards at the hospitable board of Hiero. The acts of gods and heroes are the main subject of the verse, though the song of the Sirens intimates that the secrets of nature and quasi-philosophical lore, perhaps in the form preserved by the Hesiodic poems, had also a share of attention. The demand on the bard for constant novelty (*Odyss.* i. 351,) is a natural result of the frequency of the enjoyment which soon rendered a theme familiar: the allusions of Homer to the adventures of Herakles, of the Argo "an interest to all," as well as the evident assumption of the familiarity of his hearers with the general relations and adventures of his own immediate heroes, prove how absolutely the poet might count on the appreciation of his particular theme, and the most delicate of his mythical allusions. The songs of Phemius and Demodocus from the Trojan cycle, comprise single anecdotes, but assume that the great outline of the story, and even its more particular details, are known to all; the story is present in the memory of all, and may be taken up, as Ulysses calls on Demodocus to take it up, (ἐνθεν ἑλών, v. 500,) at any point selected.

From the apprehensive and sensitive taste of the people, their requirement of novelty no doubt extended to, and indeed was satisfied, by originality of treatment and combination, however hacknied might be the adventure forming the subject matter, as we find the Athenians of a later date ever craving for the stimulus of dramatic novelty, yet content to find it within the range of certain heroic cycles repeated and resorted to over and over again.

This state of things agrees with the antecedents of other national epics; it represents, indeed, the condition of preliminary exercise that leads on to the growth of a great conception in an individual mind, and in a community, generates at last the master mind who orders, adapts, combines the wilderness of poetical materials, and produces a work uniting comprehensive plan and freedom from offensive redundancy, with all the freshness of original invention.

That the *Iliad* and *Odysses* were the productions of such a master mind so working on previous materials, I entertain no doubt; not only have we traces of the previous form of his ma-

terials, but we may even penetrate some way to the secret of his wisdom in the particular re-arrangement he was led to adopt.

Iliad and *Odyssey* are one work, and mutually dependent: that the *Odyssey* presupposes the *Iliad* has been frequently observed: "It is certain," says Müller, "that the *Odyssey* in its entire plan, and also in the peculiarities of its leading characters, of Ulysses himself, Nestor and Menelaus, stands in very close relationship to the *Iliad*; that it always assumes the existence of the earlier poem, and tacitly connects itself with it; and this circumstance explains the remarkable fact that the *Odyssey* mentions many incidents from the life of Ulysses that lie without the limits of its action, but not one that had already been sung in the *Iliad*."—*Gesch. Gr. Lit.* i. p. 107.

The equally, nay, the far more important point, however, has been less distinctly insisted on, if at all, that the *Iliad* quite as decisively *post-supposes* the *Odyssey*, if such an expression is allowable; yet this will appear on slight examination.

Ulysses describes his entertainment at the court of Æolus, "who questioned me particularly about Ilion, the ships of the Achæians, and the return of the allies, and I gave to him of all a regular recital." We have here a triple division of particulars regularly recited,—the siege of the town, the catalogue of the ships, the return of the Greeks; and these it would appear are the heads under which the incidents and adventures connected with the Trojan cycle were understood to arrange themselves. Phemius thus sings the return of the allies, as the Nostoi formed afterwards a special group of traditions; the catalogue of the ships in the *Iliad* is probably much abbreviated from the ample development and elaborate ornament of which we know from the Hesiodic poems, both preserved and lost, a simple catalogue was regarded as legitimately susceptible. Ulysses enumerates the catalogue as intermediate between Ilion and the Return, as in fact it may be said to be introduced in the Epics; but it is not improbable that with this division was connected the mass of tradition, to which there are numerous references—as in the first song of Demodocus, and the speeches in the embassy to Achilles—of the negotiations and transactions that led to the assembling of the expedition, as well as those connected with the rendezvous at Aulis. Another direction in which, from the allusions, it appears that legend germinated luxuriantly, was the account of the exploits of the Greeks among the islands and

the Trojan allies on the mainland, previous to investing, or at least sitting down before, the city. The invention of succeeding or rival poets evidently was exercised in giving form and development to each division of the legend, and with whatever inconsistencies this might be effected, we may learn from the Theogony of Hesiod, as well as the general mass of mythology, some decisive tendency to chronological dependence grew out of, or was forced upon, the accumulated story.

The chronological system of arrangement, as a leading principle, is, however, essentially unartistic and unpoetical; and the wisdom of Homer is discerned in the boldness of his departure from it, and the skill with which he attains in consequence picturesqueness of grouping, and variety of light and shade, distance and foreground. The poet divides his subject by concentrating interest on two grand actions, each confined within a comparatively limited space of time, each agreeing in their highly contrasted character with the character of a special hero. The first action occupies the period of the arrival of the war against Troy, at its fatal and predicted crisis in the tenth year; the second takes its stand at the date of the final return home of the last of the besiegers, the hero whose counsels are represented as the immediate instruments of its capture or sack. The expedition and siege up to its crisis form one great picture; and the origin of the quarrel, the canvas of the allies, catalogue of the armament, embassy to Troy, assembly at Aulis, devastation of the islands and mainland, and battle at landing,—are introduced as subsidiary notices, which complete the tale, though in a manner to imply general familiarity with the details. The taking of the city, and the *νέστοι*, are in fact the subject matter of the second poem, which carefully supplies the intermediate incidents that link it with the *Iliad*, the death and obsequies of Achilles, the dispute for his arms, and death of Ajax, the Trojan horse, the storm, the departure, the dispersion of the fleet, fate of Agamemnon, of Menelaus, Nestor.

That the second poem repeats nothing of the first, is not more artistically managed than that the first anticipates nothing that was required to complete the effect, or enhance the interest of the second. There is preparation in one case as decidedly as reminiscence in the other, but never interference. The *Iliad* by itself, with no more than an intimation of the settlement of the fate of Achilles and of Troy, is essentially in-

complete, and its name indeed a misnomer, as would also have been such a title as the *Achilleis*: broken off at this point the story is clearly unsatisfactory; it is too developed for a simple episode in the world-renowned tale of Troy, and too fragmentary to aspire to be anything more. That the fall of Troy was not required to complete the proposed theme of the wrath of Achilles, would be no excuse; the wrath of Achilles should not then have been so treated, on such a scale, and in such connection, as to engage our interest so strongly in a matter irrelevant. But on the other hand, had the capture of the city been introduced as the conclusion of the *Iliad*, the unity of the composition would have been entirely destroyed from the necessary absence of Achilles.

The *Iliad*, although complete in itself as regards its main action, awakens secondary sympathies that necessarily require a sequel, sympathies with the fortunes of other Achaian heroes besides Achilles, sympathies with the general success of the Achaian expedition; when the poem concludes, Achilles is doomed and so is Troy, the crisis of the fate of both is past, Achilles has irrevocably committed himself to the alternative of a short and glorious life in preference to an obscure return to Phthia, Troy has lost her bravest son and only bulwark in the fall of Hector; but anxiety for the details is aroused, and attention is quickened to the utmost for the promise of the continuation of the story; the required gratification is given by the poet of the *Odyssey*, but in a perfectly unexpected manner; by the magic of unfathomable art, the reader or the listener finds himself carried away by the master from the anticipated course through the most varied and surprising turns; the main interest of the poem concentrated on an entirely different ideal of heroic character and adventure, in relation to which the actions and incidents anticipated with so much curiosity are thrown in, but chiefly as foils and episodes.

Indeed, we get another glimpse of the art of the poet in the observation how completely, in either poem, the incidents that in themselves appear most prominent in the story of the Trojan war, are thrown into the back-ground, and sometimes suppressed entirely. Such, and so treated, are the events at Aulis, the landing of the expedition, the death and obsequies of Achilles, the Trojan horse, the sack of Troy and death of Priam, the contention for the arms of Achilles, the death of Ajax. The treat-

ment of these subjects proves that they had either been hack-nied in song, or already so well sung as to discourage emulation. The mode of their introduction keeps curiosity alive, and retains interest; but their place is purely subordinate.

The entire omission of the Amazon and Ethiopian legends—though the death of Antilochus by Memnon is mentioned in the scene at Pylos—was no doubt equally prompted by true artistic feeling, whether on account of triteness, or as tending to overload a portion of the subject already fully developed, the exhibition of Achaian heroism in all forms of fight. That the legends were unknown to Homer, is an inference that it is never safe to draw from the circumstance that he does not allude to them, or even that by implication he seems to indicate their non-existence. His work is a poem, not a compilation; and similar motives of rejection may have influenced him here, that caused him not to introduce the details of return home of many most distinguished Greek chiefs, whose tales were most assuredly themes of highly-wrought tradition and song.

It is a circumstance in the highest degree remarkable, that Diomed, who in the *Iliad* occupies so prominent a position, and is besides so frequently associated with Ulysses, is never once mentioned in the Epic of which the latter is the principal hero. Such an omission demands an explanation, for a motive and a sufficient one it must have had. Was it that Diomed, opposed in his return by a vindictive divinity, aided as ever before Troy by Pallas Athene, and mourned by his expectant wife Ægialeia, presented too close a parallel to the fortunes of Ulysses; or was it that the mention of him would detract from the dignity of the prince of Ithaka, which the Epic was concerned in every way to elevate, by reminding of the hero, who in their associated exploits always assumes the more dignified position, as in the adventure in the Trojan camp, and the abstraction of the Palladium? But this omission we recognize as deliberately planned; for we have farther to observe, that provision is made in the *Iliad* for satisfying curiosity as to the fortunes of Diomed on the return from Troy, by the insertion of the notice of them, (*Iliad*, v. 412,) which it was desirable should be kept out of the more peculiar poem of the *Νοστοί*.

The rationale of some other remarkable omissions, in the scheme of dæmonology, particularly as regards Demeter and Dionusos, belongs to another section of the subject, the relation

of the poems to contemporary religions and actually influential cults.

Herodotus, in a celebrated passage, (II. 53,) asserts, on his own authority, that it was Homer and Hesiod, living at most four hundred years before his own time, "a matter therefore of yesterday or the day before," who composed a *Theogony* for the Hellenes, gave to the gods their titles, distinguished their dignities and arts, and indicated their forms. These words contain a very accurate description of the divine hierarchy, as we find it in the poets, consisting of a community of divinities united by various ties of relationship and intercourse, each individual characterized by epithets and titles for the most part peculiar to himself, each placed in a certain position of relative dignity to the rest, exercising an equally special influence over a certain form of natural or human activity, and described as an impersonation of his character and functions with such distinctness, even in detail of figure and most striking proportions and gestures, that art, in realizing the descriptions, achieved at once its master-works. The antecedent condition of Hellenic dæmonology, as conceived by Herodotus, was contrasted, indeed, with the simple theism of purer Pelasgic times, inasmuch as gods were worshipped of various names—in the opinion of the historian of foreign origin; but they were not linked together in any genealogical system; their forms were not recognized, no order of dignity obtained among them, no limitation of control and influence.

Such, according to Herodotus, was the condition of Greek theology before the grand modification operated by the poets; and such, it must be said, it continued to a great extent long afterwards. When, by the assistance of Pausanias, and incidental guidance of the same class, we contemplate the divinities of the Greeks as they were worshipped in innumerable sanctuaries over the whole breadth of the country, we find each several locality affecting the worship of some god more particularly, whose influence may be regarded as chiefly directed to one purpose, but is not limited to that; whose general character is often entirely out of harmony with the Homeric epithets, as his archaic statue with the Homeric ideal; and if any genealogical relations are ascribed to him, they are frequently utterly at odds with the entire theogonical scheme.

Herodotus therefore appears correct in his main assertion of

the modification of theology by poetry, though, from the poetical tendencies of the Greeks generally, it is not to be doubted that the poet was met at least half-way by the worshipper, and derived the inspiration by which he completed the ideal, from the fresh fount of original suggestion, which elaborated the festal symbolism of the local gods, and took form and colour from the occupations and scenery of the tribe. It was from the force of diverse local influences that the same god, even in cult, acquired distinct characteristics, and hence a degree of hesitation appears even in the conception of his poetical character, that gives an opportunity of observing the course of the main transformation, and completes the assurance, which is in accordance with the analogy of all history of religions, that the elaborate poetic form was the offspring, not the parent, of the less elegant but more mysterious systems of the worship.

Religion and poetry in fact are presented to us in the phenomena of Greek civilization in distinct masses, yet blending by reflected, though unequally distributed colours. The religious impulses in their most decided forms, and however attached to tradition, borrow yet much of their expression from the native poetical spirit of the people, and even, in certain localities, were very strongly affected and modified by the artificial structure developed by the poets. On the other hand, in poetry we find certainly a trace of the original religious fervour on the part of the poets, but by far the larger proportion they exhibit, remains as the unassimilated substance of an earlier structure in which serious veneration predominated.

Homer found both the gods and their legends more theological than he left them. His influence on the earlier materials, and the mixed result in which it is discoverable, are well illustrated in the following observations of Müller on the Homeric Zeus:—

“The poet has evidently a two-fold manner of conceiving this supreme deity. For, on the one hand, the god who gathers the clouds together, who sends lightning and rain, is at the same time the great governor of the world; in the proper sense of the word, God. He is the greatest that dwells in æther, the father of gods and men: he imposes destiny: his will is fate. All things take place in order that this will may be accomplished. It is the same deity who, according to the transcendantly beautiful and sublime fable in the *Theogony*, espoused Themis, the

moral and physical government of the world, and by her begot the Destinies. Eurynome likewise bore to him the Charities, who lend a grace and charm to every form of life. He who does not here recognize religion, genuine, true religion, for him have Moses and the prophets written in vain. But these are only isolated expressions, in which an intense feeling, or a customary form of thinking, finds utterance, as in the prayer beginning, ‘O Zeus, highest and greatest in the dark clouds, and in æther!’ It is by no means the manner of viewing him which predominates in, and particularly distinguishes, the Homeric poesy. In fact, it could not be so; for such a Zeus, when he interfered in the confusion of human affairs, must have at once solved and settled every thing; and therefore could not be imagined as a living and active god, and least of all as an epic personage. As such, then, he does not inhabit æther, but has his palace on Olympus. He is not the father of gods and men, but of a not very widely extended family, to which, as Poseidon maintains, (*Il.* xv. 197,) his proper sway is restricted. Besides, he is like all the other gods subject to fate; and hence resulted that extraordinary mixture of strength and weakness, wisdom and ignorance, which must strike every one in the Homeric Zeus, and can scarcely be considered as the first glimmer of reflection on the Supreme Being.”—Müller, *Proleg.* p. 186–7.

Herodotus, no doubt, falls into a not unfrequent form of error, especially among the Greeks, when he ventures to ascribe to Homer and Hesiod the invention of an operation which they only carried on almost to its perfection. The tendency of popular feeling, concurrently with a popular school of poetry, had no doubt prepared the way, and done in a coarser what they effected in the most refined manner; and it is not difficult to see how such tendencies naturally arose when the period of the growth of special worships among the innumerable tribes into which the race was divided politically and geographically, a period in which each tribe communicated to its gods and their legends the characteristics of its own habits and habitation, was succeeded by a social change, which brought these variously developed forms and systems face to face, and exposed a glaring diversity highly satisfactory to susceptible imaginations, but a source of equal discomfort to those feelings of man which urge him to cast about for some point of stability, some principle of

unity, on which to found his hopes and fix his reliance. I therefore assent to the conclusions of Müller, that "the immorality of Olympus, so much complained of, by no means sprang out of the infant state of religious thought, but rather from the extremely combined, intricate, and perplexed condition of the Greek religion, in which things that had originated in different places, and belonged to different epochs of religious thought, were all united into one mass."

"How individuals," he adds, "saved themselves from this confusion, and found religious consolation, is certainly a very interesting inquiry." The assumption that they did so, I hold to be correct; and perhaps we are not without means for the solution of the proposed problem, showing in what manner it was effected. If the confusion described implies a general demoralization of the religious sentiment of the period, a counter revulsion must have taken place by the necessity adverted to; but this never seems, within the limits we are concerned with, to have been the case. The people were content with the poetry as poetry to the very last; and only a small section of philosophers seem to have thought it worth while to grumble. We are therefore reduced to the inference, that these poetical forms, vitiated for all strictly religious purposes, were allowed to continue in life from the indispensable religious compensation being already achieved, and subsisting so far independently of them and superior to them, that they were not only tolerated, but even enjoyed.

The mystery is explained by duly weighing the remarkable circumstance, that precisely those divinities, Demeter and Dionusos, whose truly religious influence was most profound and pervading in Greece, are all but unmentioned by Homer, and may be said in fact to be excluded from his scheme of the divine community. Müller, so far as I understand him, appears to regard the omission as decided simply by taste, and admires in it Homer's "artistic skill, and the feeling for what was right and fitting which was inborn with the Greeks." He is also disposed to conclude that "the mystical element of religion could not have predominated in the Grecian people, for whom Homer sang, to such a degree as to fill the hearts and minds of all: for otherwise the poems of Homer, in which that element is but little regarded, would scarcely have afforded universal pleasure and satisfaction."—*Proleg.* p. 67. But the prevailing principle of

Greek art, the separate idealization of matters incongruous, is sufficient answer to the latter objection. Had not the feelings connected with the worship of Demeter found full expression in other elaborate forms, more would have been said of her in Homer, and from the sufficiency of historical evidence to establish the influence of her worship at the date of the poems, we have no alternative but to regard the subject as deliberately avoided.

The analysis of the evidence by Müller,⁸ goes far to establish that Homer was an Ionian Greek, of a family settled first at Ephesus and afterwards at Smyrna, at a time when that city was chiefly occupied by a population of Æolians and Achaïans. The expulsion of the Ionians from Smyrna, by causing the settlement of the Homeridæ at Chios, may have caused the transference of the traditional glories of the poet to that island. This analysis agrees in its chronological results with the opinion of Herodotus, with whom the Alexandrians are also in accord, that Homer flourished 400 years earlier than his own time, that is about B. C. 850, a date which falls in the centuries intervening between the great Ionian colonization of Asia and the commencements of the Olympiads, B. C. 776.

The emigration of the Ionians extended over a considerable period, like the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, from which it chiefly resulted, and which only gradually arrived at its utmost limit; and scanty as are the records of either event, we may yet elicit from them, that the contrast of Dorian and Ionian Hellenism, which appears so strongly defined on the subsequent course of Greek history, was not entirely a consequence of the collisions, which no doubt aided in deepening it, but also to a great extent its cause, and manifested quite as remarkably in religious characteristics as in those of political constitution and domestic manners.

I allude to the position assumed by the Dorians in regard to the Thesmophorian rites and general worship of Demeter. These mystic rites, according to Herodotus, were introduced in Pelasgic times into Argos; and according to Argive tradition, reported by Pausanias, they passed thence to Eleusis, as well as Peloponnesus generally; the Dorian revolution, how-

⁸ *Gesch. d. Griech. Literatur.* cap. v.

ever, says the historian, caused the abolition of the rite or initiation, except in Arcadia, which was alone undisturbed by the convulsion.

At Eleusis, the worship received extraordinary development; of its antiquity there, the Homeric hymn to Demeter, founded at least on the traditions of a time when Eleusis was still independent of Athens, is most interesting testimony. From Eleusis, whether independent or Athenian, go forth the hierophants Kaukon and Lykus, who constituted the mysteries, or at least rites of Demeter in Messene, where they were afterwards extended by the Athenian Methapus. (Pausan. iv. 15; ix. 25.) The Messenian ceremonies of the great goddesses were regarded by Pausanias as of equal sanctity to the Eleusinian; and he accordingly scruples to enlarge upon their details. These traditions belong to a numerous class which celebrate the influence on political transactions of religious mystagogues; and which, when examined with a minuteness that is out of the question on the present occasion, are found, with all their divarications, in wonderful harmony with each other, and with recorded monuments and actual historical connections and sympathies. To this connection of religious institution, strengthened by common antagonism to the Dorians, we must ascribe the reception and influence at Athens of the Pylian princes expelled from Messenia.

This, I think, may be inferred from the intimate connection of the Nelid family with the Eleusinian worship, which appears after the refugee Melanthus superseded the Attic Theseid king Thymoetes. He himself is connected in Dionysiac legend with the origin of the festival of Apatouria, participation in which, according to Herodotus, marked the genuine Ionian states. His descendants, the Codrids, were leaders of the Ionian colonies; and one city, founded independently, Phocæa, was forced to adopt Codrid chiefs to gain admittance to the Pan-Ionic alliance.⁹ The importance attached to this point seems to be explained when, remembering how influential religious considerations were in the direction of these movements, we find, even down to a late date, Codrids at Ephesus, exercising the hereditary functions of a priesthood in the worship of Eleusinian Demeter. (Strabo, xiv. p. 633.) A companion again of the

⁹ Pausan. vii. 2, 2; 3, 4.

Codrid Neleus founded the temple of the same goddess at Mycale. (Herod. ix. 97.) The instance, whether of Melanthus or his descendants, is exactly parallel to the political power acquired in Sicily by the family of Gelon, as hierophants of the orgies of the great mysterious goddesses.¹⁰ The same sympathies explain the retirement to Eleusis of the priestly families at the capture of Ithome, the conclusion of the first Messenian war. (Pausan. iv. 14.)

The comparative disappearance of the worship of the great goddesses from Peloponnesus, where they had enjoyed such great influence, that, as avouched by Herodotus, was the result of the Heracleid invasion, is in exact accordance with the prominence assigned to it in the colonies and settlements formed to the east and west of Greece by the dispossessed population. Hence Arcadia and Attica on the one hand, Asia Minor and Sicily on the other, remained the principal seats of the worship of Demeter, with which, in its most impressive forms, that of Dionusos had become most intimately combined. This was the worship to which, whether in its secret and mysterious forms, or in its public manifestations, the contemporary of Homer, the descendant of the Ionian colonist, must have looked for the consolations of religious reliance; and here he doubtless found it as it had been found by his ancestors in the original seats of the race, as it continued to be found for ages afterwards. This was the form in which religion became to the Greeks of this age a sentiment, not an object of taste; and the comparative silence of the poet is sure indication that the management of the sentiment for the highest or lowest ends, was in other hands. Numerous priests are mentioned by Homer; and in the Chryses and Calchas of the *Iliad*, we have proof of the power, whether for good or evil, that was recognized as pertaining to pretensions of special influence with the divine powers, and the faculty of divination. These qualifications were constantly transmitted hereditarily as sacred traditions or profitable crafts, and with them a vast mass of sacred poetry or hymns, which, whether composed in seriousness or subtlety, must evidently in general tenor have aimed at impressiveness, and doubtless took a form and colour as distinguished by appropriateness as all other Greek productions,

¹⁰ Herod. vii. 153, and Cf. Boeckh, *Explic. Pindar.*

and as little admitting of combination with the exponents of sentiments of contrasted origin and style.

Had Homer, however, taken his poetic stand on another part of Greece, where the awe of these religions was less influential, his poems might have exhibited a system of embellished forms of the myths of Demeter and Dionusos, of which the latter especially flourished so luxuriantly, not to say rankly; the loves of Demeter and Iasion alluded to in the *Odyssey*, belong to the same class of fictions as those of Aphrodite and Ares, and the dangers and escape of Dionusos succoured by Thetis, are parallel to the rescue of Zeus emperilled by Ægæon. These instances at once exhibit how far the embellishment even of these myths had in some quarters proceeded, and how great was the forbearance of the poet. Still even at a date so much posterior as that of the painted vases of the best style, we are surprised to find that the appearance of Demeter in the pictured Pantheon, as compared with all other divinities of equal dignity, is the rarest and most equivocal.

It is a question of great interest, and bearing importantly on the general theory of the Mythus, which as regards antiquity is the theory of historical criticism, to what extent the alterations here ascribed to Homer and the Homeric school, were effected with consciousness. Consciousness is a necessary condition of the irony for which I contend; the story of Ares and Aphrodite might, it is just possible, have been suggested to a poet in the position of Demodocus by its analogy to the incident of the festival, and he not aware of the resemblance that brought it to his mind; such freaks of associated ideas are familiar to the experience of all of us; but from the pointedness of his words, it is clear that Demodocus here, in the poet's intention, knew the application of the moral he inculcated, and was not minded that it should escape the notice of the many-counselled guest, however the attention of the festive Phæacians might be engaged by the sportive embellishments that were its vehicle, and look no farther.

The distinction would be the same, if we were disposed to move back one step farther with the Phæacian bard, and inquire whether he also recognized the true relation of his mythus so cleverly applied, as a travestie of a once revered and significant religious mythus. This is in fact the question which we have to ask respecting Homer, singer of the very similar anecdote of

the Theogamia of Zeus and Here. Hear the exposition of Müller:—

“The ancient Argive believing in his gods, Zeus and Here, as the sources of every blessing, observed an actual union of the pair in the season when the seed quickens and germinates, Zeus and Here embraced, and the thoroughly personal conception of this marriage begat a numerous progeny of childlike and *naïve* ceremonies and myths. The bard of the *Iliad*, also, hears the story as a formed and widely-circulated mythus, without reference to a definite season or to nature at all; he weaves it into his poem, where, from its singularity, it must be handled in a somewhat sportive manner; the golden dropping cloud remains, and the earth grows green and sends forth shoots; but the motive for the former is the wish for concealment, and for the latter, the want of a soft couch. The bard, however, has still perhaps at the same time a certain feeling of the significance, which is only entirely lost in sheer Euhemerism.” —Müller, *Proleg.* p. 279.

This hesitating and qualified concession of “perhaps a certain feeling of the significance on the part of the bard,” is a more liberal concession than is frequently made by Müller, whose entire system is weakened and disarranged by the rigour with which he enforces his primary definition of a mythus, as an essentially unconscious combination of fact and idea, reality and imagination. This, it is evident, is only one of the processes by which such productions, in result indistinguishable, may be developed. Apart from special evidence, a given combination of idea and reality, any one of the examples set forth by Müller, may have originated either consciously or unconsciously, may have been composed with design, or adopted in simplicity of error; such contrasted processes, proof to the contrary apart, are to be expected from general experience to be operating parallel to each other at the same time, in the same or in different parts of the wide spread country, and to vary in degree and relative strength at successive periods. To restrict the definition of a mythus to one of these forms, is, as a matter of general philosophy, incorrect, unless some other term is substituted to express the more general idea comprising both varieties;—in a special investigation, the exclusion of all consideration of the second form, can only be justified by adducing a greater amount of proof of its entire absence from the problem

than I believe is in any case possible to be brought forward; but Müller appears to consider that the identification of one form dispenses with all necessity of marking the limits of the other, and eliciting the laws that determine its limitation. The same flaw vitiates the analysis of some of the most laborious and influential of German critical works without the lines of classical antiquity;—the work of Strauss is especially open to the charge of radical fallacy in plan, to go no further, from the insufficient distribution of terms in its fundamental theorem. I can only ascribe it to erroneous preconceptions on this point, that Müller stopped short in a train of investigation respecting the relation of Homeric poetry to earlier tradition, that, as far as he pursued it, yielded the most happy results, and, with moderate solicitation, gives up still more, and furnishes the solution of problems that have vexed and exercised criticism ancient and modern.

He observes (*Proleg.*, p. 297). “The more we penetrate into the history of the origin of the myths handled in the *Odyssey*, the more do we see, that what the poet received was a mass of legends already connected with each other—having been united by popular tradition, or even by earlier bards—in which there is far more of local origin than we are at first inclined to suppose.”

I continue the statement of his views from the *conspectus* of Eckerman,¹¹ (p. 273.) “The legends of the *Odyssey* were local in Ithaka over against Epirus, a country unusually rich in myth and cults in the earliest period, though withdrawn by subsequent obscurity from the sight of the inquirer. The most wonderful legends of the *Odyssey* are founded on Epirotic rites. If Ulysses reaches the island of Kirké, Aia, the land of the Sun, and thence proceeds to the shades, this story finds its connection in Epirus. The service of the dead was of the highest antiquity in Thesprotian Ephyra; Aidoneus was the king of the country. The earliest *νεκρομαντεῖον* was on the banks of the Acheron, where, at certain times, offerings were made to the dead, in order to evoke the shades and place them in communication with the upper world, as Teiresias was evoked by Odysseus. When Odysseus makes an offering at the entrance of the shades, and the dead appear to drink the blood,—this is

¹¹ *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte und Mythologie.* Halle 1845.

not the invention of the bard, these traditions had all their origin by the Acheron. There was here a cult of the Sun; the Pelasgians who occupied themselves so much with the shades, seem to have naturally attached themselves to sun worship as cheerful and consolatory. The mythus of Medea, child of the sun, belonged to the same Ephyra, and from her the Thesprotian kings, Mermeros and Ilos, derived their descent. Corinth is connected with Ephyra, a name which once belonged to it, and probably a colonial relation connected both cities, as in both the same traditions are repeated. Erytheia, where Geryones tended the herds of the sun-god, was placed by Scylax and Hecataeus on the borders of Epirus, in the district of Ambracia, or near Akrokeraunian Orikos, and Epirus in later times had the descendants of these herds of the sun. The cult of Helios was very prevalent in southern Epirus, and the same cult occurs in Apollonia, a colony of Corinth, though it is probable that the cult preceded the arrival of the Corinthians.

"Allusions to Dodona occur in the *Odyssey*, as in the *Iliad* to Delphi; Odysseus seeks oracles at the oak; doves bring ambrosia to Olympus, the same Pleiads that bring the blessings of harvest to Dodona. Thus we see that the traditions that furnished materials to the *Odyssey* were mainly Thesprotian. Odysseus possessed the bow of Eurytus, and with it slew the suitors, and the Eurytians dwelt by the Achelous. Finally, among the Æolian Eurytians of Epirus there was an oracle of Odysseus."

Even more interesting in these combinations, than the demonstration of local origin in the mythic materials of the western epic, is the exhibition they contain of a fund of legends having reference to sun-worship and to the rites of the under world, and furnishing materials for the most refined poetry, without ceasing in their remote position to live on in cult, and truly theological tradition.

But these solar traditions, not only gave incident and embellishment to a large section of the poem, we may discover by comparison of some farther observations of Müller, that they were not without influence in furnishing the plan:—

"It is hinted in several passages of the *Odyssey*, in enigmatical expressions peculiar to that poem, that it was at the close of one month and the beginning of another, that the hero arrived in Ithaka, and punished the suitors. Now, on the day

that he reappeared as an avenger, there was in Ithaka a great festival of Apollo *Νεομήνιος*, as Philochorus rightly observed, who was, together with Pallas, a household god in the race of Arkesius. It is on this account that the suitors assemble so early in the house of the king and the other nobles of Ithaka, in the grove of the far-smiting Apollo, to whom they offer a sacred hecatomb. On this day, therefore, the day of Apollo, the avenging God, the guardian of archers, Odysseus, makes his appearance, grasps the bow, and completes with Apollo the work of vengeance: "A remarkable coincidence certainly, and an extremely significant feature of ancient tradition, in which nothing was baseless or unmeaning." With what qualifications we are to receive the remarks that follow will appear in due course: "But even here Homer is satisfied with stating what was handed down, and no indication can be found that the bard himself comprehended the exceedingly grand connexion of the legend; and although we should naturally expect it, there is no indication given that it is the God of the festival who completes his work on that his own day."¹²—*Proleg.*, 296.

Loth indeed should I be to think that the significance which gives such glorious enhancement to the immortal poem, was a blind hit, an unconscious, undesigned accident of the unsuspecting bard. Modern criticism, no doubt, whether applied to Homer or Pindar, has gained for itself the title to declare with confidence the meaning of master-strokes which were mere obscurity to commentators who wrote in native Greek. But neither in Homer nor in Pindar do I believe that beauties remain to be discovered—beauties of the most refined character, (and such is certainly the happy position of Odysseus, gleaming with all the mythic glories of the sun god, yet never losing his individuality, and sinking into an allegory or a travestie,) which were not only unsuspected by the generation who heard the epic resounding from the lips of the author, but even by the author himself.

Nitzsch (II. LXII.) has no kind word for the sagacity of Müller, or the pregnancy of the author, and again we have to look to an extended elucidation of Homer's scheme and allu-

¹² An eclipse of the sun occurs at the return of Odysseus, a phenomenon which, it is observable, only occurs at the period of a new moon: the first and

seventh days of every month were considered throughout Greece as sacred to Apollo.

sions, to rescue him from dismemberment by the easy suggestion of interpolation.

Nitzsch observes that the association of the death of the suitors with a solar period, may arise simply from the death of the young being ordinarily laid to the charge of Apollo; but this is not an objection to the proposed view, but confirmation and illustration; the youthful victims of Apollo and Artemis, the children of Niobe, no less than Hyacinthus, are all found on the most cursory examination to be types of the fruitful year, its epochs and divisions. In other legends the typical victims appear as suitors, a still nearer approach to the argument of the *Odyssey*; I refer particularly to the legends of Hippodameia and the daughters of Danaus, in which the astronomical or rather perhaps chronological element is susceptible of very exact demonstration. Hence the appropriateness of the painting of Ulysses slaying the suitors as a decoration of the peribolus of Apollo at Corinth, (Paus. II, 3.), and thus we may recognize the deep significance, not hidden, we may be sure, to the contemporary of the poet, of the comparison of the avenger, when the slaughter is complete, standing bloody among the slain, to a lion who has killed and devours a bull, the eastern astronomical type, the analogue of the Mithriac group. Ulysses, therefore, might be regarded as the prototype of the *Deus Sol Invictus* of the later compositions, were it not for the admirable art with which the poet holds the just balance of the mystic and poetic elements, and never permits the "simple, sensuous and impassioned" expression of natural incident and grace, to harden into allegory.

Perhaps, however, the genius of the poet in combining the marvel and the meaning of earlier legends, is most brilliantly displayed in the instance which is yet to be examined, the return of Ulysses to his native land, slumbering on the prow of the wondrous sea-boat of the Phæacians. In this voyage we may recognize, after our previous indications, an infallible reflection of the legend preserved by Mimnermus, himself of Smyrna, according to which the sun-god, restless throughout the day, on arriving at the island of the Hesperides, took ship, and was borne sleeping in a couch of gold, a winged vessel work of Hephaistos, over the surface of the waves to the land of the Ethiopians, there to recommence his exertions.—*Apud Athen.* p. 470:—

Ἡέλιος μὲν γὰρ ἔλαχεν πόνον ἥματα πάντα
οὐδέ κοτ' ἄμπαυσις γίνεται οὐδεμία
ἵπποισιν τε καὶ αὐτῷ, ἔπειτ' ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἡώς
Ὀκεανὸν προλιποῦσ' οὐρανὸν εἰσαναβῆ.
τὸν μὲν γὰρ διὰ κύμα φέρει πολυήρατος εὐνῇ
κωίλῃ, Ἡφαίστου χερσὶν ἐληλαμένη
χρυσοῦ τιμήεντος, ὑπόπτερος, ἄκρον ἔφ' ὕδωρ,
εὐδονθ' ἀρπαλέως, χώρου ἅφ' Ἑσπερίδων
ἔλθ' ἑλθαῖαν ἐς Αἰθίοπων, ἵνα δὴ θεὸν ἄρμα καὶ ἵπποι
ἔστῃσ' ἄρ' Ἡώς ἡριγένεια μόλη, ἔνθ' ἔνθ' ἔνθ'
ἔνθ' ἐπέρη σφετέρων ὀχέων Ἑπερίονος υἱός.

Frags. 12, Bergk.

So Odysseus-Helios, after all his laborious wanderings, performs his homeward voyage from the west eastward, slumbering and by night. For no sufficient reason that is stated in the narrative, the vessel delays its departure till sunset, Ulysses embarks in silence, reclines on a couch on the prow and immediately falls into a sleep, balmy, sweet, and still as death, and continues slumbering oblivious of all he had gone through, when precisely at daybreak the bark arrives at the shore of his native land.¹³ The very images by which the poet illustrates the course, speed, and destination of the marvellous vessel, endowed with more than human intelligence, are borrowed from the rich fund of solar symbolism to which the vase painters resorted to illustrate the progress of the day-god. The four entire horses of the chariot of Helios, forth springing all together,—as seen on earlier coins, on the later the action is varied,—the star the herald of the day, the bird above the steeds as if overtaken by them,¹⁴ are as exactly described in the account of the return of Ulysses as in any passages of Greek poetry. The fable of the brazen-footed bulls with which Jason ploughed, would yield further illustration of these archaic types, for Jason himself stands in much the same relation to the sun-god as Odysseus. Minnervus again is our authority; in a fragment preserved by Strabo, he tells how Jason proceeded a weary way to Aia, by the ocean stream, to obtain the golden fleece,—to the city of Aietes, where the rays of the rapid sun are laid up in a golden treasury by the brim of ocean; the

¹³ *Odys.* XIII. 79–95.

¹⁴ *Odys.* XIII. 81–86.

eastern Aia visited by the Argonaut is therefore the abode of the sun, and corresponds with the *Ææa* of the *Odyssey*, the island of Kirke, of whom the sun was sire.

Αἰήταο πόλιν, τόθι τ' ὠκέος Ἥelio
ἀκτίνες χρυσῶν κείαται ἐν θαλάμῳ
ᾧ Ἰακχάρου παρὰ χεῖλος, ὅν' ὤχετο θεῖος Ἴησων.

Mimnermus Fragt. 11. Edit. Bergk.

In the three maidens of Arete, who, with the herald of Alcinous, conduct Ulysses to the ship, bearing garments, a cista, and food and drink, and who prepare his couch in the vessel, we may discern the representatives of the Hesperian nymphs. The sun, according to Antimachus, was dismissed on his nocturnal voyage, by the Hesperid Erytheia, whose name is that of the locality where Geryon tended the herds of the sun. Even the herald had his mythical antitype in the group, in the Moiragetes, who, on ancient monuments, derived no doubt from still earlier traditions, leads a triad of nymphs with the attributes common to the Horæ, Charites, and Hesperides. The Phæacian ship is equipped and manned by two-and-fifty youths, a number which we must not doubt was derived from the weeks of the year, in this instance counted more exactly than the affection for round numbers usually permits. The herds of the sun are counted as, seven of oxen and seven of sheep, each containing fifty, and thus in total, three hundred and sixty of each; oxen and sheep, interpreted by Aristotle, I doubt not, correctly, as types of the days and nights of a lunar year.

These were the herds tended by Geryon, that Hereules drove away from Erytheia, (Macrob. v. 21, Eustath. in *Dionys.* 560,) and to reach which, he voyaged in the vessel of the sun, obtained from the god by his boldness; thus embarked, he gives us another parallel to Ulysses and Jason. Gems and Etruscan scarabæi, represent him recumbent in a couch with a sail,¹⁵ The craft is variously designated a transport, a cup, caldron, couch,¹⁶ while a vase painting of great beauty, exhibits Apollo passing over the waves seated on a tripod, which, like his couch,

¹⁵ *Impr. d. Inst.* III. 21, 22, 23, 24.

¹⁶ *Athenæus*, p. 37-8; Eustath. *Dionys. Perieg.* 560. See Gerhard's *Aus-*

erlesene Vasenbilder, vol. II. 84, t. CIX, and cx.

as described by Mimnermus, is winged. I have no hesitation in accepting Gerhard's interpretation of the design, as the passage of the lower hemisphere by Apollo; but it may be further observed, that the tripod becoming thus the equivalent of the sun-cup, to obtain which, Herakles threatened the god with his bow, we appear to trace up to the same source the origin of the mythus, so frequent a subject of figured antiquity, of the struggle of Apollo and Hercules for the tripod. Such an origin by no means precluded the subsequent employment of the incident, as symbolical of the contests that arose for the control of the Delphic tripod or oracle.

The intention of Homer in representing Ulysses as returning home, slumbering and at night, has been discussed by ancient and modern critics. The agreement is general, that an anomaly exists, and a collection of the various theories formed to account for it, would perhaps be instructive enough to repay the tediousness of reading, though scarcely of recording them. Poetically, it is clear how effective a contrast such a return offers to the agitations and exertions of the earlier voyages of the hero, and how perfectly it is in harmony with the calm night scenes in the house of Eumæus; with which the poet relieves the attention stimulated by adventure, and gives rest to the feelings before passing to the bustle and disorders of the palace. Nevertheless, there was justice in the enquiry for explanation, though the poetical propriety had been more correctly estimated than it seems to have been. Eustathius records several suggestions by others, and adds his own to account for the difficulty; for, to the credit of criticism it must be said, that few have ventured to get rid of the question by broad declaration that the bard was less wise than his commentators, and by declining the responsibility of discovering a wise reason for what was simply a wonderful blunder.

Aristotle, it is true, in the *Poetics*, considers that such an improbable fiction would have been intolerable related by an inferior poet, its absurdity being only overlooked from the exquisite beauties with which it is associated. "Herakleides, however, says Welcker, who may have heard this opinion in the discourses of Aristotle, or had the treatise itself in his hands, says, that the absurdity is on the part of those who do not divine in what the poet says here, his general intention in the character of the Phæacians. Nevertheless, the exposition in

which he essays to account for the absurdity of the Phæacians in leaving Ulysses on the earth without rousing him, and the inopportune somnolence of the hero, runs into subtleties and prolixity, and certainly explains nothing. Still less satisfactory are other explanations attempted by the ancients, such as those in Plutarch, that Ulysses, according to a Tyrrhenian tradition, was naturally sleepy, and consequently difficult of access; or that he feigned sleep from embarrassment at not being able to reward the Phæacians, or in order to conceal himself from his enemies in this manner.

"In the *Scholia*, again, it is supposed that the Phæacians did not wake up their passenger on his arrival, to avoid the appearance of desiring recompense for his passage. There is more soundness in the observation which is made on the occasion of the speech of Arete, (viii. 444,) as well as at the preparation of the couch, (xiii. 79,) that the transport of passengers sleeping was a peculiarity of the Phæacian ships, just like their automatus progress, independent of sail, oars or steerage; when, however, it is added in one instance that the design of the arrangement was, that the power of the ships might not be discovered, we trace a connection with the way of thinking of Herakleides. The latest commentator, Nitzsch, assumes that the poet followed the inducement of an account of the concealment by seafaring people of the courses of their traffic, in seeking to mystify the situation of the beautiful land of the Phæacians, and invented accordingly, for this purpose, the nocturnal voyage, and the slumber of the voyager; besides this, he veiled the feelings of Ulysses on his return home by the sleep; as the painter Timanthes made Agememnon cover his face with his mantle at the sacrifice of Iphigenia. To many the marvellous means will appear far-fetched in relation to the prosaic purpose, and assuredly there are few who will not regard the stratagem to escape from describing the joyous impatience of the return home, as very extraordinary. The poet places before our eyes, touchingly and forcibly enough, the longing that preceded the departure by a simple simile; what cause had he to shirk the joy of the arrival, supposing him to have no object in sending Ulysses to sleep in the Phæacian vessel?"

Thus far Welcker, on the comments and considerations of others, and he proceeds to set forth his own solution of the problem. He points out, with much force and unflinching de-

tail, the indications, that the Phæacians were strictly a mythical people; that the original mythus in which they bore part had a certain distinct significance not unconnected with the legends of the islands of the blest, and that the poet, in working up the fable into the story of the *Odyssey*, kept this significance in view, and allowed it, by ingenious combination, to influence his allusions and heighten his effects. In the mythus, however, which he selects as the prototype, he is not so happy, —the story related by Tzetzes and Procopius of a tribe on the shore of the German Ocean, who ferried over by night the invisible souls of the dead to an island between Thule and Britain. The coincidences of this legend are worth examination, but placed beside one more apt, and of purer Hellenic derivation, would not require extended analysis, though its pretensions had obtained more general favour among critics than appears to have repaid the energetic advocacy of its patron.¹⁷

I confess he appears to me little more successful in his attempt to controvert the venerable opinion, that the Coreyræans were entitled to consider their country as alluded to in a particular manner, in the description of the Phæacians and their city; somewhat he does disprove, and very successfully, but I think nothing that even a zealous supporter of the claim of Coreyra need care to hold or insist on. All antiquity was in favour of the claim, and Welcker himself infers that Hesiod gave countenance to it in the *Great Eoiai*. Even at the present time, when the correspondence of the poem with local characteristics and population is naturally more obscure, a very strong presumptive case may be made out,—indeed presents itself.

The *Odyssey* nowhere makes other mention of the remarkable and beautiful island, though frequently of the neighbouring Thesprotia, which even seems to be brought into communication with Phæacia, (xix. 271,) yet the rich fund of Hellenic mythus and worship that we have seen was already flourishing in Ambracia and Thesprotia, necessarily involves the settlement of Coreyra by some tribes, whether pure or mixed, of

¹⁷ Otherwise, that a Scandinavian illustration of Greek legend is not necessarily far-fetched, may be seen in the dissertation by MM. Depping and Michel, on the tradition of Wayland

Smith; a translation of it, together with Oehlenschläger's amplification of the legend, forms a charming little book, lately issued under the always elegant editorship of my friend Mr Singer.

Hellenic blood. In later times, the mythus of Medea was localized at Coreyra, transferred, says Welcker, from Corinth by the colony from that city; yet Müller has shewn that the same mythus was already in Thesprotia at the date of the poem,—and how much earlier does this imply,—long before the date of the Corinthian colony in the 5th Olympiad, and the same causes would carry it to Coreyra.¹⁸ Coreyra was ever renowned, as indeed it remains, for the wonderful fruitfulness that is so poetically represented in the gardens of Alcinous;¹⁹ its chief city, like that of Scheria, had and has a double port: a remarkable rock in the sea, from its resemblance to a ship under sail, has given rise, in modern superstition, to a story of the punishment of a sacrilegious pirate, the reflection of the old poetic myth. Poseidon and Athene were the chief gods of the Coreyræans, who, by their nautical habits, attained an extraordinary pitch of maritime power, and these habits in a population are more apt to suggest nautical legends than to be acquired in order to justify their import.

With what degree of definiteness and consistency the poet chose to conduct his allusion, is matter for inquiry; and that we may be called upon to make considerable allowance for the requirements and caprices of poetry, may be judged beforehand from the confused geography and topography of Ithaka and Troy, and the embellishment that is bestowed on a locality so unequivocal as the residence of Menelaus. On the other hand, a purely imaginary picture appears to be as contrary to the genius of the poet as a strict adherence to bald matter of fact; from the entire current of his works, it is scarcely to be expected of him that he should abstain from addressing some national sympathies, and heightening the interest of his poetry, by recalling local associations. This is the plan that we have seen is adopted in the description of the interview with Teiresias; the scene is certainly not the historical Thesprotia, yet Homer assuredly had Thesprotia in his mind. To deny this on grounds of topographical or ethnographical discrepance, would be to commit oneself to the decision, that the story of Robinson Crusoe originated independently of the adventure of Alexander

¹⁸ Müller, *Append. Proleg.* p. 301.

¹⁹ On the type of the gardens of Alcinous, on the coins of Coreyra, I have made some remarks in an essay on

“Chorographical Greek coins,” in the last number of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

Selkirk at Juan Fernandez, and that the philosophers of the Royal Society are guiltless of suggesting the satires of Swift and Peter Pindar.

No one contends that Corfu will be found to have, or to have had, the miracles of Scheria, and just as little need we trouble ourselves to identify every point of domestic manners or local scenery that Homer may have transferred thither from Ionian Asia, or Attica, or anywhere else. The question at issue is one of degree, and it does not controvert the degree contended for that Corcyra, unlike Scheria, (as it is argued²⁰) is an island; that Phæacians are unknown in history; that such refinement in the neighbourhood of the rude or fierce Liburnians and Thesprotians, is incredible and surprising. A surprising, piquant delineation was intended, and Homer assuredly would have smiled at the *naïveté* of a critic, who should have denied that Corcyra furnished him with any materials whatever for his picture, because it was self-evident that it did not furnish him with all.

In simple truth, it is precisely in his management of the blending light and intermingling outlines of truth and fiction, that the genius of Homer, in the treatment of earlier mythical materials, is to be admired. As an illustration by broad contrast, we may compare the effect he achieves, with the riotous comedy of Aristophanes, in which satire, general and personal, representation of the events of a day, and adumbration of the laws that govern all time, are inextricably interwoven, and the fun, the point, the admirable art, consist in the constant surprise and stimulus afforded by the changeful lights and shades of the glorious mystification.

An inscription furnishes a hint that a hero Phaiax was honoured at Coreyra; in the absence of more exact information in this quarter, we may examine the position and character of his namesake, who was an object of worship in Attica, and indeed associated with Nausithous, also a Phæacian name. Phaiax and Nausithous were in origin Salaminian; they were the steersmen of Theseus in his voyage to Crete, in the vessel which was afterwards the sacred Salaminian galley, the *theoris* appropriated to sacred missions, and especially to conducting

²⁰ Argued inconclusively, in the opinion of Dr Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, II. 6,) who thus affords a salient angle, where I willingly ensconce myself along

with my doubts, and enjoy them for once with a very agreeable sense of impunity.

the sacred *theoria* to Delos. Here, then, we find the galley of Phaiax connected with the service of Apollo, as its voyage commenced after the priest of Apollo had crowned its prow; like the vessel of the Homeric Phæacians, therefore, the convoy of Ulysses, it is a boat of Apollo,—of the Sun god: It may be observed, that even the voyage of Theseus is, in strictness, a *theoria*, the youths he conducted answering to the chorus carried in historical times by the Salaminian galley to Delos.

It is further remarkable that the ship of the Panathenaic procession, to which the peplus was attached as a sail, was brought in sacred procession to the temple of Apollo Pythius, the same as the Apollo Patrous, so remarkable in Attic worship as forming, in association with Zeus and Athene, a triad of especial sanctity. On this subject the notes of Müller on the Eumenides are full, pointed, and interesting. Thus introduced, the ship of the Panathenaic procession appears to be, like that of Ulysses, a type of the voyage of the sun-god, of Apollo, at the conclusion of his periodic course.

The mystic mythus that gave form and plan to the *Odyssey* being thus to a certain extent revealed, creates a presumption that a similar germ was developed in the *Iliad*;—is the Odysseus Helios of one epic paralleled by an Achilles Helios in the other? The story of the *Iliad*, in its general outline, as the angry retirement of a dominant power, consequent disaster and distress, supplication, obduracy, pride, ultimate return and mixed chastisement and triumph,—has most analogy in mythic parallels to the retirement of Demeter, indignant at the abduction of her daughter, (and Briseis, as the name of a goddess or nymph, has many points of resemblance to Kore,) the disorder of the world torpid in her absence, the interceding gods, and her ultimate return. A solar mythus parallel to this, is that of Helios retired and recusant in indignation at the death of Phaethon; or we may bring into comparison the symbolical representation of the absence of the sun in the lower hemisphere. Certain it is that we get solar symbolism connected with the hero, not only in the well-known instance of his shield, but elsewhere, and most especially, in the images and figures that embellish the description of his equipment and re-appearance in arms.

The moral of the whole appears to be this, that the definition of the mythus, as laid down by Müller, and too generally accept-

ed, is essentially unsound; in the words of Welcker, "*naïve* as the old poet may be, he is at least equally shrewd;" consciousness pervades and guides his operations on pre-existing materials, and he is fully alive to the nature of the process to which he subjects them. Wherever a link is left out in the chain of obvious motives, a step in the series of sufficient reasons, we may be sure that he omitted nothing in the way of matter of fact that he did not know would be supplied by symbolism, and it was his desire and intent that it should be so supplied. These half glimpses into a world beyond, scenes of mystery visible through the web of the highly-wrought curtain of poetry, and yet blending with and heightening its imagery and import, are the triumph of the art of the poet; and how much of the effect of this is necessarily lost to the modern reader who lacks the associations they appealed to,—the sympathies of legend and religion, of local character and natural tradition, on the responsiveness of which the poet relied, and to the tone of which he adjusted the spirit and current of his song!

Hitherto we have chiefly regarded the position of Homer, in respect of earlier poetry and quasi-religious mythology; thus regarded, his poems are most important, as well as most wonderful historical facts, events; consequences modified by how much that had gone before, causes destined to modify how much and how importantly, that was destined to follow after. But he has relations as important to the literature as to the matter of history, to the records as to the recorded. The sequence of mythic story is interrupted at the death of the last Homeric hero, and breaks off—in general terms it may be said entirely, at the return of the Herakleids. Previous to this epoch all events in the history of the nation of any importance, appear to have been chronicled by the nation in mythic form. The varieties of climate and natural productions of Greece in its various very distinct divisions, the leading phenomena of its meteorology, the features of its natural geography, and the boundaries of its political,—are all expressed in its mythology with such general accuracy, that from this source alone might be recovered no unimportant description of the country, had the whole of it been swallowed up in the middle ages, with the exception of a single district to help us to the discovery of the key, and the principles of its use and application.

The labours and elucidations of learned men—we are bound

to say for the most part German—exercised not only on the literature of the country, but with results of equal interest on its monuments, especially the painted vases, have rendered it certain, that as the actions of the personified river were metaphorical expressions of the course or irregularities of the actual stream, so the personification of the people on its banks, and the actions ascribed to it, bore a certain relation to the character and vicissitudes of the people, and to that extent is truly historical. It is late in the day now to assume credit for singular sagacity in tilting against the factitious personality of Lelex or Pelasgus. Every one concedes that Lelex and Pelasgus are to be regarded as no more distinct historical personages than Cithæron and Asopus; but it is a different question, and to be answered differently, whether they are not quite as much so; whether the Greek who invented the mythus, or in whose mind it took form, had not a positive object answering to his idea; a population in one case, as distinct and certainly as important a matter of fact, as a river or a mountain in the other. If this be the case, as it is proved to be in hundreds of instances by the most absolute demonstration, it will not do to throw aside Greek quasi-historical legend as baseless fiction, as having no historical value whatever.²¹

The evolution of the pure history, the separation of the literal fact from the poetical and other alloy and amalgam, is daily proceeding, in multitudinous detached investigations, until the time shall be ripe for well-considered summary and general deduction of the historical product derivable from a mass of records that profess to be continuous upwards to the very creation and chaos.

The present point for our attention is, that the downward course of the connected traditions terminates just before the age of Homer; at that distance from him, we may say, that may be regarded as ordinarily intervening between the historical event and the formation of a mythic representation of it.

Why did the operation come to an end, and why precisely at this time? Did historical events take form and course unmanageable even by the flexibility of mythus, at least in any form

²¹ See the pointed and pertinent observations of Müller, in his review of Preller's *Demeter and Persephone*, re-

printed among his *Kleine Schriften*, vol. II. p. 97-99.

that would harmonize with the antecedent system? Did the race no longer care to recal and record the actions or misfortunes of its immediate forefathers, of the generations whose activities were gradually dying out in the memory of man? or did another form of record arise that superseded the mythus?

Perhaps the case partook more or less of every one of these forms; and the combination of all brought about the conjuncture at which the mythotoky of Hellas, prolific for ages, at length became effete. The Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus, itself an expedition of many united tribes that, in earlier ages, would scarcely have combined in such intimate alliance, appears to have caused a still greater admixture of tribes among the population it supplanted and expelled, and thus the obliteration of the subjects of mythic personification. Herodotus gives ample proof of the mixture of tribes who associated in the formation of the Asiatic colonies, mingling no doubt in no short period into general uniformity. The genius of the historic mythus demanded continuity and specific character, and both were abolished for the particular subdivisions figuring in earlier story, by the great revolution that merged all in the broad distinctions of Dorian and Ionian; and in the meantime a new direction had been given to the intellectual activity of the class on whose characteristics the entire scheme was dependent.

History, by virtue of the poetical form it had chosen for itself, in metaphor and myth, was, if not exclusively in poetic hands, at least extensively so, and liable to be affected by the revolutions of poetic taste; and indeed, as the poetic element gained in development, and rose to independent vigour and predominance, the historic at the same time, by the coincidence of political reverses, having become little cheering or attractive, retired into comparative insignificance. Poetry becoming more and more devoted to and capable of its highest forms of imaginative development, history was left fairly in the lurch. The successive ages of inventions of myths, were succeeded and crowned by a period in which the plane composition and simple transcript of the single events, or an inartificial series, were felt to be tame and uninteresting; a period which, familiar with the vast stores of accumulated legend of all the various heretofore secluded districts of Hellas, demanded complexity, piquancy, grand structure; not incidents, but systems of incidents; novelty of combination, rather than of distinct adventures; delineations

of character under varied circumstances capable of educing all its qualities, not mere exhibitions of isolated passion and points of general human nature. These demands were supplied, how fully, how gloriously, by the genius we have endeavoured in all veneration to approach and appreciate. The Homeric poems,—let us say rather the poems of Homer,—stand brilliant monuments of the otherwise obscure ages, between the termination of history in mythical form, and its assumption of the prosaic and pragmatical. We cannot wonder, in the presence of such works, at the cessation of the inferior, however necessary and introductory mode of mental activity, and scarcely at the length of time that intervened before the world bethought itself seriously of the gap it was leaving in the series of its acts and monuments.

The fitting limit of an Essay has already been overpast and lost sight of, and it will occur to all, that one interesting class of the relations of Homer to his age has been scarcely adverted to: What conclusions can be arrived at respecting the real relation of the social and political condition depicted by Homer, to that in the midst of which he himself lived and flourished? At what points do the poems bear most directly on the actual experience of his contemporaries of the arts of war and peace, the collisions of Greek and barbarian, of monarchical, aristocratical, and even democratic elements,—and how far do these indications lend and borrow light from the historic vestiges of his period and country? These are questions fruitful of historical and philosophical reflection, and the attention I have given to them emboldens me to promise the independent enquirer no equivocal reward. In such hands I leave them; the course of the subject has already led me to advance more than space and place permit me to vindicate in the required detail: dogmatism has its modest as well as arrogant phases, and lies in wait to entrap those who allow themselves to promulgate even a conjecture which they do not hold themselves at the moment bound to bring to the test. To avoid therefore the possibility of a surprise so afflicting, for the present,—*lusiinus*.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

London, 13th November 1848.

XXVIII.

RECENT TRANSLATIONS OF THE AGAMEMNON.

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1. THE AGAMEMNON OF ÆSCHYLUS: The Greek Text; with a Translation into English Verse, and Notes Critical and Explanatory. By John Conington, B. A., Fellow of University College, Oxford. London: J. W. Parker. 1848.
 2. THE AGAMEMNON OF ÆSCHYLUS: Translated Literally and Rhythmically. By W. Sewell, B. D., Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. With a Preface and Notes. London: Longman. 1846.

THE English and the Germans, so diversely constituted in most particulars, and forming, in fact, opposite poles of the intellectual and moral world, stand peculiarly contrasted in that department of literature which seeks to appropriate the products of foreign and far distant minds by the engine of translation. Scarcely does the theology or the metaphysics of our trans-Rhenane brethren present a stronger contrast to ours, than Pope's Homer forms to that of Voss. In the transfusion of ancient Greek and Roman poetry into our tongue, the main object of the English translator has always been to be free and graceful, spirited and energetic; while, with an instinct no less distinctly national, the German, religiously laborious, strives after accuracy of erudition, and profundity of philosophical appreciation. "*Soleo enim cum religione quâdam sacras auctorum veterum reliquias contemplari,*" says Wellauer, in reference to his faithful labours in the reconstruction of the Æschylean text; and this religious veneration for the spirit, and even the letter of antiquity, however little it may seem consistent with certain bold and revolutionary features of recent German philology, is precisely that quality of mind which gives to German translations from the classical languages that stamp and character so peculiar to them, and, for the most part, so repugnant to us. The Germans do, in fact, translate all books as our theologians, in the days of the Reformation, translated the Bible; not merely into English scrupulously exact, word

for word almost answering to the original text, but with a strong dash of Hebraism steeping the thought and tincturing the expression. The German makes a translation as the Daguerrotype takes portraits, nice even to a hair, but not always pleasant. The Englishman deals with his author as a clever actor deals with the text of an old dramatist, painting out a beauty here, and paring down a deformity there, omitting in one passage what seems offensive or unintelligible to the modern ear, and supplying in another part some grace of which the author never dreamt, perhaps was utterly incapable of, but doing whatever he does always with great spirit, tact, and taste, and never without a plain practical purpose, and a visible popular effect.

The principles on which our English school of translation has been formed, may be found most distinctly announced, and expressed with great point and pregnancy, by that great master of good rhyme and of good sense, John Dryden, in the preface dedicatory to his translation of Juvenal. Some of the remarks which he makes on his predecessors, Holiday and Stapylton, are, in our opinion, so extremely pertinent to many German translations of the present day, that we shall shorten our own labour materially, and gratify some readers, by extracting the whole passage :

“The common way which we have taken is not a literal translation, but a kind of paraphrase : or somewhat which is yet more loose, betwixt a paraphrase and imitation. It was not possible for us, on any view, to have made it pleasant any other way. If rendering the exact sense of these authors, almost line for line, had been our business, Barton Holiday had done it already to our hands ; and by the help of his learned notes and illustrations, not only Juvenal and Persius, but what is yet more obscure, his own verses, might be understood. But he wrote for fame, and wrote to scholars ; we write only for the pleasure and entertainment of those gentlemen and ladies who, though they are not scholars, are not ignorant ; persons of understanding and good sense ; who not having been conversant in the original, or at least not having made Latin verse so much their business as to be critics in it, would be glad to find if the wit of our two great authors be answerable to their fame and reputation in the world. We have therefore endeavoured to give the public all the satisfaction we are able in this kind. And if we are not altogether so faithful to our author as our predecessors Holiday and Stapylton ; yet we may challenge to ourselves this praise, that we shall be far more pleasing to our readers. We have followed our authors at greater distance, though not

step by step, as they have done. For oftentimes they have gone so close, that they have trod on the heels of Juvenal and Persius, and hurt them by their too near approach. A noble author would not be pursued too close by a translator. We lose his spirit when we think to take his body. The grosser part remains with us, but the soul is flown away, in some noble expression, or some delicate turn of words, or thought. Thus Holiday, who made this way his choice, seized the meaning of Juvenal; but the poetry has always escaped him. They who will not grant me, that pleasure is one of the ends of poetry, but that it is only a means of compassing the only end, which is instruction, must yet allow, that without the means of pleasure, the instruction is but a bare and dry philosophy; a crude preparation of morals, which we may have from Aristotle and Epictetus, with more profit than from any poet; neither Holiday nor Stapylton have imitated Juvenal, in the poetical parts of him, his diction and his elocution. Nor had they been poets, as neither of them were; yet in the way they took, it was impossible for them to have succeeded in the poetic part. The English verse which we call heroic, consists of more than ten syllables, the Latin hexameter sometimes rises to seventeen; as for example, this verse in Virgil:

Pulverulenta putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.

Here is the difference of no less than seven syllables in a line, betwixt the English and the Latin. Now the medium of these is about fourteen syllables: because the dactyle is a more frequent foot in hexameters than the spondee. But Holiday, without considering that he writ with the disadvantage of four syllables less in every verse, endeavours to make one of his lines to comprehend the sense of one of Juvenal's. According to the falsity of the proposition was the success. He was forced to crowd his verse with ill-sounding monosyllables, of which our barbarous language affords him a wild plenty: and by that means he arrived at his pedantic end, which was to make a literal translation: his verses have nothing of verse in them, but only the worst part of it, the rhyme; and that, into the bargain, is far from good. But, which is more intolerable, by cramming his ill chosen and worse sounding monosyllables so close together, the very sense which he endeavours to explain is become more obscure than that of the author. So that Holiday himself cannot be understood, without as large a commentary as that which he makes on his two authors. For my own part, I can make a shift to find the meaning of Juvenal without his notes, but his translation is more difficult than his author. And I find beauties in the Latin to recompense my pains; but in Holiday and Stapylton my ears, in the first place, are mortally offended: and then their sense is so perplexed, that I return to the original as the more pleasing task, as well as the more easy.

"This must be said for our translation, that if we give not the whole sense of Juvenal, yet we give the most considerable part of it. We give it, in general, so clearly, that few notes are sufficient to make us intelligible. We make our author at least appear in a poetic dress. We have actually made him more sounding, and more elegant, than he was before in English: and have endeavoured to make him speak that kind of English which he would have spoken had he lived in England, and had he written to this age. If sometimes any of us (and it is but seldom) make him express the customs and manners of our native country, rather than of Rome, it is, either when there was some kind of analogy betwixt their customs and ours, or when, to make him more easy to vulgar understandings, we give him those manners which are familiar to us. But I defend not this innovation, it is enough if I can excuse it. For, to speak sincerely, the manners of nations and ages are not to be confounded; we should either make them English, or leave them Roman. If this can neither be defended nor excused, let it be pardoned at least, because it is acknowledged: and so much the more easily, as being a fault which is never committed without some pleasure to the reader."¹

This is a long extract, but it contains in a few sentences volumes of sound sense, such as you shall seek for in vain through whole æsthetical libraries of our many-folio'd friends, the Germans. It lays bare also, with a happy honesty, the weak side of the English strong man, when he careers along in his path of translation, not like a peeping German engraver on copper-plate, but like a regal Neptune lashing the billowy brine in triumph,—this weakness, namely, that in the heat of his enthusiasm, our English translator is in constant danger to act himself beyond his part, perhaps out of it altogether; in the strong possession of his idea to be a spirited imitator, he becomes a genuine original; instead of merely changing the dress, he has metamorphosed the character, and transmuted the soul of the old Greek. Let that direct manly English sentence stand out strongly as a solemn warning to all English translators from the mouth of their greatest Coryphæus: "*For, to speak sincerely, the manners of nations and ages are not to be confounded; we should either make them English, or leave them Roman.*" Not merely not to confound, but to retain, and to bring conspicuously forward, (so far of course as the language

¹ For the other side of the case, we cannot do better than refer our readers

back to Mr. Horne's remarks, No. III. of the *Classical Museum*.

will allow), every trait that is in the slightest degree characteristic of his original,—this, we cordially agree with Mr. Sewell, (p. 76.) must ever be the grand object of a translator; for why do we seek eagerly to know a foreigner, either in life or in books, but for the sake of that which is foreign in him, or characteristic of him as a foreigner? Now, those who have examined English translations with care know, that precisely in this point lies their hereditary liability to offend. Instead of bringing that which is characteristic of their author into the foreground with a forward love, which, even if excessive, were pardonable, they studiously strive to hide it, either letting it drop altogether, or daubing it with a white wash, or working it over with all sorts of modern gum-flowers, and artificial festooning; just as if a painter, commissioned to give a sketch of the wild scenery in the granite district of Loch-na-gar and Balmoral, should, for fear of being thought harsh and over-bold, delineate every eminence, with smooth and gentle lines borrowed from the pastoral slopes of the green Ochills and the Cheviots! Or, perhaps, a worse procedure may be adopted, as in the case of those manufacturers of landscape, whom Ruscan so severely criticises, whose mountains are neither Ochills nor Grampians, but only mountains in general. Many instances of this generalizing style of translation may be noted in Francis' translation of Horace. As for the other, or what we may aptly call, the elegant style, which systematically softens down, and rubs off the characteristic peculiarities of the original, examples of it are to be found everywhere in the English translations of the classics; for the ancients, and especially the Greeks, had a direct and striking way of appealing broadly to the senses with a few bold words, which is mostly an offence, to the more refined sensibility, and over-delicate fastidiousness of the moderns. Of this fault, however, as it is pertinent to our present purpose, I shall mention a few instances from a translation of the *Agamemnon*, published within these twenty years.² In the sublime opening chorus to this play, "the most wonderful effort," as Mr. Conington justly remarks, "of Greek poetry," *Æschylus*, after painting the appearance of two eagles devouring a hare laden with young, as an evil omen to the Greek fleet assembled at Aulis, describes *Artemis*, the patroness of the wild beasts of

² *The Agamemnon of Æschylus from the Greek, by John S. Harford, Esq.* London 1831.

the forest, as indignant at this offence of the twin birds of Jove (representing Menelaus and Agamemnon), and therefore brooding evil against the house of Atridæ :

— ὄϊα

Γὰρ ἐπίφθονος Ἄρτεμις ἄγνὰ

Πτανοῖσι κυσὶ πατρὸς

Ἄυτότοκον πρὸ λόχου μογεράν πτάκα θυομένοιαι.

In which passage the eagles are called “the winged hounds of the father;” a phraseology at once most characteristic of the thing meant (a compound of celerity and ferocity) of the Greek style of imagery, and above all, of the genius of Æschylus; and a phraseology, therefore, which ought, at any sacrifice to have been retained by a translator who knew his duty, and who appreciated his author. Now, mark how Harford translates:—

Diana's wrath this house must feel,
EAGLES, she hates your bloody meal.”

And in a note he says:—“the term *winged dogs* or griffins for eagles, is one of those extravagancies of expression in which the wild fancy of Æschylus often indulged, and for which he is pleasantly rallied by Aristophanes in the *Frogs*”!!! In the same way, where Cassandra, in the vivid picture language of prophecy, describes the king of men as “a bull with black horns,” Harford, as if to smooth down what to a modern fancy may appear the grossness of this favourite ancient image, first adds the epithet “noble” to the animal, and then misses out the “black horns” altogether. No less is he offended with the chorus, when, in the immediately preceding passage, they describe their blood, in somewhat strong, but in a moment of preternatural excitement, not unnatural language, as becoming *yellow* with fear.

Ἐπὶ δὲ καρδίαν ἔδραμε κροκοβαφῆς
Στάχων.

This *yellow* drop he makes *ruddy*.—But we forbear to multiply examples of this timid and delicate style of translation, which one may now be allowed to hope, with the single exception of Harford's work, Symmons,³ by his masculine and

³ The *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, translated by John Symmons, Esq. A.M., late student of Christ Church (son of

the translator of the *Æneid*.) London, 1824.

vigorous example, has banished for ever from the field of Æschylean translation. It will not be useless, however, to have brought this matter distinctly forward, as we shall see immediately that a recent translator of undoubted genius, has run, with an unreined plunge, after a fashion really ludicrous, into exactly the opposite extreme.

Recurring to the critical remarks of Dryden, from which we started, we find in the very first words, another fertile source of abuse in our English translations. "The common way," says he, "which we have taken is not a literal translation, but a sort of paraphrase, or something which is yet more loose, betwixt a paraphrase and an imitation." What this "sort of paraphrase" was, may best be understood by setting before the reader the following four lines and a half from the first satire of Juvenal, with their translation by Dryden:—

"Cum pars Niliacæ plebis, cum verna Canopi
Crispinus, Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,
Ventilet æstivum digitis sudantibus aurum,
Nec sufferre queat majoris pondera gemmæ,
Difficile est satiram non scribere."

Thus translated:

"When I behold the spawn of conquered Nile,
Crispinus, both in birth and manners vile,
Pacing in pomp with cloak of Tyrian dye,
Changed oft a day for needless luxury;
And finding oft occasion to be fanned,
Ambitious to produce his lady hand;
Charged with light summer rings his fingers sweat,
Unable to support a gem of weight;
Such fulsome objects meeting every where,
'Tis hard to write, but harder to forbear."

Here it were the most easy of all things for a scrupulous critic of very minute dimensions, to point out half a dozen or perhaps a whole dozen words, or even a whole line, that has no exact counterpart in the original; greater still to such a small observer were the offence, that plain "Maevia," mentioned a few lines above Crispinus, in our poet's version, becomes,

"Mannish Maevia, that two-handed whore;"

but, in this particular passage, "the sort of paraphrase" is really executed with such truly Juvenalian vigour and point, that a judicious critic will fear to blame a splendid fault, which has the extraordinary virtue of making the original author write even more like himself in English than he does in Latin. It is not always, however, that the system of paraphrase or "sort of paraphrase," thus nobly exemplified by Dryden, is productive of fruits equally innocent. For, in the first place, every translator is not a Dryden, (and this is a matter which translators, who have no public status as poets, ought seriously to consider); and again, every author will not bear paraphrases; a Horace, for instance, a Tacitus, and we may add, Æschylus. If it be characteristic of an author to use few words, it is, to say the least of it, uncalled for in a translator, to make him use many; if, in the language of Madame de Staël, quoted by Mr. Symmons, "*en tous genres nous autres modernes nous disons trop*," then verbiage and diffusion will be a fault specially to be avoided by a person who shall translate in the most felicitous style from the antique. And that this fault of sonorous diffusion, and what necessarily goes along with it, decorated interpolation, is one that, to the present hour, remains strikingly characteristic of the English school, we had recent occasion to observe in a short notice of Mr. Swayne's translation of the Prometheus.⁴ To the observations there made, we refer our readers for some remarks on this point that would otherwise belong to this place; for the present we shall only express our sorrow that Mr. Symmons, in other respects so admirable, should not have had self-control enough to keep his elastic spirits more tight in rein, nor sufficient self-denial resolutely to clip the occasional faulty luxuriance of his verse. In the translation of humorous and satiric poetry, like that of Horace in his *Satires*, and Juvenal, a certain light dash of the modern is absolutely necessary in order to produce the humorous and satirical effect; but when a solemn old Doric Æschylus is to be held up to view, every reverential eye whose glance is worth gaining, will prefer to see him in all that naked massiveness, and abrupt startling angularity which is so peculiarly his own,—even as men of taste when pacing the galleries of the British Museum, would prefer look-

⁴ *Classical Museum*, No. XIII. p. 336.

ing at "the naked beauty of Antinous, Adonis, or Apollo," without the fig leaves.

So much for the general character of English reproductions of ancient literature, in respect of imaginative appropriation and poetical expression. A more difficult point remains,—how far, and according to what laws, is the *rhythmical* character of literary composition in the ancient languages to be expressed in their modern reproduction? On this very difficult subject, various opinions have on different occasions been expressed by different writers in this Journal; but the title and pretensions of Mr. Sewell's work, "the Agamemnon translated, literally and *rhythmically*," obliges the present writer again to state distinctly, what, after much consideration and experiment, he considers to be the principles on which a safe decision may be founded. On this point also the English school and the German are even more decidedly and vitally at war than in regard to the matters above touched; and, as there has been a great tendency among English scholars latterly to look to Germany as a model, so we find that with regard to the matter of rhythmical translation also, one of our contributors⁵ seems to consider the case of English poetical translation hopeless, unless "the ancient metres be adopted here as in Germany." It will be some satisfaction, therefore, to our national self-esteem, if an impartial inquiry should after all make out, not only that the Germans are no safe guides for us in this matter, but that they have themselves been led astray by an academical pedantry, (the great vice of their literature,) into thorny wastes, from which a large and healthy æsthetical philosophy might have saved them.

Now, without being curious, we may lay it down as a broad principle here, to which all will assent, that the great charm of rhythmical composition in poetry, lies in a certain noble freedom of sonorous movement within certain bounds, along with grace, ease, strength, elegance, point, decision, variously distributed as the place and occasion may require. And most persons, on a little reflection, will be willing to submit also to that dictum of Dryden, that "versification and numbers are the greatest pleasures of poetry," (preface to Juvenal,) at all events, that a regular well-ordered rhythm is the only quality by which

⁵ Mr. Oxenford, in No. ix. p. 279.

poetry, in the common acceptation of the word, is distinguished from prose. In a wide and general sense, we all know that poetry is by no tangible test to be distinguished from prose. No greater poets ever existed than Jeremy Taylor, and Plato, and Jean Paul Richter, who yet never penned a line of verse. In common language, therefore, versification and numbers are the prominent distinction of poetry; and in the perfection of its versification and numbers, does the necessary perfection of a poem as a distinct work of art consist. A man may have the most luxuriant imagination, and the most coruscating fancy, yet, if he will write in rhyme, and his verse limps at every other line, we call him a bad poet. He has fine ideas, but he has bungled his work. A poetical work, therefore, rhythmically composed in Greek, must be reproduced rhythmically in English, if it is to be reproduced in its character of a work of art at all, otherwise its characteristic element, (though not by any means its vital soul,) is lost. So far we presume there can be no dispute. Even the fine lyrical compositions of the Old Testament, which we read with so much pleasure in plain prose, would scarcely be tolerable to us in their present shape, had they possessed in their original a rhythm to our ears as appreciable and as familiar as that of the Odes of Horace. But it by no means follows from this postulate, as the Germans seem hastily to conclude, that a good translation must present an exact transcription or copy of the rhythmical movement of the original. For, in order to justify this conclusion, it were necessary that the translating language should, with respect to rhythmical character and capacity, be a perfect match for that from which the translation is made. Now, even with respect to modern languages growing up from the same root, and inhaling the same atmosphere, a very few experiments will convince the most sanguine, that this correspondency of rhythmical capacity does not exist. The English language, for instance, is, both by grammatical constitution, and by the usage of its great masters, who tune the public ear, of a much narrower rhythmical capacity than the German. Much more must such a disparity be counted on between Greek and English, and even between Greek and German; for the ancient Greek ear was educated by one set of rhythmical laws, and the modern ear, whether English or German, by another and a very different set of laws. Neither the English nor the German lan-

guage, in the exercise of poetry, moves naturally according to the laws of Greek rhythm, any more than an English or a German sentence moves naturally in prose according to the laws of Greek or Latin syntax; and to translate Greek poetry with a mechanical repetition of the Greek rhythm, is as much contrary to the laws of the modern languages, and the principles of a just æsthetical science, as to translate Latin prose, observing in the structure of our English sentences the laws of Ruddiman and Zumpt. For the rhythm of a language, we must maintain decidedly, is a part of its vital organism as essentially as its grammar; and no mere translator is entitled to sin against the laws of the one any more than against those of the others. Any man, indeed, with an accomplished ear, may, for his own amusement, or the instruction of others, teach his own language, or any language with which he is sufficiently familiar, to perform any number of metrical feats; and this, it may be, with a certain artificial grace sometimes, as at other times with hideous dislocations and distortions; but such a man does not use his language wisely as an artist, but only makes "metrical experiments" as a philosopher, and aspires, as Clough has well drawn the distinction, "to illustrate the metres of the ancients, not to reproduce their poetry."⁶ This obvious distinction, so patent to our English common sense, the Germans, with their inherent tendency to overdo everything, have failed to recognize; and the consequence is, that while they have produced translations of the great poetical works of the Greeks, remarkable for laborious verbal accuracy, (which, by the way, might have been attained much more cheaply in plain prose,) their labours in this department are for the most part lamentably deficient in that noble freedom, and natural grace of harmonious movement, which is the very secret charm and witchcraft of rhythmical composition.⁷

⁶ Latin Lyrical Measures; in *Classical Museum*, No. xiv. p. 250.

⁷ Of course we speak not here of German translations in hexameter and elegiac verse, which, having been completely naturalized by the great masters, Goethe and Schiller, are now part of the German rhythmical inheritance as much as the Greek measures were to ancient Rome. But it requires a *master*, and sometimes a whole school of masters, to subject a

language to such rhythmical laws, just as the same masters are the great lords of the laws of grammar. Very often, even a great master, as we see in the case of Southey, cannot succeed; nor is the American *Evangeline* of Professor Longfellow likely to be a more successful gospel of English hexameters than was the English *Vision of Judgment*. In such matters the popular ear is apt to be tyrannical.

Leaving it, therefore, to our curiously-conscientious fellow-labourers, the Germans, to accompany their painful imitations of the ancient tragic choruses, with the music of the fether and the screw, we may now inquire whether it be not open to us, "practical English," to find out at once a more philosophical and a more pleasant way. That way is plain. The rhythm of the translated language must not be copied mechanically, but represented æsthetically by the translator. In other words, every rhythmical composition in a foreign language must be translated into that rhythmical form of our native tongue, which is most akin to it in genius, spirit, and compass. This principle, recently illustrated in an interesting paper ascribed to Professor Newman,⁸ is indeed so obviously the true one, that our great translators have, in their practice, either acknowledged no principle at all, or acknowledged this. They might, indeed, make an error of judgment in the application of a right rule; but Pope's reason for rendering Homer into our so-called heroic verse manifestly was, that, according to his insight, he considered this to be the measure in our language most analogous in character and association to the hexameter verse of the Greek heroic poem; and though Pope may have failed in the perception of the true character of the Homeric Epos, that Dryden was felicitous in his choice of the same heroic couplet for the pointed and forcible satire of Juvenal, few are likely to deny. The great error of our English translators, however, in this matter of rhythmical transference has been, that they have too often been guided by no principle at all, but seem to have thought that here was the proper region for the poetic freedom to disport itself in at large. Or again, some of them seem to have proceeded on the rule, that the greatest possible uniformity, monotony, and tameness of rhythmical compass, was the fittest expression for the luxuriant variety and magnificent airy sweep of the Greek. And in the translation of the Greek drama in particular, we find a complete confusion of the most common and essentially distinct rhythmical features. Thus Potter turns the fine antiphonal wail, the finale of the Persians, into vulgar tragic declamation in iambic verse; and even Symmons, in his admirable version of the Agamemnon, gives himself no pains to mark out rhythmically to the English reader the difference between the ana-

⁸ Thoughts on Poetical Translation, in the *London University College Magazine* for February 1848.

pæstic measure of the *πάροδος*, the opening chorus, (beginning with *δέκατον μὲν ἔτος*;) and the Dactylic, Trochaic, and other measures of the *στάσιμον*, or choral hymn proper, commencing with *κύριός ἐμι θροεῖν*, (v. 104.) In opposition to this extraordinary looseness, we should feel inclined to lay down the following rules of rhythmical practice as imperative on all poetical translators of the Greek drama.

1. The iambic dialogue, of course, to be rendered in the English blank of ten syllables, but formed more on the measured majesty of our epic verse, than on the irregular dash and quick smartness of our tragic dialogue. With this condition all our translators instinctively agree, except that they would gladly make the Greek dialogue more dramatic and colloquial, after our model, than, as it is, formal and architectural, after the imperfect notions of the Greeks.

2. A distinct and broad line of demarcation must be made between the anapæstic *πάροδος*, and the choral chaunts. For Æschylus at least, this is a vital point. As to the English measure, which may be regarded as the proper æsthetical analogon to the Greek anapæstic dimeter, this is a very difficult question, which we do not think Mr. Conington has solved by the admirable use of the English rhymed anapæst, which he has made in some passages. The fact of the matter is, that these two measures, the English and the Greek anapæst, have nothing in common but the names. The Greek anapæst in the *πάροδος* of the Æschylean dramas, unquestionably represents the march-time to which the chorus entered the stage and performed other movements, when they were not directly engaged in singing a solemn chaunt round the *θυμέλη*, or central theatric altar; while the English anapæst, like the English dactylic verse, as has been elsewhere stated,⁹ seems more nearly connected with movements in triple time. Newman says of it, "the English anapæstic measure may be either jocose, tender, or vehement, and has much capability; yet, from the tendency which it has in common with the hexameter to prosaic forms of speech, it is a peculiarly dangerous one to handle for serious subjects. Besides, it frequently receives unfair treatment from injudicious reciters, who either give too weak an impulse of voice on the accented syllable, (and so convert the lines into prose,) or ac-

⁹ Remarks on English Hexameters, *Classical Museum*, vol. iv. p. 319.

company it with undue musical elevation, which makes a grave metre tripping and frivolous, especially if they add a third common fault, that of hurrying the unaccented syllables, many of which are long in our language." All which is very true ; and these, along with other considerations, lead the present writer to think that a better measure for the tragic dimeter in all respects, would be the octo-syllabic trochaic verse, varied occasionally with hepta-syllabic and penta-syllabic lines, to express the Greek parœmiac verse, and the occasional monometer, as also for the sake of a pause. There is a strength, a decision, and a certainty, as also a fine billowy roll, about this measure when well managed, of which we think the English anapæst is scarcely susceptible. We are inclined to think also, that it may be made more easily—if this should be thought desirable—to dispense with the appendage of rhyme.

3. The choral chaunts must, when well managed, call an infinite variety of English rhythmical faculty into play ; otherwise there is no just representation of the varied luxuriance of the Greek ; but to lay down special rules here is very difficult. In the first place, of course, monotony, and a repetition of the same, and those often very common-place, English measures, is to be avoided. In the next place, a due regard must always be had to the emotional character and tone of the particular passage ; a matter belonging to the most delicate poetical appreciation, but still subject to some obvious rules ; as, for instance, this, that in all sober and weighty passages, the iambic measures, or the trochaic, in various combinations, are the most safe for the translator to deal with, while a well-handled anapæst will often materially assist the expression of a flow of emotion, where joy and delight are the prevailing feelings. If it be asked further, whether when the Greek choral chaunt presents—which it certainly does not always—a measure clearly defined and appreciable to the English ear, and conformable also to the structure of the English language, it is not the duty of the English rhythmical translator to make an exact transcript of the original stanza, after the fashion of the Germans :—we reply, that there can be no objection to this, provided it be not over-curiously done, (for then the natural freedom of rhythmical movement is apt to be impeded,) and provided also the translator do not cheat himself and his readers into the belief, that he is giving an æsthetical equivalent, where the state of our know-

ledge of Greek metres and music only enables us to give a mechanical resemblance. For the fact is, that however we may count syllables, and combine or dislocate lines, we really do not know what was the true rhythmical character of most of the choral metres as appreciated by the Greek ear; nor can we state any reason for the peculiarities which continually strike us in the structure of their verse. Nothing is more common in Æschylus, for instance, (see *Agam.* chorus I. strophe A., and *Eumen. Stasimon.* II. v. 468-535,) than to mingle up a heptasyllabic trochaic verse, otherwise quite analogous to the corresponding English metre, with cretics, and then to dash off into a line of dactyles, in a manner which the English not only not ill tolerates, but positively disowns. These peculiarities must either be imitated servilely, and then we fall into the pedantry of the Germans; or, if they are slurred over, we only give a part of our prototype, and for any thing that we gain, might as easily have let the imitation alone from the beginning. Let us see how Mr. Conington has managed this:—

Ζεὺς ὅστις ποτ' ἔστιν, εἰ τὸδ' αὖ-
 τῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ,
 Τοῦτό νιν προσενέπω.
 'Οὐκ ἔχω προσεκάσαι
 Πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος
 Πλὴν Διὸς, εἰ τὸ μάταν ἀπο φροντίδος ἄχθος
 Χρη βαλεῖν ἐτητύμως.

"Zeus, whoe'er he is, if such the name,
 Suits his royal pleasure well,¹⁰
 Thus would I his style proclaim—
 Else in sooth I cannot tell
 Weighing every power I know—
 Save Zeus' alone, if I indeed may throw
 From my breast this causeless woe."

Now what I mean to say here is, that our knowledge of the reasons (musical in all likelihood rather than poetical) which induced Æschylus to preface this trochaic series with a supernumerary spondaic base (Ζεὺς ὅς-), and to interrupt it in that par-

¹⁰ By the way, this "royal pleasure" is a little too colloquial and modern for an old Greek chorus; and in some other places, Mr. Conington offends in

the same way, as where he speaks of "sorrows more infinitely keen," (v. 415,) which is not merely colloquial but vulgar.

ticular passage (πλὴν Δὸς, &c.), by a verse of five Dactyles is so utterly nothing, that a rhythmical artist can have no intelligible ground on which to proceed in endeavouring to construct an equivalent; and therefore it is wiser not to attempt any thing of the kind. And in general, the exact scholar, when judging the work of a rhythmical translator, ought to bear in mind, that better verses are likely to be produced by the occasional indulgence of the natural pleasure, or even whim of the ear, than by the continued straining to imitate an ambiguous and half-understood model. In the lyric chaunts, therefore, we should be inclined to grant a large liberty; and the more so, that we must insist on the conscientious observance of the strophic and anti-strophic system, in itself a considerable restriction, and sufficient to keep the luxuriant translator within the bounds of a salutary constraint. So characteristic a feature of the Greek drama, the principles of a just æsthetical science, cannot allow us to give up; though in this, as in other rhythmical matters, the English translators are apt to be particularly licentious. Symmons, a Greek for taste, and Sewell, a German for fidelity, are equally at fault here.

4. Great attention should be paid to those parts of the choral chaunts (as in the opening chorus of the *Seven against Thebes*, and that which holds the same places in the *Eumenides*) where the dochmiac verse prevails; and which, in their series of hurried and fitful exclamations, form a complete rhythmical contrast to the stable and compact mass of the common choric chaunts. Here every variety of hurried, precipitous, and broken measure will be allowable; but the contrast between such dochmiac passages and the regular choric chaunts must be marked.

5. As for those parts of the tragic dialogue, not unfrequent in *Æschylus*, which are written in trochaic tetrameters, as this is a familiar English measure, we see no reason why they should not be so rendered in our own tongue. This, Captain Medwyn, in his vigorous and spirited version of the *Agamemnon*,¹¹ has not thought it necessary to do; but both he and his fellow-offender, Mr. Symmons, have failed to shew any reason why they should not follow the agreeable elasticity of the original Greek measure in the concluding lines of the great master's greatest work. Surely, neither he nor Mr. Symmons will say

¹¹ London. Pickering; 1832.

that these lines of Mr. Conington, in the measure of the original, form a weak and inappropriate close,—

“Never waste attention longer on these curs’ insensate yell;
Thou and I will rule the palace, and establish all things well.”

There is one important point of rhythmical doctrine, on which an opinion has not been indicated, and that to the general reading public by no means the least important one, viz. rhyme. On this a single sentence will suffice. If rhyme be a general adjunct of lyric verse, according to the use and wont of the English language, so much so, that the want of it is sensibly felt by a well-educated English ear, then, according to the principles that have guided us in the above remarks, it cannot be wise in an English translator of lyric poetry, in the general case, to attempt to do without it. We say in the general case, because even the English language presents a few very successful specimens of the highest lyrical poetry without rhymes, (in which kind Collins’ *Ode to Evening* has been often and deservedly pointed out as a master-piece,) and because also it depends somewhat on the general style and contents of the poetry, whether an English reader will imperatively desiderate rhyme or not. In solemn lyrics, full of hard and massy thought, a strong artist, like Milton, may attempt much without rhyme; but wherever the graceful, the elegant, or the playful are aimed at, the English translator makes, in our opinion, a capital blunder, who flings away the pretty bells which the English ear has so long delighted to associate with the trip of the modern muse. There is indeed no occasion why an English translator, studious of fidelity, should, on any occasion, do himself the needless damage of dancing, without this customary music, when we consider with how small a display of rhyme the English ear will be satisfied. Strictly speaking, we call for rhyme only in the close or fall of the stanza; and this can easily be managed, without any serious trespass on verbal accuracy, by a workman of common dexterity. But as minute verbal accuracy are the proper objects of a prose, not of a poetical transaction, there can be no reason why a rhythmical translator, (provided always he keeps a close eye on what is characteristic in his original,) should not disport himself occasionally in all that luxuriant richness of alternating single and double rhyme, which is at once the peculiar rhythmical grace of our English lyric measures, and our

true æsthetical equivalent to the magnificent variety of the Greek tragic ode.²¹

Let us now look more particularly into the character and pretensions of those two recent rhythmical translations of the *Agamemnon*, which were the immediate occasion of these general remarks. As the productions of Oxford scholars of well-known talent, they would have been deserving of notice under any circumstances: but, at the present moment, when a change is visibly sweeping over so many departments of our literature, they are particularly notable. Of such a change also, they both bear manifest marks upon their foreheads: Mr. Sewell setting forth in his preface, and on his title-page, an altogether new theory of translation, and following it out in his practice with a fearless consistency; while Mr. Conington finds it necessary to make a sort of apology for his impersonation of two characters hitherto, in English literature, usually kept distinct, that of a poetical translator and that of a philological commentator. It is remarkable, likewise, that both these translators, though differing, and indeed contrasted in many respects, unite in the one quality of comparative faithfulness and literalness, which marks them out as approximations, on English ground, to the principles of the German school of translation. Their appearance, therefore, not merely excuses, but imperatively provokes such a review of the general principles of rhythmical translation as we have been attempting; and in further illustration of which, it is fitting now that we should permit the parties under review to state their own sentiments in their own language. Mr. Sewell, as might have been expected from him, mingling up philosophy with philology, says:

“In giving change for his Greek words, the translator must take care not to give an idea less, or an idea more, than he receives. He is, therefore, acting perpetually under the sense of a strict external law; there is an outward standard to which he must rigidly conform, a model which he must exactly copy in all its lineaments and colours. The very sense of this, still more the habit of acting on it, is one of

²¹ As these sentiments may appear inconsistent with some previously expressed by me, I confess honestly, that since the period when I wrote the translation of *Horace*, of which specimens appeared in this Journal, (vol. II. p.

287,) my opinions in regard to the danger of rhyme in classical translations, have, from increased experience and constant practice, undergone considerable modification.

the most important elements in a rightly constituted mind. The observance of an external law is man's chief virtue, and chief happiness; and the boy who has been rightly trained to it, in translating a dead language, may be easily led on to apply it to other higher duties and objects."

And again :

"To translate so that the author may speak in another language as he does in his own, so that Æschylus, for instance, in English may be what he is in Greek, is one thing. I possess no such power, and scarcely believe in the practicability of such an attempt. But to translate as an exercise of the mind, forms one of the chief parts of our literary education, and is one of inestimable value as a discipline. The union in it of the strictest accuracy with a rhythmical and poetical character, has hitherto been too generally neglected; and the neglect has been productive of serious mischief. It has been deemed impossible, and our school translations have therefore sunk either into laxity of scholarship, or into a sacrifice of all poetic feeling. But if the choruses of Æschylus can be rendered word for word, and yet into rhyme, the process must be possible in Greek and Latin poetry in general; and to have contributed to its adoption will be no slight satisfaction for one whose immediate duties are placed in classical education."

In these passages Mr. Sewell has expressed his opinion on the peculiar art of the translator, in a manner not to be misunderstood. His preface comes to us in the shape of a distinct "protest against the principles on which most of our translations of the Greek drama have been executed:" and we are therefore in no danger of doing him injustice, when we look upon him as a preacher of a new gospel in these matters, and a setter forth of strange gods. His whole manner is that of a literary, or at least an educational reformer, and an apostle: and what his gospel is, he is too decided and thorough-going a man to leave us in doubt for a moment. He preaches (in opposition to Dryden and our old masters) that "Æschylus can be rendered word for word, and yet into rhyme;" and on this foundation, he says that he actually has done what never was done before, presented to the English reader the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, translated into English both "literally and rhythmically." Now, if there be any truth in the whole scope of our preceding observations, the reader will be prepared to find that the task which Mr. Sewell has proposed to himself in this trans-

lation, is a practical impossibility; in other words, that the noble freedom which is the fair characteristic of a good rhythmic translation, is utterly incompatible with the stiffness and severity which the necessity of literal faithfulness enjoins on a translator. Accordingly, Mr. Sewell's own work is the best refutation of his own theory. It is impossible to read thirty lines continuously of his rhymes, without feeling that the real grace of rhythm is not there; as when a man dances a jig with his legs shackled, you recognize the form of the dance, but think, at the same time, it were both wiser for the performer, and more pleasant for the spectator, that, so long as he has his limbs encumbered with these cramping appendages, he should content himself with a simple march. The first twenty-four lines of the choral *παρόδος* (v. 40-65) gives ample proof of this, and of other defects in Mr. Sewell's new-fangled style of poetical version. Here they are:—

CHORUS.

“The tythed year is with us, lo!
 Since Priam's mighty suitor foe,
 Menelaus, sovran lord,
 And Agamemnon, dower'd
 By gift of Jove with majesty,
 Twin-throned, and twin-sceptred they
 Of Atreus' sons the harnessed pair,
 Stalwart to draw the battle-car,
 Levied their thousand vessell'd host
 Of Argives from this coast—
 A warrior-succour—loud and far,
 From their hot spirit, screaming war;
 Like vultures, that in pangs of wrath,
 Afar from human path,
 High above, their offspring's lair
 In wheeling eddies round are soaring,
 Their way with oary pinions oaring,
 Harving lost for aye and e'er
 Their nestlings' eyrie-watching care.
 But one that dwells above,
 An Apollo, Pan, or Jove;
 Listing the royal birds' shrill moaning,
 Pang-struck cry,
 Her who avengeth late
 Those metics of our state,
 Erynneis, on the felons bids to fly.

And Atreus' children even thus
 There speeds against Paris, he
 The mightier than they,
 The Xenian Zeus ;
 For a dame oft husbanded,
 Many and weary a wrestling dread.
 Knee in dust itself, from quiv'ring
 Setting firm, and spear shaft shiv'ring
 For the prelude prays, for the Danaan crew
 About to set, and for Trojans too."

There is a general awkwardness, and want of musical flow in these lines, which will be perceptible at once to an ear accustomed to the harmony of natural, and not fictitious poetical rhythm. But there is something more than this. The translator allows himself rhymes which are in fact no rhymes at all, and can be defended by no precedent of our poets ; besides that an occasional carelessness of this kind in a great master, compensated, as it generally will be, by a grand flow of swelling ideas, forms no foundation for a rule to regulate the practice of an inferior artist. A translator is always expected to rhyme well, even more nicely than an original composer, because the rhyme is all his part in the matter ; and if he bungles it, he bungles all. Now, in the short space of the two hundred lines of the first παράοδος and στάσιμον of this play, Mr. Sewell has given us the following imperfect consonances, which he wishes us to take for rhymes :—

Majesty, they ; pair, car ; thus, Zeus ; he, they ; state, sit ; flaming, streaming ; dreams, flames ; agony, pity ; sing, kings ; hour, before ; Artemis, eyes ; unshelled, field ; blood, imbued ; before him, roaring ; steel, keels ; done, fawn ; lay, unflinchingly ; farewell, wail.

What can the most indulgent critic say to workmanship of this kind ? A man that handles tools, as Lord Byron says of this very matter of rhyme, should surely know how to use them ; but in the present case, there is the additional provocation, that a man of genius like Mr. Sewell comes forward with observation, and, after proclaiming a new art of poetical translation, "word for word, and yet into RHYME," forges rhymes in his own private mint, and expects that our facile ears shall take these for the legitimate currency. It is a sort of juvenile juggle, unworthy a man of talent. But the greatest men, when a

perverse crotchet seizes them, always make the greatest blunders.

The above specimen of Mr. Sewell's workmanship contains likewise some examples of certain other peculiarities very notable in him, and arising, as we think, from an inborn tendency, common in intense minds, to make just principles ludicrous, by pushing them to an extreme. Why, for instance, does he say, the "*tythed year*." This, we presume, is merely a singularity; but how much more natural, and, at the same time, more poetical is Symmons:—

“Nine years are past; and now the tenth
Rolls on apace.”

Why, again, does he retain the Greek word μέτοικος, “these metics of our state,” which, in the present passage, can merely have the effect of making the translation unintelligible? In a technical treatise, professedly political, technical words must often be retained by the expositor who uses a foreign tongue; but in poetry, technical words are altogether out of place. Again, in v. 352, he retains the word γάγγαμος, and talks in grave rhyme of “springing over a giant gangam,” though he confesses in a note that he knows as little what the peculiar force of the word is in Greek, as his reader can know what it means in English. This is the very superstition of philology. But Mr. Sewell is driven to this and similar offences against good taste, by his zeal for that most just principle mentioned above, that a translator ought not to deal in generalities, but rather to bring out as distinctly as may be the prominent features of his characteristic words. We could point out not a few cases in Mr. Linwood's excellent lexicon, where this principle is not sufficiently attended to.—To explain a less common word by a more common word, its synonym, is not to give the full features and colour of the word. A shaggy dog, for instance, is not only a dog, but it is a dog with shaggy hair. Now, it is only a just praise of Mr. Sewell to say, that wherever a word has a mark upon it, he twitches that mark with such an elastic jerk into a person's nose, that unless one be dead asleep, he must become aware of its existence. This procedure, however, always a virtue in a lexicographer, may readily become a vice with an over-zealous translator, and so it has proved with Mr. Sewell. Thus, κατέξανον,

(v. 189,) he must translate "carding down"—ἐκλαγῆς, (v. 194,) applied to Calchas:—

"The prophet seer did trumpet forth
Raven-like."

This is making too much of a word, as weak translators make too little. This eager desire to squeeze out the characteristic is continually driving him into the most extraordinary conceits. Thus, the difficult and contested line (243) near the conclusion of the opening chorus,

τορὸν γὰρ ἤξει σύνορθρον αὐγάς,

he translates:—

"There will come to them again,
A mortise and indenture plain,
Drilled that the eye shall pierce the twain."

A version which, in itself, will only make an unpractised reader stare; and therefore we have the following note:—

"The exact translation of *τορὸν σύνορθρον* is almost impossible. But the metaphor depending on its literal rendering is so ingenious, that I have ventured to expound it, at the sacrifice of terseness. *σύνορθρον* implies something that, by a joint or hinge, fits on to, and coincides with, another, as two pieces of wood: Suppose a hole bored through them both, when the two pieces are accurately adjusted, the eye can gaze through both; but if they are not set carefully together, the sight is obstructed in each. *Τορὸν* bears this sense:—It means something which can be seen through—perspicuous by a hole having been drilled through it. In the same manner, when the fulfilment of a prophecy is adjusted to the prophecy, both become intelligible; separate, they cannot be understood."

The ingenuity of this version will amuse all; but even if Æschylus had been by profession a carpenter, as Hans Sachs was a shoemaker, a sound-headed man could scarcely be brought to believe, even with a much less questionable text, that he ever meant to illustrate the second-sight of Calchas by such a very far-fetched kind of original illustration. In the same manner, following up the common application of the word *ποδῆρης* to *πέπλος*, and *χιτών*, (see Passow,) Mr. Sewell insists, that when that word is applied as a qualifying epithet to *στυλος* (v. 872,) it shall be translated "a column draped to the foot;" on which rendering we have the note:—

"The singular epithet *ποδῆρης*, applied to a column, may *perhaps* be understood by calling to mind the draperies which occur in ancient statues, which fall to the ground so as to hide the feet, and are almost fluted like a Doric column. The Doric column has no base or foot; and its flutings seem to have borne an analogy to the folds of a robe. The massiveness of the Doric, in which alone this feature occurs, may be also an idea conveyed in the present instance. It was not uncommon for buildings in the east to be supported by a single central column."

After this ingenious reasoning, we should really like much to know whether the translator of the *Agamemnon*, if he should exercise his new art on the *Seven against Thebes*, would insist on translating *ποδῶκες ὄμμα* (v. 605,) a *swift-footed eye*? To judge from the whole style of his present production, he certainly would do so, and, what is more, would defend the translation by some extremely ingenious and altogether original argument, that would surprise *Æschylus* and the Athenians, could they hear it, as much as our modern *Linwoods* and *Liddells*. But we forbear to press this matter farther. The extreme into which Mr. Sewell's over-curious philological niceness has led him, is evidently a much safer one for the student than the vague style of milk and water dilution in which too many of our English translators, from *Potter* downwards, have indulged; and if he will only use a little moderation in the craft, and discard rhyme, (which he plainly cannot manage,) there can be no doubt that his talents are capable of producing translations from the most difficult of the Greek classics, that may not only prove of admirable use in educating the young, but be productive of great pleasure and profit to scholars of the most advanced growth.

Mr. Conington's translation is a work of a totally different stamp. He seems to have proposed to himself as a maxim the "*Medio tutissimus ibis*" of *Horace*, and to have been studious of presenting to the English reader a rhythmical translation, equally remote from the profuse decoration of *Symmons*, and the cramped literalness of *Sewell*. And herein, certainly, he has got upon the right track; for the translator's art is everywhere full of discretion and compromise; and no single principle, as Mr. Sewell seems to have thought, will carry him on triumphantly through every difficulty. And, upon a review of his whole work, we must say also, he has succeeded admirably in most places, and would assuredly have succeeded better in all, had he not been too anxious to maintain everywhere the Ger-

man line for line system, and thus cramped in some degree that manly freedom, and elastic vigour, without which the most exact measured verse is only prose in chains. The line for line system which the Germans cultivate with such particularity, is a very useful practical check against that unlicensed expansion, and capricious interpolation, in which our English translators have delighted to indulge. But it is a principle altogether inadequate to meet the difficulty of many, and those precisely the most important cases; cases where the translator's language—like the English—is less flexible and pregnant than the language from which the translation is made, and where, of course, the translator must fall on some device to prop up the feebleness of his instrument. Examples of this kind are continually occurring in a big-mouthed author like Æschylus. Take this line, for instance,—

———— μηδὲ
Χαμαιπετὲς βόαμα προσχάνης ἐμοί.—v. 894.

Thus rendered by Conington,

“Scream to me from the ground with open mouth.”

This is feeble; nor is it easy to imagine how, without resolving the compound words, and giving the whole line a new turn and a greater expansion, the full force of the two words *Χαμαιπετὲς*, and *προσχάνης* can be given. One may, indeed, say with Sewell in a single line,

“Gape thou upon me an earth-grovelling howl.”

But this, though both literal and strong, is, like many of Mr. Sewell's accented passages, grotesque; and we are, therefore, not unwilling to fall back on Mr. Symmons' expansion of three lines,—

“Ope not the mouth to me, nor cry amain,
As at the footstool of a man o' the east,
Prone on the ground; so stoop not thou to me.”

For, though such a licentious style as this is in the general case the furthest possible removed from the character of a just translation, yet it is precisely in such a passage as the present, that a translator, using a less flexible language, must use expansion of some kind, and sometimes may do so with the most admirable effect. Of Mr. Conington's general style, the following lines may be taken as a favourable specimen:—

" This year is the tenth since to plead their right
 'Gainst Priam with arms in the court of fight,
 Two monarchs of throned and sceptred reign,
 Vicegerents of Zeus, the Atridæ twain,
 Led from this coast their warlike host,
 With a thousand vessels to cross the main ;
 From their soul fierce battle crying,
 As parent vultures at heart deep stung
 With a wandering grief for their late lost young,
 On the steerage broad of their oary flight,
 Wheel over their nests on the tree's dim height ;
 For it is not there, their nursling care,
 In the cradle safely lying.

But there is who sits on a throne above,
 An Apollo, a Pan, or perchance a Jove,
 And he lists to the shrill, the embittered cry
 Of the tenants who dwelt in his realm of sky,
 And Erinny's is sped, with her slow sure tread,
 To o'ertake the offenders flying."—v. 40-60.

The superiority of these lines, in point of music, to the same passage quoted above from Mr. Sewell, will be evident to the most unpractised ear. Or take the following:—

" O royal Zeus, and befriending night,
 Who hast brought these shows of bravery—
 Whose hand on the tower of Ilium flung
 So mighty a net, that nor old nor young
 Could o'erleap the encircling barrier-height
 Of the toils of public slavery !
 'Tis to mighty Zeus that the praise I owe ;
 To the stranger's god, who the deed hath wrought,
 Keeping bent on Paris so long his bow,
 That the shaft, when it flew, was not sent for nought ;
 Not launched too soon, nor beyond the moon,
 In the pride of idle bravery.

" 'Tis Zeus hath struck them thus severely,
 So much may man unravel clearly ;
 As he planned it, so he wrought.
 Yet there once was one who said
 That the immortals take no thought
 Of the men, whose daring tread
 Doth their sacred shrines despite :
 Wretch, of bold irreverent tongue !
 Impious ! truly was he sprung

From power that breathes out war beyond all right,—
 Power, that dares what none may dare—
 Power, whose houses great and fair
 Teem with vast stores far o'er Discretion's height.
 Clear from sorrow be my part,
 Portion sweet for prudent heart;
 For wealth has no munition
 For the man whose gorged ambition
 Spurns at the shrine of Law Divine
 To save him from perdition."—v. 346-374.

These lines are even better than the preceding; combining, as they do, all that graceful freedom which is of the essence of true poetry, with an accuracy of verbal transference far beyond what English translators hitherto have been in the custom of regarding as within the range of their duty. But it is not always that Mr. Conington, by the fusing power of rhythmical genius, moulds his materials into such a fine harmonious homogeneousness. On the contrary, we see but too plainly sometimes how his rhyme has been acting mechanically, and driving him, in the face of his own expressed conviction, into a wrong path. Take, for instance, his version of the concluding lines of the last strophe of the opening chorus, describing the sacrifice of Iphigenia,—

"When at length the prayer was done,
 The father gave the priests command,
 As 'twere some kid's above the altar stone,
 To lift her form from where they found her
 Fallen with her robes all streaming round her,
 Body and soul alike o'erthrown,
 And bear her raisingly,
 Binding those beauteous lips, whose bitter cry
 The house of Atreus else had banned,
 With cruel thongs' speech-stifling power.
 There as she shed to earth her saffron shower,
 Her glancing eyes' too tender dart
 Struck pity to each slayer's heart.
 She stood as in a painting, calm and meek,
 As though in act to speak.
 For oft aforetime had she raised the lay
 Amidst her sire's gay halls, and purely chaste,
 The glad carousals of the festive-day,
 With love's sweet singing graced."

Taken as a whole, this is a good version ; but what a sad blot on beauty's cheek is that *saffron shower* ! A reader who does not know the Greek (and such a reader is the best judge in such a matter,) cannot suppose otherwise in the connection than that Iphigenia is represented here as weeping saffron tears ! This lamentable nonsense Mr. Conington has perpetrated, being led astray by rhyme, which, when it is not the most obedient of servants, is wont to be the most cruel of masters. As to the real meaning of the passage, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. The *χρόκου βαφάς*, "tinctures of saffron," is merely a poetical turn for "a saffron-tinctured robe." This Symmons, Linwood, and Mr. Conington himself, have seen and declared plainly enough ; but this is not only the only passage where Mr. C. has failed to give in his translation, the result of his notes, stamped as they generally are with a discrimination and a judgment truly admirable. We shall add two other passages where Mr. Conington has allowed a cheap rhyme to filch away one of the most beautiful expressions in a most beautiful passage. Describing the voluptuous, deceitful beauty of Helen, the poet says,—v. 719,

παραιτὰ, δ' ἔλθεῖν εἰς Ἰλίου πόλιν
λέγοιμ' ἂν φρόνημα μὲν νηνέμου γαλάνας
ἀκασκαῖον δ' ἄγαλμα πλούτου
μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλος
δηξίθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος.

And Mr. Conington—

"And so shall I say to Ilion's tower,
There came a sweet face like summer skies ;
A fair gentle image of rich wealth,
The arrow of men's eyes,
Love's soul-consuming flower."

This is not only feeble, but false. Of all the beautiful expressions in this richly studded passage, *φρόνημα νηνέμου γαλάνας*, is precisely that which enthusiastic admirers of the passage will least tolerate to see omitted, or metamorphosed. In the next line *μαλθακὸν*, a most important word, is omitted ; and, on the whole, we are inclined to think that this is just another of those passages of which we have already spoken, where the genuine old English translator of Dryden's school, with his bold breadth of touch, and "sort of paraphrase," is like to come off better

than your minute German, with his verbal accuracy, and his line for line scrupulosity. Again, in v. 749, Δίχα δὲ λάμπει, &c., Mr. Conington gives us,

“But justice in smoky houses shines,
And honours the lowly life and clean,
And flying *from the glittering mines*
Where filthiness of hands is seen,
With turned eyes repairs to purer shrines.”

These “glittering mines” form no proper contrast to the δυσ-κάπνα δώματα, or smoke-begrimed houses of the previous lines, but are indebted for their place in this passage altogether to the influence of “shines” in the first line. This is a bad style of translation, and looks more like mechanics than genuine inspiration. The χρυσόπαστα of the text is plainly nothing but the “*aureum lacunar*” of Horace (*Carm.* II. 18, 1,) or, as Symmons has well expressed it,—

“The gorgeous halls of state sprinkled with gold.”

Of positive dissent from Mr. Conington with regard to the interpretation of disputed passages, we have happily but few instances to record; for, as we have already stated, his judgment and discrimination as exhibited in the exegetical notes are admirable. What we cannot understand is that, after supporting the true version of a contested passage with a long array of the best marshalled arguments, he suddenly deserts himself, and gives a different, and what we cannot but consider an untenable version in his English text. This procedure sometimes may be charitably imputed to a spirit of large toleration for opposite opinions; but a strict judge will say rather that it argues a culpable want of decision. In v. 327, for instance, Wellauer, in his usual cautious way, reads,—

—— ὥς δυσδαίμονες

Ἀφύλακτον εὐδῆσουσι πᾶσαν εὐφρόνην.

This is part of the speech of Clytemnestra, where she paints in strong colours the joy and happiness of the Trojans, after ten years' toil, exulting in the fall of the city of Priam. “They will prolong their sleep through the watchless night,”—among other things she says,—*like unfortunate persons!* This is the plain English of the passage as it stands in the MSS., and it can bear no other meaning. So translated, however, it is plain

nonsense, and therefore must be an error of the transcriber. No doubt, a man may put sense into it by applying the general epithet to a particular class of unfortunate persons under peculiar circumstances, who are apt to sleep soundly; and so Captain Medwyn does—

“ Without a watch they sleep the night away,
Soundly as mariners when the danger's past.”

And says too, laconically, in a note,—“ *The new reading Εὐδαίμονες spoils the passage,*” which is truly putting a bold face on a bad business, in a way that only a clever man can do. But still to cool criticism the question occurs, *if Æschylus meant all this, why did he not say it?* If *δυσδαίμονες* be the proper reading, it must make sense as it stands, and will not tolerate even *πένητες* to be smuggled into it, much less the storm-lashed mariners, of whom Captain Medwyn talks so confidently. This Mr. Conington, with his usual sound judgment, saw, and therefore reads in his Greek text, *ὡς δ' εὐδαίμονες*, an emendation of Stanley, which has the high merit of at once offering small violence to the received text, and springing in the most natural way imaginable out of the previous context. Nevertheless, in his translation, he gives us,

“ And like the poor, will sleep
 Without a guard through all the length of night.”

A version much inferior to Medwyn's, simply because it does not depart sufficiently far from the natural meaning of the text, of which it is not a version, but a gloss.

On one very important and beautiful passage, we are sorry to differ from Mr. Conington with regard to the probable meaning of the words. In the description of the flight of Helen from Menelaus, v. 400, there occurs the following very perplexed, and manifestly corrupt passage,—

Πάρεστι σιγᾶς ἄτιμος
 Ἄλκοιδορος
 Ἄδιατος ἀφεμένων, ἰδῆν,

according to Wellauer's reading. Now, without mentioning the various corrections which have been made on this passage, in order to make it legible, it is enough for our present purpose to say, that they fall naturally into two classes, one of which considers the above words to be spoken of Menelaus, the other

of Helen. The former opinion is the more common, the latter that which is supported by Conington, who thus translates,—

“ She stands in silence scorned yet unrebuking,
Most sweetly, sorrowfully looking
Of brides that have from wedlock fled.”

Of the purely philological arguments which he advances for this side of the question, we shall say nothing; for in a passage of such evident corruption, mere grammar is like to help us but a little way. Of far greater importance is it, in such cases, to look to the connection and the meaning, the æsthetical unity, as the Germans would say, of the whole passage. In this view, however, the arguments come out all in favour of Menelaus, and that very strongly. In the first place, in the previous lines the poet had spoken of Helen’s conduct in the strongest language of reprobation—*ἄτλητα τλᾶσα*; is it likely, we ask, that immediately on the back of this strong reprobation of her blushless impudence, he should paint her out in such a sweet sainted style, as this version of Conington’s exhibits,—

“ Scorned yet unrebuking,
Most sweetly, sorrowfully looking,” &c.

These expressions will not rhyme with *ἄτλητα τλᾶσα* at all. Again, in the same immediately preceding context, the poet had painted the false fugitive, as making her escape from the bonds of legitimate submission to her husband, eagerly and rapidly,

βέβαιε ρίμψα διὰ πυλᾶν,

and after this *ρίμψα*, will the imagination of the reader, following the flight of the fair absconded, be prepared for Mr. Conington’s

“ She STANDS,” &c. ?

This can ill be; especially as the very next line *πόθψ δὲ ὑπερπον-
τοάς*, evidently paints the abandoned husband, standing on the balcony or at the door-way of his palace, looking at the track of the fair fugitive already beyond his grasp on the paths of the “wide-roaring main.” From these considerations, we should much prefer to read

*Πάρεστι σιγᾶς ἄτιμος, ἀλοίδορος
ἄπιστος ἀφεμέναν ἰδεῖν—*

(from emendations of Bothe and Hermann,) and translate,—

“ He silent stood in sadness, not in wrath,
 His own eye scarce believing,
 As he followed her track beyond the path
 Of the sea-wave broadly heaving,”—

Or something to this effect.

In the above remarks, we have confined ourselves entirely to a notice of the publications of Mr. Conington and Mr. Sewell as translations. To do full justice to Mr. C., however, we should have required to pass his Greek text under a special review, and enquired how far he has preserved the judicious mean between the wanton itch of innovation so characteristic of Blomfield, and the over-scrupulous fidelity of Wellauer. But on this subject our limits forbid us to enter. We shall only say, that in the present state of the MSS., a reasonable man cannot desire a better text of the *Agamemnon* than that given by Peile and Conington. Franz certainly, with all his laborious groping through the Medicean Codex, has not mended the matter, but rather made it worse; his hasty admission of various conjectures by others, (in this we are happy to express our cordial agreement with Mr. Conington,) more than neutralizing any benefit his text may have reaped from this re-inspection of the original prototype. As little have we been able, in the present paper, to touch on those interesting points of Greek religion and *Æschylean* theology, which are shortly discussed by the present translators in their respective prefaces. The interest of these subjects is great: and the present writer purposes contributing his mite to the settling of them in an early number of the *Museum*. Meanwhile he would conclude by expressing his opinion, that though Mr. Conington may not have succeeded in dethroning Mr. Symmons from the position which he holds, as the most poetical of all the English translators of the *Agamemnon*, he has produced a work of high merit, satisfying at once the demands of the man of taste, and the minute student of *Æschylus*, in a fashion of which the English school of translation has hitherto presented very few examples. Such a beginning certainly affords the best reason to hope that this country may yet give birth to a series of translations, realizing the true golden mean between the painful minuteness of the German, and the loose diffusion of the vulgar English school.

JOHN S. BLACKIE.

XXIX.

MISCELLANIES.

1. REMARKS ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTS IN SOME TRAGEDIES.

IT seems probable, that besides the *κωφὰ προσωπά*, who never spoke at all, it sometimes happened that the same part was represented in some scenes of a play by a mere silent actor, not the same who supported the character in the dialogue; owing to the limited number of actors, and still more to the fewness of those who were fit to support the highest parts. See Müller, xxii. 8., where he hints, that the first scene of the Prometheus was arranged so as to require only two actors, as in the other three plays which preceded the exhibition of the Agamemnon; but does not explain how. I cannot but think that the Prometheus of the first scene was an image, through whose breast the adamantine wedge was driven, though I know not whether the remaining evidence of the scene-artifices of the ancients will explain how the change was managed. But I suspect that even in the Agamemnon, there were but two actors, though there are three in the other two plays, which were brought out on the same day. I suspect that Cassandra and Clytemnestra were acted by the same person. If so, the silences of Cassandra and Prometheus, which produce so great an effect, (though the silences in Æschylus elsewhere were, as appears from Aristophanes, sometimes open to ridicule,) are a matter of necessity. On our opera stage, when a principal dancer is to seem to fly, another, dressed in the same manner, is substituted for him or her. It is possible to conceive, however, that the Cassandra in the car, and the Prometheus in the first scene, were just off the stage, and came, or were wheeled, on, when they were to begin speaking. But this would have so undramatic an effect, especially in those large theatres, where seeing would not always be supplied by hearing, that it is very difficult to admit it. The reverse happens on our stage more commonly, that people speak before they are seen. In the *Œdipus at Colonus*, Ismene is described before she comes on; but that is quite a different thing. Indeed, it is in the highest degree dramatic and affecting. I conceive that, in the trilogy of Æschylus, though there were three actors, there were not two of such superior excellence as to be fit to represent such pre-eminent parts as the poet has made Cassandra and Clytemnestra. We must never, I presume, resort to the sup-

position, which would answer the conditions in the Prometheus, that the Coryphæus acted any other part before the chorus came on. In the ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, Ismene and the Herald are one person, whence the line ἰὼ, ἰὼ, πῆμα πατρὶ πάρευνον, given to Antigone after the last response of Ismene, to give time for the change. In the ἱκετίδες, the inferiority in quality of the Deuteragonist causes an effect which is rather absurd, though more pleasing, by the women speaking to the king almost throughout, instead of their father being spokesman, like Iolaus in the Heraclidæ, as might have been expected from his directing them in every thing, and being called their βούλαρχος, &c. But this is interesting in another way, as shewing the greater importance of the Coryphæus as a mere actor in these early times, when the dialogue had not so much encroached upon the chorus. In the Œdipus at Colonus, (See Müller, as above,) the most probable, though unpleasant supposition, is, that Theseus was represented in one scene by the Deuteragonist, who elsewhere acts Antigone. But it is also necessary to suppose, in some places, that a mere dressed Ismene appeared on the stage, since her presence is implied where three other actors are speaking.

Αἰδ' ὁμοῦ πελάζομεν (1108. Brunck.) ἐμφύτε τῷ φύσαντι, 1103, &c. then Antigone, ὅδ' ἔσθ' ὁ σώσας, 1118. Œd. ὦ ξείνε, &c. 1119. τήνδε σὴν ἐς τάσδ' ἐμοὶ τέργιν, 1121, and Theseus, τέκνοισι τερφθεὶς τοῖσδε, 1140. An apparent Ismene is evidently present.

In the next scene, Antigone says, πάρεστι δέῃρο Πολυνείκης ὃδε, 1253, and he begins addressing both; παῖδες, 1253.

(Ismene never speaks, from her return when rescued, to the time of her departure to the place of Œdipus's expected death.)

In the next short scene of the thunder, Œdipus says, ὦ τέκνα, τέκνα, 1457, and then in the following with Theseus, he addresses him, τέκνον Αἰγέως, 1538, φιλτατε ξένων, 1552, &c., and his two daughters, ὦ παῖδες, 1542, &c.

Or where but two, in the last scene of the play; for we cannot suppose the actor of Œdipus appeared again after the death of Œdipus.

Ismene ceases to speak at 1736. Theseus apparently enters at 1751, and says πάνετε θρήνων, παῖδες, and so afterwards.

Antigone is certainly carried off by Creon's people before Theseus enters, 894, and he is about to seize Œdipus. The expression οἷχεται τέκνων Ἀποσπάσας μου τὴν μόνην ξυνωρίδα is curious; but means, "he has sent away, at two different times, my two daughters, and is going himself." So 866. ψιλὸν ὅμμι' ἀποσπάσας Πρὸς ὄμμασιν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐξοίχη.

The expressions, τούτοιον σκήπτρον (848.) ταῖνδ' ἐγ' ἐστερημένοι (857) ταύταιν μόναιν (859) are more so; but it is quite clear from

818, that Ismene was already carried off while sacrificing at the other side of the grove. Τὴν μὲν ἀρτίως ἐγὼ Ξυναρπάσας ἐπεμψα, τὴν δ' ἄξω τάχα.

The succession of actors in the scenes is as follows, as I conceive:—

Œdipus, Antigone.

...	...	Ξένος.	
...	...	Ismene.	
...	...	Theseus.	
...	...	Creon.	
...	Theseus,	...	
...	Antigone,	Theseus,	Ismene (κωφόν.)
...	...	Polynices,	... κωφ.
...	...	...	... κωφ.
{	...	Theseus,	... κωφ.

Here Antigone does not speak either.

* Ἀγγελος.

Antigone,	Ismene.	
...	Theseus,	... κωφ.

C. B.

2. CHAUNSUN DEL SECLE.—(*A Song of the World.*)

THE beautiful little poem, which bears this title, and which is found in a volume written during the reign of Edward I., apparently in one of the eastern counties of England, is not printed among the various extracts from the same MS., which Messrs. Wright and Halliwell have published in their *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*. This MS. (Digby, 86, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford,) is undoubtedly written by a Norman clerk, who, young, rude, and silly as he seems to have been, has mixed up in it every thing, good and bad, sacred and profane, Latin, Norman-French, and English materials. The poem strikes the reader, when he discovers it surrounded by other poetry of a different and even low description, because it is the production of a stage of the English language, of which the history is not yet known sufficiently at the present day. We can therefore not understand the reason why these few verses did not find a place among the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, and we give them here for the first time, with a few remarks and grammatical explanations showing their real value.

The language is still semi-Saxon as it was spoken in the beginning and in the middle of the 13th century, a hundred years before Chaucer; only five words have crept in from the Norman-French: *prove*, *pris*, *mirour*, *poure*, *to fail*; besides, the spelling of *ounstudefast* and *oup* is

a proof that a Frenchman has committed these verses to the vellum. All other words are pure Germanic, and although the construction of the sentences is already very different from the Anglo-Saxon, the flexion of the nouns, as in *thene, eien, halien*, the infinitive of the verbs terminating in *-en, bileven, bugen, done, gon*, and the double negation like *ne-non, nout-ne, nis-non*, show sufficiently how little the language of the conquering people had been able to supplant that of the subdued nation, in the course of two centuries.¹ It is true, the verse has lost everything that was peculiar to the old Saxon poetry; no traces of the double *arsis* in every verse are left, and if we except coincidences like *wint* and *went*, *hous* and *hom*, the old alliteration is entirely given up, and its place is filled by the romantic rhyme. But the structure of the strophes is exceedingly tasteful; all of them are alike, consisting of ten verses, each of them having four (iambic) feet with three different rhyming syllables, which follow each other alternately like 1, 2, 1, 2, 3, 3, 3, 2, 3, 2.

The subject seems to have been a very favourite one among the Saxons, as the very similar but still alliterative fragment called *the Grave*, (in Thorpe's *Anal.* p. 153, ed. II.) shows, it marks for a considerable time the contrast against the gay and licentious ballads of the Norman conquerors. A depth of feeling and thoughtful contemplation is displayed, such as we find only in the poetic relics of those Teutonic nations, whose pure blood and manner of thinking was not yet altered by the intrusion of foreign elements. The *Chaunsun del Secl*, whose Norman title must be kept, as no other is given, reminds one immediately of certain beautiful songs of the German Minnesaenger, in which all happiness of this world, whose outward appearance is all green and red, is described as nothing, when the inside of it is seen, dark like death, and the only consolation is found in true religious longing. This little English specimen of the same century conveys the same idea, expressed in a not less beautiful form.

Uuorlde blisse ne last non prowe,²
 hit³ wint and went⁴ awei anon;
 the lengore that hic hit icnowe,⁵
 the lasse ich finde pris ther on.
 for al hit is imeind⁶ with kare,

¹ The dialect is the East-Anglian and of exactly the same period, in which the second MS. of Layamon's *Brut* is written (*MS. Otho. c. XIII.*) cf. Sir F. Madden's Edition, and the Extracts in B. Thorpe's *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*.

² Profit, old Engl. introduced by the Normans. ³ The aspirate is very com-

mon at that time. ⁴ The A.S. is *windan* and *wendan*, the Germ. *winden* und *wenden*. ⁵ A.S. *gecnawan*, cognoscere; the prefix *i-* appears very early in the East-Anglian dialect in the place of the Saxon and German *ge-*. ⁶ Mingled from the A.S. *mengan*.

with serewen⁷ and with evel fare,
 and at the laste poure and bare ;
 hit let mon⁸ wen⁹ hit ginneth agon.
 al the blisse, that is her and there,
 bilouketh¹⁰ an ende wop and mon.¹¹

Al shal gon, that her mon oweth,¹²
 al hit shal wenden into nowt,¹³
 the mon that her no goed¹⁴ ne soeth¹⁵
 wen other repeth, he worth bicaut.¹⁶
 thenk, mon, the wile thou havest mightte,
 thine gultes¹⁷ her to rightte
 and do goed bi dai and nightte,
 ar¹⁸ thou bi of this lif ilawt ;¹⁹
 for thou nost,²⁰ wene Crist oure drightte²¹
 the acseth that he the haveth bitawt.²²

Al the blisse of thisse live
 thou shalt, mon, henden²³ in weop,
 of hous and hom of child of wive,
 seli²⁴ mon, tak ther of koep.²⁵
 for al thou shalt bileven²⁶ here,
 eightte-wer-of²⁷ louerd²⁸ thou were,
 wen thou list, mon, oppon bere²⁹
 and slepest thene³⁰ longe dreri³¹ slep,
 ne shalt thou haven with the non fere³²
 bote³³ thine workes on an hep.

⁷ There is still some mark of the case ; A.S. seorh, semis. seorwe, sorrow.

⁸ Man, like the French on, the German man. ⁹ When ; the next words are not quite clear ; is ginneth = beginneth, and is agon the infinitive to go, or the A.S. agan, to have ? ¹⁰ A.S. belucan, to lock, to inclose. ¹¹ Whoop and moan.

¹² Owns, possesses. ¹³ A.S. nowiht like Germ. niwih, nicht. ¹⁴ A.S. gód, good. ¹⁵ A.S. sawan, to sow. ¹⁶ Old Engl. bi-cache, to deceive ; the A.S. weorthan, to become, forms still the passive, like in Germ. ¹⁷ A.S. gylt, guilt. ¹⁸ A.S. aer old Engl. ere, before. ¹⁹ The Semi-saxon partic. instead of the A.S. gelahte, from gelaecan, to take, to seize. ²⁰ Nustan, to know not. ²¹ A.S. drihten, the Lord, a word of old origin,

which is found also in the poetry of the old Saxons on the Continent, and which is lost very soon after the time of our poem. ²² A.S. betaecan, particip. betaechte, to intrust.

²³ End, with the aspirate. ²⁴ A.S. sel, Germ. selig ? ²⁵ To be derived from the A.S. cypa, to sell ; but the sense of this line is not quite clear. ²⁶ A.S. belaeftan, to leave behind. ²⁷ Every-where —of, from the A.S. aeghwaer. ²⁸ The Semis. form for the A.S. hlaforð, lord. ²⁹ A.S. baér, Engl. bier, Norman fr. bière. ³⁰ A.S. thone, acc. masc. sing. of the article, slaep being a masc. ³¹ A.S. dreorig, dreary. ³² A.S. gefe, company, cf. Germ. gefaehrte. ³³ A.S. buton, but.

Mon; wi sest³⁴ thou love and herte
 on worldes blisse, that nout ne last ?
 wi tholiest³⁵ thou thin herte smerte³⁶
 for love, that is ounstudefast ?³⁷
 thou lickest³⁸ honi of thorn iwis,³⁹
 that sest thi love on worldes blis,
 for ful of bitternesse hit is,
 ful sore thou might ben agast,⁴⁰
 for after that thou spenest⁴¹ her⁴² amis,
 leste thou be in to helle icast.

Thenk, mon, werof Crist the wroute,
 and do wey prude⁴³ of herte and mod,
 thenk, hou dere he the abowte⁴⁴
 on rode⁴⁵ with his suete blod :
 he ghaf the his bodi in pris
 to bugen⁴⁶ the blis, ghif thou art wis,
 bithenk⁴⁷ the, mon, and oup aris
 of slewthe⁴⁸ and begin to werchen⁴⁹ god,⁵⁰
 the wile time to werchen is,
 for elles ich telle the witles and wod.⁵¹

Al dai thou mightt understonden
 and thi mirour⁵² biforen the sen,⁵³
 wat is to don, wat is to shonden
 and wat to holden and wat to fien.⁵⁴
 for al dai thou sist⁵⁵ with thin eien,⁵⁶
 hou this world wend and ou⁵⁷ mon deien ;⁵⁸
 for wite⁵⁹ the wel, that thou shalt deien
 ase the dede,⁶⁰ and eke⁶¹ ded ben ;

³⁴ A.S. settan, to put. ³⁵ Pure A.S. tholian, to suffer. ³⁶ Old Engl. to smart ; Germ. schmerzen. ³⁷ Unsteadfast. ³⁸ A.S. liccian, to lick. ³⁹ A.S. gewis ; Germ. gewiss. ⁴⁰ Frightened. ⁴¹ Spendst, this line is quoted from the MS. in Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic words, p. 782. ⁴² Viz. thi love, which is still feminine like in A.S.

⁴³ A.S. pryde, pride. ⁴⁴ From A.S. abiegan, partic. abohte, to redeem, to buy. ⁴⁵ The cross, pure A.S. ⁴⁶ A.S. biegan, to buy. ⁴⁷ In form and sense corresponding with the Germ. bedenken. ⁴⁸ A.S. slewth, slowness. ⁴⁹ A.S.

wyrcan, to work ; Germ. wirken. ⁵⁰ The dative instead of the modern to God ; it should be properly gode, but the rhyme is against it. ⁵¹ A.S. wod, old Engl. wode, mad, to be derived from the name of Wodan, which signifies a rapid motion.

⁵² A romance word from the mediæval Latin mirare, to look. ⁵³ See. ⁵⁴ A.S. fleon, to flee. ⁵⁵ Seest. ⁵⁶ Eyes, eien is still the Germanic plural, like in the A.S. eagan. ⁵⁷ How. ⁵⁸ Die. ⁵⁹ Imperat. from the A.S. wetan, to know. ⁶⁰ The dead, plural. ⁶¹ A.S. eac, also.

ne halt⁶² ther nō mon for to halien,⁶³
 ne mai nō mon be deth aghein.⁶⁴

Nis⁶⁵ ther non goed unforgolde,⁶⁶
 ne non evel is ther unboust.⁶⁷
 mon, wen thou list under molde,⁶⁸
 thou shalt haven so thou havest wrout.
 thenk, mon, therfore, i the rede,⁶⁹
 and clanse the of thine misdede,⁷⁰
 that he the helpe at thine nede,
 that so dere the haveth about,⁷¹
 and to hevene⁷² blisse the lede
 that ever last and ne faileth⁷³ nout.

R. P.

3. ON SOPHOCLES' *Antigone*, 31, 32.

Τοιαῦτά φασι τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κρέοντα σοὶ
 κἀμοὶ, λέγω γὰρ κἀμέ, κηρύξαντ' ἔχειν.

To the Editor of the Classical Museum.

SIR,

HAVING followed the remarks on this passage in your last numbers, may I be permitted to offer a very brief one of my own? I cannot think that the datives can be governed by the participle, but by the adjective, as suggested in the first article on the subject: because it is not probable that Antigone would select herself and her sister as the especial objects of a proclamation common to all; and because the position of σοὶ, which only is to be considered, (κἀμοὶ appearing to come in as an *after thought*,) is much more favourable to this regimen than the other. Is not the τὸν ἀγαθὸν highly ironical? if so, all the words connected with it in regimen must be so too: and the easy sense will be evolved: "Such they say is the proclamation of your good Creon; aye, and of my good Creon, for by all means I would call him so too."

G. R.

⁶² To hold for. ⁶³ Too hallow; A.S. halig; halien is an accusative. ⁶⁴ Against.

⁶⁵ Ne is, not is. ⁶⁶ From A.S. for-geldan, partic. forgolden, to requite; cf. Germ. unvergolten. ⁶⁷ A mistake of the scribe, as the wrong rhyme clearly shows, instead of unbout; A.S. unboht, i. e. gratis. ⁶⁸ Pure A.S.;

Engl. mould, cf. the poem *the Grave* in Thorpe's *Anal.* p. 153, the wes molde imynt. ⁶⁹ A.S. raedan, Germ. rathen; I advise thee. ⁷⁰ A.S. misdead; Germ. missethat. ⁷¹ The same like abowte. ⁷² Old genit. femin. in which gender the A.S. heofon occurred sometimes. ⁷³ Lat. fallere, French, faillir.

Τοιαῦτά φασι τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κρέοντα σοὶ
κάμοι, λέγω γὰρ καὶ ἐμέ, κηρύξαντ' ἔχειν.

Soph. Antig. 31, 32.

Dr. Kennedy, in replying to my remarks on his interpretation of the above passage, observes that "Sophocles, because he could not write, τὸν σοι καὶ ἐμοί, λέγω γὰρ καὶ ἐμέ, ἀγαθὸν Κρέοντα, throws the words into the order of the text." But with great deference to Dr. Kennedy, I would ask whether, if that was the sense which Sophocles wished to express, he might not have expressed it easily by placing Κρέοντα *before* τὸν ἀγαθὸν σοι καὶ ἐμοί. This collocation, I conceive, would have been the most proper and natural, and would have made the meaning as clear as in *Trachin.* 540, τοιάδ' Ἡρακλῆς, ὁ πιστὸς ἡμῖν κάγαθος καλούμενος, οἰκούρι' ἀντέπεμψε. Indeed, comparing such passages as *Aj.* 780-2, ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἐξ ἔδρας πέμπει με σοὶ φέροντα τάσδ' ἐπιστολάς Τεύκρος φυλάσσειν : *El.* 601, 2, ὁ δ' ἄλλος ἔξω, χεῖρα σὴν μόλις φυγών, τλήμων Ὀρέστης δυστυχῇ τρίβει βίον : had not Dr. Kennedy affirmed that "the parenthetic clause, λέγω γὰρ καὶ ἐμέ, which *must* immediately follow ἐμοί, *cannot* interpose between the epithet ἀγαθὸν and its substantive Κρέοντα," I should have been ready to think that, rather than place his words so ambiguously, Sophocles might (metrical hindrances apart) have even written after this manner : τὸν ἀγαθὸν σοι κάμοι, λέγω γὰρ κάμοι, Κρέοντα κηρύξαντ' ἔχειν : although it would have been more natural to place the proper name *before* its epithet, than at such a long interval after it.

I acknowledge, on reconsideration, that there is little if any force in the objection I made, that, according to Dr. Kennedy's construction, the sense would more naturally be, "Creon, whom you and I *think* good," than "whom you and I *thought* good." But my other objections remain in my own mind.

Dr. Kennedy says that "words such as τοιαῦτά φασι Κρέοντά σοι κάμοι κεκηρυχέναι, can mean nothing else but, *Such is the edict which they say Creon has proclaimed to you and me :*" but I do not see, considering the wide and indefinite use of the *dativus relationis*, that those datives cannot denote the special application of the edict, in and by the mind of Antigone, to herself and her sister ; as well as, if not instead of, an intention on Creon's part of directing that edict expressly against *them* : and that the meaning may not be,—*Creon has proclaimed to your hurt and to mine, or so as to affect you and me, or with which you and I above all are concerned.* In such words as τοιαῦτα Κρέων σοι κηρύξας ἔχει, the dative σοὶ might, I conceive, have been used, as it is in the 37th line, οὕτως ἔχει σοι ταῦτα, as a dative of reference. Might not then such words as Κρέων σοι κάμοι κηρύξας ἔχει be used in a like manner ; although the addition of κάμοι imparts to σοὶ much more force and meaning than that dative might otherwise

seem to have? In the 448th line we find *μοι* alone used by Antigone in connection with *κηρύξας*, for the purpose of denoting the particular reference or application which the general edict (*τὰ κηρυχθέντα*) had, in her own mind, to herself: *οὐ γὰρ τί μοι Ζεὺς ἦν ὁ κηρύξας τᾶδε*.¹

Dr. Kennedy objects to the obscurity of the hint contained, according to my interpretation, in the parenthetic clause, *λέγω γὰρ καμέ*; but this appears to me less objectionable than the greater obscurity which, if Dr. Kennedy interprets rightly, was cast over the meaning of the whole passage by an unusual and ambiguous collocation of words, that has hid the interpretation from all commentators till now. Nor does it seem necessary that Ismene should have instantly understood what was implied in that parenthesis; since, according to my view, Antigone was preparing her sister for such an explicit statement of her solemn meaning as would soon clearly shew why she spoke of herself as especially concerned with Creon's edict; and which commences with the 41st line. I confess myself unable to see why "such an emphasis and such a hint seems to destroy the beauty and propriety of Antigone's character."

Lastly, it seems to me improbable that Sophocles, who, in his *Œdipus Coloneus*, has represented Creon as the very opposite of good in the estimation of Ismene and Antigone, for his treatment of their father and of themselves, should, in another play, have represented them as having been accustomed, up to the time of their brothers' death, to call the same Creon, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the Good. Sophocles could not have been so inconsistent, had he written the *Œdipus Coloneus* before the *Antigone*. Will the fact of the latter having been composed first, sufficiently account for such an inconsistency? Or must we suppose that, by his goodness during the interval between their father's death and their brothers', Creon had not only obliterated from the minds of Antigone and Ismene the remembrance of his former cruelty and violence, but had made himself admired and beloved by them both?

But it cannot appear to any one more presumptuous than it does to myself, that I should dispute on any classical point with Dr. Kennedy, whose opinion, even if it were not presented as "shared by one of the best Greek scholars in England," would be entitled to full fifty times more weight than mine. It is perhaps because my own mind was preoccupied by another interpretation of the passage in question, that I was not satisfied, and still am not, with that which Dr. Ken-

¹ "Non enim eas (leges) mihi Jupiter statuerat," Brunnk. "Non enim Jupiter fuit, qui hoc mihi edixerit," Wunder.

I am aware, however, that *μοι* may be taken otherwise, as independent of *κηρύξας*, and as having reference to Ζεὺς ἦν.

nedy has no doubt is the true one. I leave then to others the further discussion of this passage, should any seem necessary.

HENRY SYLVESTER RICHMOND.

τοιαῦτά φασι τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κρέοντα σοὶ
κάμοι, λέγω γὰρ καμέ, κηρύξαντ' ἔχειν.

Soph. Antig. 31, 32.

This passage seems to me capable of yielding a satisfactory sense without the need of having recourse to the construction proposed by Dr. Kennedy, which is, to say the least, an unusual one.

Let it be supposed that Antigone had said τοιαῦτά φασι τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κρέοντα σοὶ κηρύξαντ' ἔχειν. Every one would have seen then that the use of σοι was perfectly obvious, indicating that faint notion of the concern of the party addressed, in the statement made so common in similar cases; why should we not go a step further, and conceive that having used, inadvertently as it were, a pronoun which, though not necessarily implying more than this faint notion of her sister's concern with Creon's doings, might yet, as it stood, be taken to mark Ismene as the party chiefly interested. The speaker corrects the probable misapprehension by immediately adding an emphatic mention of herself, ἐμοί, not μοι, to which he further calls attention in the following parenthesis, λέγω γὰρ καμέ? I, at least, see nothing far-fetched in such an explanation; and if there should appear to be any thing of the kind, I believe it will be found to arise from the mere fact of an analysis having been attempted at all; an experiment which, if tried on any of the simpler forms of ordinary conversation, would produce a similar effect of apparent subtilty and refinement.

There is another passage in Sophocles, which might, I think, be advantageously discussed by the readers of the *Classical Museum*. It is from the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, 44, 45.

ὥς, τοῖσιν ἐμπείροισι καὶ τὰς ξυμφορὰς
ζώσας ὁρῶ μάλιστα τῶν βουλευμάτων.

Most of the commentators, I believe, agree with Wunder in making the general sense to be *consilia hominum pendentium prosperum eventum habent*, τὰς ξυμφορὰς being taken with τῶν βουλευμάτων, as in Thuc. i. 140, τὰς ξυμφορὰς τῶν πραγμάτων, where the Schol. renders ξυμφορὰς by ἀποβάσεις. Not to mention that one would wish to see ξυμφορὰς placed nearer to βουλευμάτων, an objection doubtless capable of being obviated, but still not wholly without force in a doubtful passage, the sentiment which the words are made to convey, appears to be a very flat one. The chorus had been exhorting Œdipus to suggest some remedy if he should have chanced to derive any from gods or men; and surely it is not very forcible immediately to back

this appeal by the remark, that experienced men are generally found to have the issues of their counsels more prosperous; the power of *καὶ* being, I suppose, that not only are their plans well formed, but their success signal. My own suggestion, which I make with considerable hesitation, is to separate *ζυμφορὰς* from *βουλευμάτων*, and understand the latter as formed by *μάλιστα* in the sense of *μᾶλλον*: "Since I see that, with men of experience, even casual knowledge is (often) more effective than counsels of reason;" a position at any rate sufficiently to the purpose, and agreeing well with the doubtful language held just before *εἴτε τοῦ θεῶν φήμην ἀκούσας εἴτ' ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς οἰσθὰ πον*. Some may wish to take *ζυμφορὰς* with *βουλευμάτων* as the *carnal part* of counsel, but the other explanation seems less forced. It might also be proposed to understand the passage, "since I see that, even with the experienced, our calamities are more vigorous than what counsel can do," were it not that *καὶ* ought then rather to *have come before* *τρίσιν ἐμπείροις*.

And now, as this paper has already begun to assume a miscellaneous character, I wish to be allowed to correct two or three oversights, a specimen, I fear, of a much larger number in my recently published edition of the *Agamemnon*. However few, assuming your readers may be acquainted with the work, I should be sorry to stand accountable for any of the errors contained in it in the eyes even of a single individual, longer than I can possibly help.

On 10, 11, I have raised the question, whether the accusative absolute is not merely a figment of the grammarians. I ought at least to have marked off the cases where the accusative occurs after *ὤς* in an apparently absolute sense, though here writers seem agreed that the words depend on some implied verb. The passage from *Plat. Gorg.* p. 495, c. quoted from Jelf (who treats it especially from the instances with *ὤς*, though he supposes *ὤς ἔτεον* to be put for *ὤς ἕτερον οὔσαν*), probably belongs to this class, and so does not require the explanation I have given.

In the note on v. 308, I inadvertently included *ἵνα* among the illative particles which are found before the optative with or without *ἂν* evidently with only a small modification of the sense. I certainly did not mean to prejudice the question against the commentators, who contend that *ἵνα*, as a conjunction, is never found with *ἂν*.

I retract also the qualified assent given in the note on v. 601, to the doctrine, that *ἂν* diminishes the contingency of the optative.

Another position adopted by Haupt on v. 902, about *ἂν* with the participle, appears to me now to be questionable in itself, and not required in this particular passage.

The account given of *οὐ* and *μη* in a note on v. 491, is not strictly accurate, asserting, as it does, too broadly, that *οὐ* never denies with

reference to anything that has gone before. In such a passage as Eur. *Bacch.* 271, 272, *Θρασύς δὲ δύναται καὶ λέγειν οἶός τ' ἀνὴρ κακὸς πολίτης γίγνεται νοῦν οὐκ ἔχων*, the negative clause (as has been remarked to me by a friend,) clearly does influence the sense of the whole, indicating the reason why a confident man becomes a bad citizen, *quippe qui mente careat*. This passage may help us to amend our plea, and suggest that the distinction between *οὐ* and *μὴ* in such cases is as follows:—*οὐ* denies absolutely, though not always independently, as the denial may be put forward as the ground of a proposition; *μὴ* gives a denial neither positive nor independent, but checking the sentence as a hypothetical condition; thus *μὴ νοῦν ἔχων* would mean “if he has no sense,” merely stating a possibility assumed solely for the sake of supporting the truth of the previous declaration; *οὐ*, as this word has even more than ordinary force, it is a matter of fact denial, and something more; the confident not only has not sense, but, by virtue of his confidence, cannot have; *μὴ*, on the contrary, does not deny the matter of fact at all; a confident man may or may not have sense; indeed, it rather implies, that in some cases he has sense, by particularizing the case of his not having it as leading to a certain result. It will be safest then to say, as a general rule, that *οὐ* denies always absolutely, sometimes relatively too; *μὴ*, never absolutely, but always relatively. Thus there is no danger of confounding the two, even when both are relative, as the invariable presence of the absolute in *οὐ* will sufficiently distinguish it, as in the line above quoted, where *since* is very different from *if*. In the passage from the *Agamemnon*, my version gives what I still hold to be the right rendering,—“So let the bow shoot darts at us no more;” but the note is in error in assigning the meaning of *since* to *μηκέτι* rather than to *οὐκέτι*, and asserting that the use of the latter would necessarily have reduced the line to a mere ornamental addition.

I will conclude with a new explanation (as I believe) of a once much disputed passage in Horace, *Ars Poetica*, v. 128.

Difficile est propriè communia dicere: tuque Rectius Iliacum carmen diducis in actus quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus.” The commentators have here been greatly perplexed. Horace speaks apparently of the difficulty of treating hackneyed subjects, adding, that, accordingly, it is better to dramatize the *Iliad* than to attempt something entirely new. The contradiction between the two precepts is at once perceived. Some seek to remedy it by construing *tuque* as if it were *sed tu*: others, a considerable body, beginning, I believe, with Lambin, and ending with Orelli,¹ give an entirely new sense to *communia*, not that of hackneyed things, but precisely that of not-hackneyed

¹ It is not meant that all who take this view of *communia* agree in their general notion of its intention, e.g. Orelli does not refer it to *subjects*, but to ab-

things, things as yet untouched, and hence public property. It seems to me that the dilemma will vanish if we regard *ignota indictaque* neither as opposed to, nor identical with, *communis*, but as, in a sense, included under it, being, in fact, a method of treatment, not a subject. The whole gist of the passage will then be, It is hard to give freshness and individuality to hackneyed subjects, and you had much better make up your mind to the extreme of literal imitation than run the opposite risk of offending the reader by any startling novelty of handling; better decline the problem altogether than produce a bad solution. This is premised as what is to be done if the worst should come to the worst; then follow some cautions to be observed by those who, in spite of the difficulty, wish to maintain that "*Publica materia privati juris erit*," &c., where the language is clearly parallel to *proprie communis dicere*, a fact which Orelli is compelled to deny. It is possible that others may have given this interpretation, but I do not remember to have seen it anywhere.

JOHN CONINGTON.

XXX.

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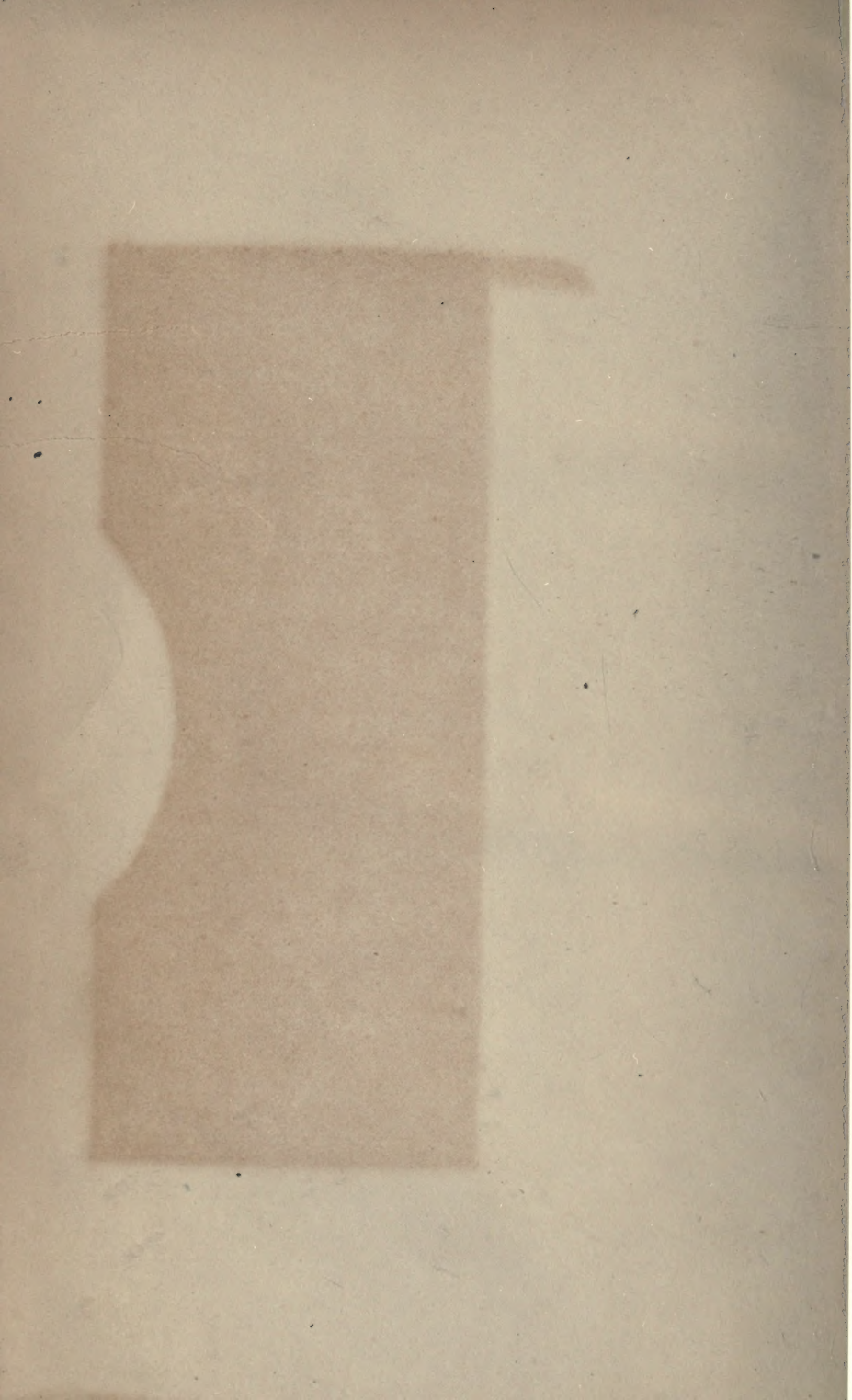
abstract qualities, the individualizing of which, in a human character, is supposed to be intruded by *proprie dicere*.

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